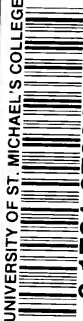


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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME XI.—1890.

“ 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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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1890.

THE ENGLISH ESTIMATE OF DANTE.

THERE was scarcely any country in Europe outside of Italy in which the influence of Dante was felt so soon, or in which his merit was so fully acknowledged, as in England. Chaucer, who was born only a few years after the death of the great Florentine poet, was the contemporary of Boccaccio and of Petrarch. Having been sent by King Edward III. on a state message to the Duke of Milan, he made the personal acquaintance of the latter of these writers, and through him got access to the works of Boccaccio. On his return to England he also brought with him a manuscript of Dante's writings. Hence, although *The Canterbury Tales* are modelled on the outlines of the *Decamerone*, and tinged, to a great extent, with the spirit of the *Canzoniere*, yet they are full of allusions to Dante's works, and especially to the *Divina Commedia*. Thus, when relating, in *The Monk's Tale*, the tragic story of Ugolino, he refers his readers to the lengthened and touching account of the episode given in the *Inferno*.¹

“ Whoso woll hear it in a longer wise
Redeth the grete poete of Itaille
That mighty Dante, for he can it devise,
From point to point, not o word will be faille.”

¹ Ugolino, the terrible and passionate Lord of Pisa, was taken prisoner by the Ghibelline Archbishop Ruggieri, whose nephew he had murdered. He was confined in the tower of the Gualandi with his two sons and two grandsons. All five were starved to death. Ruggieri was immediately summoned to Rome to account for his conduct.

And further on in *The Nonne's Tale* he translates the beautiful hymn to the Virgin from the last Canto of *Paradiso*.

“Vergine madre, figlia del tuo Figlio
Umile ed alta più che creatura
Termine fisso d'eterno consiglio
Tu se' colei che l'umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.”

“Thou maide and mother, daughter of thy Son;
Thou well of mercy, sinful soule's cure;
In whom that God of bounty chus to won;
Thou humble and high over every creature,
Thou nobledst so fer forth our nature,
That no disdain the Maker had of kinde
His Son in blood and fleshe to clothe and winde.”

These early acknowledgments of Dante's fame are also to be found in John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and in Lydgate's *Fall of the Princes*.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century two English bishops, Bubwith of Bath, and Hallam of Salisbury, were present at the Council of Constance, and there met Giovanni da Serravalle, bishop of Rimini, a distinguished scholar and an ardent promoter of the study of Dante. This Italian prelate was induced by the two Englishmen to give an exposition in Latin prose of the *Divina Commedia*. In his introduction to the work he writes a short biographical sketch of the poet, and is there responsible for the assertion that Dante in his youth studied theology at Oxford. He was the first biographer to make this statement, which has been so often repeated and so often denied. Several intrinsic arguments are adduced in its support, such as Dante's intimate acquaintance with the Arthurian legends, and his allusion to the heart of Prince Henry of Cornwall, which was preserved in a golden vase in the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster Abbey.

“Colui fesse in grembo a Dio
Lo cor che in su'l Tamigi ancor si cola.”¹

¹ “In God's own lap he pierced the heart
Which still is honoured on the banks of Thames.”²

² The prince was nephew of Henry III. of England, and was murdered in the Church of St. Silvestro, in Viterbo, whilst assisting at Mass, by Guy de Montfort, in 1271.

With the rise and establishment of Protestantism in England we observe the almost total eclipse of Dante's favour. Whilst Italian models of a lower type, like those of Pulci, Boïardo, and Trissino were still welcomed and praised, the great poem of Catholic dogma was almost completely ignored. With the exception of a passing allusion in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*, the name of its author is scarcely once mentioned by any prominent writer for two hundred years.

It must be acknowledged, indeed, that not much honour was paid to the poet in his native country during a good portion of that same period. Almost alone, and in the midst of his many cares, Cardinal Bellarmine rescued Dante from the comparative oblivion into which he had fallen, and vindicated for evermore the character of the poet as an orthodox Catholic and faithful son of the Church; but the direction given to literature by the movement of the *renaissance* turned the mind of Italy into a very different channel. The *litterae humaniores* of Greek and Latin models were alone thought worthy of imitation. Protestant writers also blame the Jesuits for having kept Dante in the background during that period of the *renaissance* when they were in the ascendant. Men trained in the school of the great poet were not likely, it was said, to yield in pliant subservience to the machinations of a designing order that aimed at nothing short of universal domination. Father Venturi, S.J., is a decidedly hostile critic, whilst Girolamo Tiraboschi, S.J., in his great work on the history of Italian literature gives but a paltry and insignificant notice of him who was at once the father and the founder and the brightest ornament of the literature about which he wrote.¹ The Jesuits, however, are not without something to say on the subject. Dante was, indeed, a great poet; but he was also a politician, and, as such, he was neither prudent nor moderate. He had a utopia of civil government which was as extravagant as it was impracticable, and all who opposed his views were

¹ *Storia della Letteratura Italiana. Del Cavaliere Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi*, vol. v., part ii., page 491.

condemned by him with the scathing vigour of which he alone had the secret. Boniface VIII., Clement V., Cardinal d'Aquasparta, got no more quarter from him than Philip le Bel or Charles of Anjou. Catholics know how to make allowances for the excesses of an ardent nature, especially when it is seared by disappointment and misfortune, and when in calmer moments "reverence for the keys," and profound respect for the sacred person, as well as for the exalted office of those who ruled the Church, unfailingly reasserted themselves. The defects were small, indeed, when compared with the lasting and magnificent services which Dante rendered to the faith as well as to the literature of his native land; yet there were writers who sought in their hostility to the Church to magnify these accidental details, and to pass them off as the substance of Dante's lesson to the world.

Against such a course it was the natural duty of the Jesuits to react, and that duty they performed. Individuals amongst them may in their zeal have outstepped what justice fairly warranted; but when the meaning of the poet was being distorted by hostile critics, and when by unscrupulous devices the whole drift of his work was being falsified and misinterpreted, the Jesuit writers of those days warmly repudiated such methods, and their zeal for the interests of truth has sometimes been mistaken for enmity to the poet.

And when this much is said, we may readily admit that the later *renaissance* went far to spoil the taste even of the very best writers. That strength of thought which is to be found in all works of genius gave way to sickly efforts after form and grace, and Italian poetry gradually dwindled into empty and superficial counterfeit, till Alfieri and Monti restored somewhat of its primal vigour. Excellent critic and most learned historian though Tiraboschi was, he did not escape the general contagion; but his adverse comments on Dante show that he had neither time to make a careful study of the poet, nor the turn of mind to realize the beauties of his works. Indeed, with the exception of Voltaire, there is no critic of importance more severe on the *Divina Commedia*,

and there is no historian of Italian literature more unjust towards the founder of that literature itself. It arose from a false taste, and from a want of acquaintance with the deep sense that was often wound up in Dante's words and combinations of character; but that Tiraboschi, as a Jesuit, lent himself to any preconceived design, or that for considerations foreign to literature he conspired to leave Dante in the shade, no one who knows the transparent honesty of the man, and the independent spirit manifested in every page of his great work, could for a moment believe. He simply misunderstood his greatest author, and his treatment of the unrivalled poet is the most serious blemish in his work.

In England, however, the causes of Dante's ostracism were very different. There a tide of unwonted bigotry had swept before it everything that could impress on the public mind the fundamental dogmas of Catholicism. A false and misleading phantom of "the dark ages" was conjured up to frighten the ignorant, and to help in the unholy task of manufacturing prejudice. It was but natural, in such circumstances, that the great monuments of mediæval civilization which were a standing contradiction to the charges that were made should have been condemned to obloquy or kept out of sight. This was specially true of the *Divina Commedia*, which was in itself, as it were, a very synthesis of the social and political life, of the vast learning, the culture, the taste, and above all, of the faith—Catholic and Roman—of the great era in which it was written. It was only towards the close of last century that the country began to realize how guilty itself had been of the narrow and tyrannical spirit which, in the name of liberty, had trampled liberty under foot, and the character of which it had sought to fix upon Catholicism as a brand of permanent disgrace. With the advance of a new and more enlightened spirit a fresh interest was quickly awakened in the works of the great Catholic poet, and that interest has since gone on apace, till in the present century we have had no less than seventy different works on Dante published in England, some of them translations of the great poet's writings, some of them critical and appreciative essays. They are almost without exception the works of Protestants.

Father Bowden's recent translation of Mgr. Hettinger's admirable work on Dante, is the only one, as far as we are aware, that has come from a professedly Catholic pen.

The translation that has had most success¹ is undoubtedly that of H. F. Cary, published in the early part of the century, which was welcomed with delight by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and of which Lord Macaulay wrote: "It is difficult to determine whether the author deserves most praise for his intimacy with the language of Dante, or his extraordinary mastery over his own." It is written in Miltonian blank verse, and in form is as unlike the harmonious Italian *terza rima* as it well could be. Yet Cary succeeded unquestionably in catching the true spirit of his author, and in rendering the most delicate turns of thought and the most idiomatic expressions into free and dignified English. For many passages, however, we much prefer Dean Plumptre's translation, which has appeared within the last few years, or that of Haselfoot, which is also quite new. They are, in many respects, pleasanter to read than Cary's, but it would be vain to seek in any of them the most striking characteristics of the prototype. Up to the present all English translators have failed to transfuse anything of the colour, form, and measure of the original into their English version, without having frequent recourse to forced, and sometimes to antiquated and even obsolete, expressions.

The metrical translations of Wright and Longfellow are also much appreciated; but these writers had not a sufficiently accurate knowledge of that scholastic philosophy of which Dante had so firm a hold, and consequently failed to make some of his deepest thoughts intelligible in their English dress. The minor works of Dante, the *Vita Nuova*, the *De Monarchia*, the *Convito*, have also been translated by Sir Theodore Martin, the Rosettis, and Mr. Charles Lyell.

Of prose writers, the one who has given the greatest impulse to the revival of Dante in England is Dr. R. W.

¹ The first translation of the whole *Commedia* that appeared in the English language was written by the Rev. Henry Boyd, Protestant Curate of Tullamore, King's County. It was published in 1785.

Church, Dean of St. Paul's, an accomplished scholar, and a man who rose high above the narrow prejudices with which the writings of the poet had hitherto been treated.¹

“The *Divina Commedia* [he wrote in 1850] is one of the landmarks of history. More than a magnificent poem, more than the beginning of a language and the opening of a national literature, more than the inspirer of art, and the glory of a great people, it is one of those rare and solemn monuments of the mind's power which rise up ineffaceably and for ever as time goes on, marking out its advance by grander divisions than its centuries, and adopted as epochs by the consent of all who come after. It stands with the *Iliad* and Shakespeare's plays, with the writings of Aristotle and Plato, with the *Novum Organum* and the *Principia*, with Justinian's Code, with the Parthenon and St. Peter's. It is the first Christian poem, and it opens European literature as the *Iliad* did that of Greece and Rome. And, like the *Iliad*, it has never become out of date. It accompanies in undiminished freshness the literature which it begun.”

Two other names may be mentioned as amongst those who chiefly laboured in England to gain for the works of Dante their fitting place among the classics of the world. For many years Mr. H. C. Barlow kept the readers of *The Athenæum* astonished at the wonders and richness of the *Divina Commedia*, and got established in the London University the Lectureship which still bears his name, whilst Lord Vernon devoted his purse as well as his pen to the task of popularizing the poet and making him better understood. With so many works devoted exclusively to Dante himself, it is no wonder that we should find a better knowledge and appreciation of him in the general literature of England. Most of the great writers not only read the *Divina Commedia*, but recorded their impressions of it and of its author in some shape or other. One of the most interesting estimates, and a truly characteristic one, is that of Thomas Carlyle :—²

“A true inward symmetry [he wrote], what one calls an architectural harmony, reigns throughout *The Divine Comedy*, proportionates it all. The three kingdoms, *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*,

¹ *Dante and other Essays*. London : Macmillan, Page 1.

² *Lectures on Heroes*.

Paradiso, look out on one another like compartments of a great edifice; a great, supernatural world-cathedral, piled up there, stern, solemn, awful—Dante's world of souls! It is at bottom the sincerest of all poems. It came out of the author's heart of hearts; and it goes deep, and through long generations, into ours. No work known to me is so elaborated as this of Dante's. Every compartment of it is worked out with intense earnestness, into truth, into clear visuality. Each answers to the other; each fits into its place like a marble stone accurately hewn and polished. It is the soul of Dante, and in this the soul of the middle ages rendered for ever rhythmically visible there. No light task: a right intense one; but a task which is done.

“What a paltry notion is that of his *Divine Comedy's* being a poor, splenetic, impotent terrestrial libel; putting those into hell whom he could not be avenged of on earth! I suppose if ever pity, tender as a mother's, was in the heart of man, it was in Dante's. But a man who does not know rigour, cannot pity either. His very pity will be cowardly, egoistic sentimentality, or little better.

“Morally great, above all, we must call him. His scorn, his grief, are as transcendent as his love. *A Dio spiacenti ed a nemici sui*. ‘Hateful to God and to the enemies of God’: lofty scorn, unappeasable, silent reprobation and aversion. *Non ragionam di lor*. ‘We will not speak of them; but look and pass.’ Or think of this, ‘They have not the hope to die.’ *Non hanno speranza di morte*. One day it had risen sternly benign on the scathed heart of Dante that he, wretched, never-resting, worn as he was, would full surely die; ‘that destiny itself could not doom him not to die.’ Such words are in this man. For rigour, earnestness and depth, he is not to be paralleled in the modern world. To seek his parallel we must go into the Hebrew Bible, and live with the antique prophets there.

“I do not agree with much modern criticism in greatly preferring the *Inferno* to the two other parts of the *Divina Commedia*. Such preference belongs, I imagine, to our general Byronism of taste. The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, especially the former, one would almost say, is more excellent than it. It is a noble thing, that *Purgatorio*, ‘Mountain of Purification,’ an emblem of the noblest conception of that age. If sin is so fatal, and hell is and must be so rigorous and awful, yet in repentance, too, is man purified. Repentance is the grand Christian act. It is beautiful how Dante works it out. The *tremolar della marina*, that trembling of the ocean waves, under the first pure gleam of morning, dawning afar on the wandering Two, is as the type of an altered mood. Hope has now dawned; never-dying hope, if in company still with heavy sorrow. The obscure sojourn of demons and reprobates is under foot. A soft breathing of penitence mounts higher and higher to the throne of Mercy itself.”

It was that same intense and earnest character of the author and his works, to which Carlyle alludes, that most vividly impressed itself on the mind of Lord Tennyson :

“ The poet in a golden clime was born,
 With golden stars above ;
Dowered with the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn,
 The love of love.”

But the most formal tribute paid by the graceful Laureate to the great Italian was written at the request of the Florentines, on the occasion of the Centenary Festival, in 1865 :

“ King that hast reigned six hundred years, and grown
In power, and ever growest ! since thine own
Fair Florence, honouring thy nativity—
Florence, now the crown of Italy—
Hath sought the tribute of a verse from me,
I, wearing but the garland of a day,
Cast at thy feet one flower that fades away.”

In the works of Byron, Macaulay and Browning, we find many traces of the same laudatory recognition. The influence which the poet exercises on a certain section of the Protestant clergy in England is little less than fascination. Milman¹ Keble² and Maurice,³ were not, in this respect, much behind Church and Plumptre. In another sphere, Julius Charles Hare and Mathew Arnold, are almost as loud in their praise as Rosmini or Manzoni.

It must also be said, to the credit of Englishmen, that, whilst their works are still by no means free from the old leaven of bigotry, yet they have left the ungracious, and moreover, rather unprofitable task of professedly exploiting the *Divina Commedia* for anti-Catholic purposes, to the Foscolos⁴ and the Rosettis,⁵ who, in their gushing gratitude for English hospitality, pandered to the old-time prejudice, by repeating charges that were long since exploded by Bellarmine and many of Dante's Italian biographers. Foscolo's character was certainly not such as to strengthen his views, or

¹ *History of Latin Christianity*, ix., page 88.

² *Praelectiones*, 678.

³ *Moral Philosophy*, 674.

⁴ *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xx.

⁵ *Lo Spirito Antipapale*, di Gabriele Rosetti, &c.

commend them by any personal virtue; and the Rosettis completely overshoot the mark when they tried to put upon the poet the stamp of Luther and of Wickliff.

In the wide range of Mr. Gladstone's literary studies, Dante and Homer have disputed the palm; and if the name of the great statesman has become more closely associated with the "sovereign poet of Greece," it must not be forgotten that, in conjunction with Lord Lyttleton, he has translated into English verse many passages of Dante's poems. In a letter addressed to Signor Giuliani, author of an Italian work on Dante, he also makes the acknowledgment:

"The reading of Dante is not merely a pleasure, a *tour de force*, or a lesson; it is a vigorous discipline for the heart, the intellect, the whole man. In the school of Dante I have learnt a great part of that mental provision (however insignificant it may be) which has served me to make the journey of life up to the term of nearly seventy-three years. And I should like to extend your excellent phrase, and to say, that he who labours for Dante, labours to serve Italy, Christianity, the world."¹

There is another writer who, though not an Englishman, holds a very high place in contemporary English literature—Mr. James Russell Lowell. He was so closely connected with these countries for years, and his works are so generally admired on this side of the Atlantic, that we may fairly be allowed to include him in our list:

"At the round table of King Arthur [he wrote] there was left always one seat vacant for him who should accomplish the adventure of the Holy Graal. It was called the 'perilous seat,' because of the dangers he must encounter who would win it. In the company of the epic poets there was a place left for whoever should embody the Christian idea of a triumphant life, outwardly all defeat, inwardly victorious—who should make us partakers of that cup of sorrow in which all are communicants with Christ. He who should do this, would, indeed, achieve the 'perilous seat;' for he must combine poesy with doctrine in such cunning wise that one lose not its beauty, nor the other its severity—and Dante has done it. . . . Milton's angels are not to be compared with Dante's, at once real and supernatural; and the Deity of Milton is a Calvinistic Zeus, while nothing in all

¹The *Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*, by E. H. Plumptre, Dean of Wells, vol. ii., page 459.

poetry approaches the imaginative grandeur of Dante's vision of God at the conclusion of the *Paradise*. In all literary history there is no such figure as Dante—no such homogeneousness of life and work, such loyalty to ideas, such sublime irrecognition of the unessential.”¹

We may close this paper with the testimony of Cardinal Manning, which was written to Fr. Bowden on the occasion of the publication of his recent work :

“ There are three books which always seem to me to form a triad of dogma, of poetry, and of devotion—the *Summa* of St. Thomas, the *Divina Commedia*, and the *Paradisus Animae*. All three contain the same outline of the faith ; St. Thomas traces it on the intellect ; Dante, upon the imagination ; and the *Paradisus Animae*, upon the heart. The poem unites the book of dogma and the book of devotion, and is, in itself, both dogma and devotion, clothed in conceptions of intensity and of beauty which have never been surpassed or equalled. No uninspired hand has ever written thoughts so high, in words so burning and so resplendent, as the last stanzas of the *Divina Commedia*. It was said of St. Thomas, ‘ Post Summam Thomae nihil restat nisi lumen gloriae.’ It may be said of Dante, ‘ Post Dantis Paradisum nihil restat nisi visio Dei.’ ”

It will thus be seen that Dante's fame is no longer obscured in England. True greatness must ever overcome the pettiness of men. “ *Lascia dir le genti* ” said the poet in his time : “ Let people speak away.” When they have done, the truth shall remain still before them, and to ignore it they must shut their eyes. It is not long since an Englishman, prominent in public life, said, when speaking of one who was then his trusted leader, “ that there are some men whose greatness can only be fully embraced when we view them from a distance. They are like those great mountains whose beauty, to be realized in their perfect outline and impressiveness, must be contemplated from afar.” Much truer is this of Dante than of any living man. There is no Englishman so proud as must not do honour to his genius. Not domestic troubles, nor civil broils, nor the betrayal of friends, nor banishment from the land he so passionately loved, could break the energy of that great

¹ *Among my Books*, page 38.

And to those who in England aspire after a higher life—and they are not few—what words could be more captivating than those which stirred the settled and equal soul of Bellarmine, which Manzoni and Balbo, and Gioberti were accustomed to repeat with reverence, which Ozanam,¹ Montalembert, and even the bitter anti-Catholic Ginguéné² could find no language to extol, which James Russell Lowell regards as the climax of all poetry, and which Cardinal Franzelin has inserted in his treatise on the Blessed Trinity?³

“ Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
Dell' alto lume parvemi tre giri
Di tre colori e d'una continenza.
E l'un dall'altro come Iri da Iri
Pareo riflesso e il terzo pareo fuoco
Che quinci e quindi egualmente si spiri.
O luce eterna che sola in te sidi,
Sola t'intendi, e da te intelletta
Ed intendente te ami ed arridi !

À quella luce cotal si diventa
Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
E impossibil che mai si consente.
Perocchè il ben ch'è del volere obbietto
Tutto s'accoglie in lei e fuor di quella
E difettivo ciò ch'è lì perfetto.”

This is the true notion of God, of His essence, of His internal, intimate existence, such as He deigns to discover Himself to us in the inspired words of the Old and New Testament, and such as we may contemplate Him in this life, with the eyes of faith, through the veil of revelation and philosophy.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ *Dante et la Philosophie Catholique au Treizieme siècle*, 305.

² *Histoire Littéraire d'Italie*, vol. ii., ch. x., page 248.

³ *De Deo Trimo*, page 318.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.

TRUTH THE EQUATION OF THE DIVINE OBJECT OF FAITH WITH ITS HUMAN SUBJECT:—I. THE HIGHEST RELATION BETWEEN THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT, OR DIVINE KNOWLEDGE. II. THE LOWEST RELATION BETWEEN THE SAME, OR HUMAN IGNORANCE.

THE position in the Anglican Communion of one who lives under the influence of doubt in religious matters, is a position which, both logically and from a Catholic standpoint, it is difficult to defend—even if it may not be pronounced to be indefensible. The difficulty, if we adopt at first the more lenient judgment only, is due, in part, to the posture in which an adult Anglican, after suitable consideration, voluntarily places himself, or deliberately permits himself to remain. It is due in part, also, to the posture into which, not alone with his own consent, he is forced by the exigencies of the unique conditions an Anglican fulfils towards doubt, on the one hand, and on the other towards its co-relatives, knowledge and ignorance. But, the difficulty is due, to a wider extent and in a larger degree, to the attitude assumed by the Established Religion, as an organized body, in regard to the same intellectual relationships, whether by corporate action or by authorized document. In the following pages, an effort will be made to inquire into the diagnosis of religious doubt in the abstract, and in the strict sense of the term; and, also, to annotate some peculiarities of this mental condition as exhibited in the Anglican Church. This will involve the discussion of certain symptoms which owe their origin to the cultivation of religious doubt, and to some results which flow from making doubt a principle of action—a principle which practically hinders members of the Anglican body from accepting revealed Truth simply upon Catholic grounds.

The range and incidence of the above brief estimate are obvious, at first sight and in general terms, whether Anglican doubt be weighed in the balance of theology or of history.

From an historical view of the question, the statements already made are undeniable when the novelty in the religion of Christendom of the so-called "principles of the Reformation" are remembered. After fifteen centuries of the Church's undeviating teaching upon divine authority, these principles first of all, in any recognised Christian community, formally acknowledged and practically utilized the novel human element of doubt. Neither are these statements more easy to contest, when we recall to mind one of the main notes of the Establishment, considered as a *quasi*-ecclesiastical organization. Perhaps, the note of Protestantism which most inexorably severs the Anglican body from the Catholic Church, is the one which it employs in its own behalf, and both permits and encourages, if it does not enforce, amongst its adherents. Both in its formularies and in its daily life, the Establishment confers on its members the right, and almost the obligation—if an old, expressive phrase may be used—of exercising private judgment in religion. And in the exercise of private judgment, by one who is neither omniscient nor inspired, consists the essence of the principle of what we term doubt in religion.

From a theological view, also, the exactitude of the statement that doubt—in the sense of the word which will presently be explained—is the normal position of Anglicanism in regard to truth, is demonstrable from two propositions. The first is this: that external to, and apart from, all questions of individuality or free-will, nothing is of positive obligation to man, either to believe or to do in religion, which is not imposed, mediately or directly, by divine authority. This proposition is almost axiomatic, both in dogma and in ethics. For, what earthly or created power exists, or is conceivable as existing, which, of its own inception, can constitute a spiritual infallible authority to teach or to guide mankind in matters of creed, or to bind or to loose in questions of morals? Whilst, if a power exists which claims such authority without possessing it, then, doubt in matters of faith and good works is not so much lawful to the subject of the imposed obedience, as it is inevitable. And the second proposition is hardly less elementary, if it be

allowed to state in brief, what can be shown at length—that heresy, or private opinion in belief, and schism, or private opinion in action, are in-existent as evidences of theological error, or as proofs of spiritual rebellion, saving against the decrees of an uncreated and supernatural power. For, what human reason may propose for belief, and what human reason may formulate as duty, the opinion and the reason of man may always justifiably criticize, and sometimes may justifiably reject. The Anglican body, however, in its official documents, as well as by its official acts, both explicitly and implicitly disclaims the sanctions of an authority which is divine. It remains, therefore, a matter for lawful individual decision, whether or not any given member of the State-created creed in England shall live, and move, and have his being in an atmosphere of doubt. Or, to speak with more exactitude, it is hard, if it be not impossible, for a Protestant churchman, who is honest to his conscience and loyal to his position, within the almost limitless bounds of belief in his own communion, to exist in a mental condition which is not one of doubt. It is quite impossible for him to evolve a condition of moral certitude in belief, or to accept the demands of intellectual certitude in morals. Such a deterioration amongst Protestant Episcopalians from the purity of the faith once delivered to the saints—such a declension in principle from the standard of historical and traditional Christianity—it is no exaggeration of language to describe as more than unparalleled, and to call indefensible. Certainly, the records of the primitive ages, or of the first four or first six centuries to which Anglicans nominally defer, present nothing, either in creed or in morals, which is comparable to the rampant *anomia* now dominating the Established Church of England—*anomia* which is born of doubt.

Before proceeding further, it is necessary, as a preliminary step, and if only superficially, to examine the relations which subsist between truth—meaning thereby, religious truth—and the assurance of faith in a divine revelation to man. To do less than this, would be to offer the topic for thought—the ethics of Anglican doubt—in a manner unworthy of

its requirements, as a question of some theoretical interest, and of much practical importance. To attempt to do more than this were inexpedient, as tending to hide the main purport of the present inquiry, which is not merely academical; and, it may be added, were unwise, as lying beyond the powers of the inquirer.

Religious truth, in general terms, may be justly compared with, if not formally defined as, the equation of the divine object of faith with its human subject. It is the conformity of the supernatural in belief, and of the unseen but believable, with the finite and reasonable intelligence of man. This comparison, though well-known to students, has not been hitherto employed, so far as the present writer is aware, as a criterion of the claims, or as a test of the assertions, of Anglicanism. The reality, however, of the definition will be perceived, and even emphasized, when its opposite is estimated in faith or in morals. For, where there exists an absence of conformity, or where there is no equation between the object and subject, the relations must be at least twofold. And the resulting positions vary accordingly, as the fact, if not the fault, of non-conformity or disparity may be found on either side of the insoluble equation.

First, the object proposed for belief may either fall short, or it may be in excess, of absolute truth. Secondly, the intellect of man may either accept what is proposed for belief too readily, or may disbelieve it too arbitrarily. In the former case, that which passes for, but is not, true religion, has been degraded or exaggerated, and may be mere superstition. In the latter case, man is prejudiced and bigoted; or, on the other hand, he may be hypercritical or infidel. When, however, there is exact harmony in the equation, divine and human—when there is equipoise between the revealed will of God and the supernaturalized mind of man—there lies religious truth absolutely. Such conformity presupposes, of course, two conditions. These conditions are—(1) the enunciation of truth which is infallible; and (2) the reception of truth in a temper which, in the language of Scripture, is child-like. For, where the teaching of opinion is based upon human responsibility only, there cannot pos-

sibly be, and where the reception of human opinion is based upon argumentative persuasion, there can hardly be, such an equation or conformity as is above described. This balance, however, when it exists, obtains, with each of the three divisions of Catholic and infallible truth, the historical facts of Christianity, the sacred mysteries of the Faith, and the dogmas of the Church. Nor is the balance disturbed by the Church's authoritative declarations upon questions of Catholic morality.

This is a point which must be noted in any discussion to be made on the moralities of Anglican doubt. And it is a point which must be carefully noted. For, it is a matter of notoriety which can be experimentally proved, that in the case probably of no two members of the Episcopalian body, clergy or laity, chosen at hap-hazard, and certainly in the case of no two out of the three hostile schools of thought which together express the Anglican idea of unity, can such superhuman equation or conformity be discovered. This statement need hardly exclude any but the most elementary doctrines and practices of religion, apart from which none can rightly claim the generic title of Christian. Indeed, even these latter elements of truth are received by Protestants, so far as they are valid, on the wrong ground. They are accepted as opinions only—as opinions argumentatively true, indeed, in themselves; but not as being dogmas of infallible faith which stand beyond the range of human controversy, and which are to be credited simply upon the divine authority which imposes them. Whilst, in the doctrines and practices of the Anglican Church which differentiate Protestant opinion from Catholic faith, no superhuman conformity or equation is so much as dreamed of. A doctrine in faith, or a theory in morals, pronounced to be true by any one school of thought in the Establishment, declared to be false by a second school, and is said to be problematical by the third. A sacrament of grace, as they are wont to affirm, is preached as of absolute necessity to salvation by sympathisers with one school, is denounced as soul-destroying by those of another, and is conceived as a matter of profound indifference, whether it be employed or

not, by those of the last. Each Anglican party in turn asserts the authority, however shadowy it may be, of the Established Religion for its affirmation, for its denial, for its carelessness of the dogma or duty. Each individual Anglican assumes the sanction of the spiritual foster-mother of all non-Catholic Englishmen, for his approval of, for his disapproval of, or for his indifference to, Christian duty or dogma. And each individual section, and each personal unit, in turn, claims such authority with equal consistency, be it much or be it little. For, is not the State Church in this land composed only by the union and communion of these obviously antagonistic and co-destructive schools of thought? Is not Episcopalian Protestantism almost the only common factor which binds together the mutually jealous and heterogenous sects which are content to dwell, and are severally permitted by law to dwell, within the all-embracing arms of the Established Church of England?

St. Augustine has pointed out—what every student will readily admit—that there exist three relations between the finite intellect of man and supernatural truth. Each of these three relations intimately affects the question of equipoise between the two sides of an equation of truth. They may be described in the like number of words—knowledge, ignorance, and doubt. These relations may be considered in the order in which they have been named.

I. The first and highest relation, or conformity between the divine object and the human subject, is that of perfect knowledge. Here, the human intellect is pervaded by the light of revelation, and is informed by the mental possession of the facts, of the mysteries and of the dogmas of true religion. How this perfect knowledge may be acquired, or in any given case has been acquired, is not now and here under discussion. In all probability, and at the present day, if the knowledge be acquired, it was either inspired into a Catholic subject of it, who was not born in the true fold, or was instilled after he had painfully passed through one, if not through both of the other relations between the intellect and truth—namely, ignorance and doubt. Under any conditions, if the gift has not been inherited, and has not been

implanted in youth, knowledge based upon authority, as a fact, and in a certain way, has been attained. And here there is found to be an equation between the object of faith and the mind of man. A question then arises: May this equation be justly predicated, either abstractedly of the belief or in the concrete in the case of any individual soul in connection with the Anglican communion? In other words, does the Church of England possess, and if it possesses, does the Establishment impart to its members, perfect religious knowledge? Does this human creation, of whose birth our fathers have told us, whose career we have witnessed and are witnessing, of whose obvious decay we yearly expect the closing scenes—does the Church of England impart such knowledge in such a manner that its members arrive at the highest of the above-named relations—namely, at divine certitude? Clearly not. It does not claim such possession of truth. It does not claim such power of imparting truth. Does the Church of England, then, exercise the power of which it fails to claim the possession, or rather, which it paradoxically, yet with honesty, disclaims to possess? Apart from the antecedent impossibility of realizing this moral quibble, the last proposition can be truly affirmed neither by those within nor by those without that legalized body. Of course, those who stand without Anglicanism cannot affirm it; or, to be logically consistent, they would not remain without, but would seek to enter within its facile confines. And those who live within its obedience cannot affirm it; for they can definitely point to no standard, or rule, or canon; they can name no person, persons, or body of persons, which can guide into assurance one soul who earnestly and in all simplicity seeks a solution of the problem on which hereafter so largely depends. There is literally no authority, dead or living; there is no authority, past or present, or even rationally prospective in some golden age of Protestant Anglicanism, to which appeal can be made—always excepting two which shall be duly named, in order to cover all possible objections; and being named, may be neglected.

The first of these appeals supposed to be possible to

Anglicans, is an appeal to a General Council of the future. But, this is out of the question upon any principle, whether Catholic or Protestant. A general council of Protestants, if not a contradiction in term, is a contradiction of ideas. A general council of Protestants *cum* Catholics is not only a contradiction in terms, but is an Anglican chimera, comparable only to the idea which some have entertained of a High Mass at St. Paul's Cathedral, with the Archbishop of Canterbury as celebrant, with the representatives of Rome and of Constantinople as assistant ministers, and with Christendom for a congregation. Whilst upon Catholic principles, the appeal itself, the *ignis fatuus* of the puzzled Episcopalian controversialist, is a condemned proposition to the faithful; and, even were it permissible, is one in which the appellants could indirectly participate only when he had ceased to be an Anglican clergyman and had humbly subsided into a Catholic layman; in effect, when he had ceased to be the appellant.

The other imaginary Anglican appeal is to the authority of private judgment. This appeal is more real and more practical, if not more defensible, and takes two forms. It is made either to the dead letter of printed documents, disputable Acts of Parliament or other, of ten or twelve generations ago. Or, it is made to individual voices of antiquity, once distinct, and always when in conjunction authoritative; but now isolated, inarticulate, or treated as oracular—voices which have been silenced for some sixteen or eighteen centuries, and which it is the pretension of Protestants in the nineteenth era that they can galvanize into a semblance of renewed vitality. Moreover, in the latter case of exception—that of private judgment—there exists avowedly no acknowledged and responsible head who can decide authoritatively between conflicting opinions, upon the important question, "What is truth?" It is patent to all who read their newspapers, that the Episcopalian body is to-day almost rent in twain, if not sundered into three parts, for the lack of a genuinely spiritual Court of Final Appeal. The Church of England has, indeed, shuffled on, so to say, for more than three centuries bereft of this essential element of

Catholic organization. But, none can say that it has thus vegetated without serious detriment to its spiritual condition. Neither can those who are the victims of doubt logically fall back on the decisions of the temporal power. For, the very last thing which the temporality, *i.e.* English statute law, pretends even to decide for those Anglicans who approach its tribunals, is the abstract truth or the positive falsehood of controversial questions. For this it possesses neither mission nor mandate from either the State or the Church of England. The utmost which the temporal power presumes to decide—though it here decides with no faltering voice—is upon the principles and practices, from a legal and statutable basis, of the “Protestant Reformed Religion, as by law established in this realm.” And it is not amiss to remind members of the Establishment, who play with such terms as Anglo-Catholicism and even pretend to monopolize the word “Catholic,” what is the precise name by which in one of its sacred offices the Church of England wills itself to be called. The Protestant Reformed Religion is the religion which its “Supreme Head,” the Crown, with or without any saving clause, swears, at its coronation and at the dictation of its spiritual chief, the Primate of All England, to “the utmost of [its] power to uphold.”

II. The second relation between divine truth and the human intellect, is one of complete ignorance. This relation exists when the mind of man, in matters of religious faith, is void and empty and blank. Here, there is an absence of all divine knowledge, and the supernatural balance is completely destroyed.

Now, the debatable question of knowledge or ignorance in religious faith, depends largely upon the definition by which we are guided, and by the tests we decide to apply to the position which we desire to estimate. Let us attempt to criticize the present-day aspect of England, and to apply to it, as a test, the comparison or definition of equation—between faith and reason—with which this discussion opened. In this case, we shall be forced to include the English-speaking nation as a whole, but from no fault of theirs, amongst those who are practically in a state of religious ignorance.

As Catholics, appealing to Anglicans, we need not hesitate to attach, nor feel Pharisaical or self-centred in attaching, this sweeping sentence to a very perceptible percentage of the Anglo-Saxon people. So far as the Church of England stands in the position of an Ecclesiastical corporation—and so far as Acts of Parliament can confer this status, the Establishment does occupy it—that legal corporation is bound to take a similar view. If the Establishment be capable of expressing a corporate opinion on this matter, it must, on the like grounds, relegate to the same intellectual position of ignorance in regard to faith, at least one-half, if not two-thirds, of the existing population of this materially highly favoured kingdom. Such a proportion elect to remain outside the pale of the spiritual ministrations of the existing Church of England. Indeed, the truth lies, probably, far beyond the range of this modest calculation of numbers. It is believed to be a statistical fact, that the State Religion has lost a vast majority even of her nominal members. If this be so, and from their point of view, the Anglican body, when it develops the organ of speech, can attribute the possession of religious knowledge only to the proportionately smaller minority of its actually professing members. A more apposite instance of acknowledged ignorance could hardly be admitted by those Protestants who may not be disposed to accept as unquestionable the Catholic test of equation above formulated. The illustration, however, may be adopted. Indeed, we must ask leave to extend its range, so as to include an even larger and wider scope. This comparison is not made with any intention of needlessly magnifying the unhappy differences which, from the sectarian foundation upwards, sever Protestant England from Catholic truth. It is offered as a preliminary statement only to a fresh departure in the inquiry into the moralities of Anglican doubt. For, it is helpful towards obtaining an insight into the solution of the problem—partly philosophic and partly religious—to be able to measure the length, and to sound the depth of one cause, at least, of such a condition of doubt. Who then, or what it may be asked, is responsible for these exceptional relations between truth and knowledge in a still nominally, though,

as English churchmen and clergymen candidly own, to a great extent unbaptized country? It will be our endeavour to indicate where an answer may be found to this inquiry.

To effect this, with any chance of success, an effort must be made to estimate the real character of the Anglican Establishment by some of its more obvious and undeniable results. The following represents one aspect which England, the main home of Established Protestantism at the present day, presents towards the amount of divine truth for which the nation is still responsible before God. The State Religion has lived in almost unrivalled ownership of the old ecclesiastical position in England for three and a-half centuries. During this period, and within this area, it has usurped the dignities, it has mal-administered the revenues, it has misappropriated the buildings, and it has at once adopted and adapted the usages and rites of the Catholic Church. It has, moreover, presumed to claim the exercise of supreme and nearly unchallenged spiritual authority, so far as births, deaths, and marriages and the like are concerned, over every soul created within the four British seas. It has been supported politically, socially, and religiously, by the use of the most effectual forms of tyranny, by the enactment of the most vexatious prohibitions of hostile legislation, by the enforcement of the cruellest of penal penalties against the faith of its recent ancestors. It has been made dominant in the English nation, and has ruthlessly domineered over the English people—Nonconformist and Catholic alike—under the guise of a religion established by law. And out of many results that might be quoted of Parliamentary "protection" of what may not unfittingly be termed the "home industries" of a national, insular, and self-made religion, three offer themselves as suitable subjects for further criticism.

The first result of Anglican religious supremacy, which strikes an impartial observer, is this: by far the larger portion of the English people, at the present moment, have been absolutely, and to all human foresight irrevocably, lost to the State-created, law-protected religion. Probably, two-thirds of the population of to-day have, both in theory and in practice combined, utterly repudiated the faith, morals, and

worship of the Church of England. Certainly upwards of two-thirds have ostentatiously severed themselves and their families from its membership—if their practice alone may be taken as a guide, whether such practices be of a non-conforming, or of an individualizing, or of an agnostic character. Probably, almost certainly, not one-third part of the extant population of our eight or nine and twenty millions are genuine, practical, and consistent members of the Protestant Episcopal body. In the agricultural districts, indeed, the proportion may be a little larger than one-third. For, Anglicanism appeals to the sentiments of the upper ten thousand, and to the material interests of their more immediate dependents amongst the lowest and least educated rural population. But, in districts where the local magnates are not hereditary and broad-acred, though they be the untitled aristocracy, where the toiling masses are less dependent upon the leisured classes, the ratio is more extreme. In the great centres of industry and skill, of mechanical labour, of self-taught knowledge of a higher sort, of intelligence and thought, the proportion is less than that small faction named. Whilst, if we take trustworthy and ascertained figures to help us to realize the actual extent to which the English communion has failed to respond to her great national responsibilities and duties, in a certain direction, the results are still more remarkable, and to Church-people must be almost appalling.

For instance: the accommodation which the Establishment offers to her children for common-prayer—once on one day in seven—forms no exacting or unfair test of the reality of one side of its missionary efforts on behalf of Christianity in this God-forgetting—it had almost been said God-forgotten—land. And in considering the figures to be quoted, it must not be overlooked, that a difference exists between the employment of the like accommodation in Protestant and in Catholic churches respectively. As a rule, the average religious Protestant says his prayers in public once, one day in the week—preferably at the close of the Lord's day. As a rule, each seat in every Catholic Church in town districts, or the majority of seats in most churches, are used over and over

again on all days of obligation, and on some days of devotion, and are used to a wide extent on every day of the week, all the year round, both early and late. This being premised, the statistics of Anglicanism may be quoted. They are as follows: in ten large manufacturing towns that could be named, with a population in each case of more than 100,000, the aggregate number of souls amounts to not less than 2,000,000. The privileged Church, which undertakes by Act of Parliament to serve the English nation, provides but a single sitting, in round numbers, for every ten units of this section of the people. Whilst the average attendance at divine worship of the mighty nation which still legally supports and subsidizes Anglicanism, with more lavishness than is granted to any other established religion in the world, is probably not higher than one soul in every twenty within the same area. In London and its huge "province covered with houses," with a population bordering on 4,000,000 according to a non-official record taken a few years ago, the numbers are not very different, except that the accommodation shows a larger percentage, and the attendance shows a lower percentage of the teeming metropolitan population. This, in brief outline, is one element in the argument on the moralities of Anglican doubt, and on some of its more obvious, if not its more necessary, results.¹

The second result of Anglican supremacy may be held to be almost a natural outcome of the first. If this consequence

¹ Since the above was written, an article has appeared in a ritualistic paper of June 6th, from which the following extract is *a propos*. Lately has been published a Parliamentary Blue Book on Free Seats in the churches of the Establishment. In a review of the statistics provided by Parliament, the writer of the leading article says:—"In the case of 180 churches, the return seems to show that there are no free seats whatever. We have added up the population of the districts served by these churches. They amount to 214,538; the seats provided being 45,748, or about one for every five persons. For the remaining 168,790, no provision has been made by the Church of England. They are evidently considered outside the pale of her ministrations or mission." (*Church Times*.) Such is a record of the absolute absence of provision for the wants of its people by the richest Church in Christendom in 180 of its parishes. What may its deficiencies be in thousands of other parishes, where no pretence is made to meet the needs of the masses, may be imagined. A study of this Blue Book would, probably, repay the inquirer.

be disputed, the result must be credited to a supernatural provision of Providence for preserving the mere rudimentary fragments of a common Christianity, the secondary worship of Almighty God, and the requirements of informal, un-systematic and untaught morality, in Protestant England. Such provision was the more necessary for three main reasons. First, because it was made on behalf of a nation which, though as Catholic was renowned the wide world over for its faith and piety, yet, as Protestant, quickly degenerates into a state of ignoring, of oblivion, or of denial of its belief and of rejecting the consequent liabilities towards belief. Next, because the Protestant form of belief, unlike any other known form in the higher types of religion, is simply a permissive religion: it is in no sense a religion of obligations. It allows everything—of course, with exception, in the direction of Popery. It commands nothing—with scarcely an exception—in any direction whatever. Whether such a congeries of permissive enactments, in faith and in morals, at the least, if not in ritual, deserves the sacred name of our holy religion, is a moot point. But, the provision we shall consider is all the more providential, inasmuch as the Church of England fails to make public divine worship, even on one day out of the seven, in any sense of obligation to its members. Lastly: the provision to be named was made also—and this adds force to the argument—in opposition to the grievous neglect, past and present, of the official guardians of the highly-salaried and dignified clerical rulers and servants of the people. This result may be thus stated: that the Parliamentary religion at this date, is either the actual parent, or, as a corporate institution with a history of three hundred and fifty years, is the lineal progenitor of considerably more than two hundred distinct religious sects. Each sect, many of them deserving equally with the common parent from whom they trace their descent, the title of a Church, possesses its own government and laws, more or less codified and binding. Each sect can look back to its own past career, and look forward to its own ideal and future hopes. Each sect can indulge in its own form and manner, or in the absence of all formal restrictions, in public

prayer, and can enforce its own special and sectarian discipline and can administer its own peculiar spiritual rites and ordinances. Each Church, again—or, to speak more exactly, many of the Protestant Churches—have founded their own schools and colleges; have established their own orders and ministry; have built their own chapels; have bought land for their own cemeteries, and have surrounded themselves with all the accessories in brick and mortar, in real and funded property, not less than in persuasion of right and sentiment, which makes for a permanent, if not for a flourishing religious body in the nineteenth century. The large majority of these sectaries, as a matter of course, have arisen since the gradual, or since the entire repeal of the brutal and cruel penal laws, mainly levied against the adherents or converts to the old historical faith of England, which once and for long disgraced the Statute Book of this boasted land of liberty. The whole of these sectaries, without exception worthy of name, have had their origin since the revolt of Henry Tudor was perpetrated against the divinely-created centre of Christendom. This fact, which has been sometimes overlooked, and sometimes has been theoretically explained away, forms a second limb of this portion of the argument on the moralities of Anglican doubt.

A third result of the supremacy of the State Religion partakes more or less of an internal characteristic. The Church of England, as we have seen, has been outwardly reduced in numbers, from a body co-extensive in law with the entire national population, to a faint and feeble shadow of its former self. The Church of England has been forced to witness, in corporate and individual secessions from itself to more consistent developments of Protestantism, a two hundred-fold repetition of its own anti-Catholic parody of religious reformation and re-organization. The Church of England, as by law established, has now to be exhibited in the light of a house divided against itself. Retaining for the present—and, it may be hazarded, for the present and near future only—all the pomp and circumstance of an Establishment, it has gradually lost by its own idleness

and imbecility, or it has gradually been deprived by the temporal power which created it, of almost every patch and shred of real authority, influence and power. Indeed, in the late past, it has been less and less strongly supported, in every decade of years, by State enactment and by social respectability. For example, to glance only at some of the recent humiliations of the Church of England, as a spiritual body claiming the divine prerogatives of the one true Church. It has forfeited the primary, and to a large extent the secondary education, of English youth. Its ancient Universities have been, in modern parlance, unsectarianised. Its Church-rates have become voluntary offerings. Its system of tithe-paying, between owner and occupier, between natural causes of decline and human indisposition to pay, appear to be drifting away like the morning mist. Its religious buildings may be, and are, freely used as lecture halls, as music halls, and even for anti-Christian marriage by the hands of the clergy of the Establishment—namely, for the marriage of criminally-divorced couples. Its spiritual courts have been made formally—Anglicans themselves being the judges, as they ever were in essence—secular tribunals, created and administered solely by Act of Parliament. And the grim spectres of Disestablishment and Disendowment have now emerged into almost visible outline from the former obscurity of a dim and distant future. Meantime, cultured education, the higher ranks of intelligence, the busy middle-class, the skilled and independent artisan, and adult men of all orders, sorts and conditions, have silently or noisily, gradually but surely, withdrawn from outward communion with the State-created Creed. It is still supported—and even is supported with more and more lavish generosity—by the money, influence and patronage of the titled and of the wealthy few. Indeed, the great Anglican world seems determined that no efforts, at least no financial efforts, shall be spared to hide the hollowness of their parliamentary religious system. Yet, their wives, their children, their servants, their dependents worship more readily within the walls of Anglican temples, specially in towns, than do the pecuniary benefactors themselves of

Anglicanism. And if, in rural districts, the labouring poor of both sexes still evince a large amount of surprising long-suffering, forgetfulness of wrongs, and often of unrequited fidelity; yet, if credence may be placed in those who affirm that they know, and have good opportunities for knowing, the fidelity is of a sort that conceals a deep antagonism to the country parson, and the patience towards the squire or squireen, and their excellent unselfish woman-kind, is born of a keen sense of favours to come.¹

In the midst of all this external fictitious support and questionable unreal homage, however, the very life of the Establishment is being eaten away piecemeal with internal, far-gone corruption. The residue of the Church of England of the Reformation is, at this moment, self-severed into three absolutely contrary, irreconcilable and bitterly hostile sects, or schools of thought. These three sects or schools, not to speak of their numerous sub-varieties, as is well-known, are as diverse and distinct from one another as three several and independent religions. They differ at every conceivable point of divergence, from matters affecting the highest principles of faith, to those which concern the minutest and most insignificant details of common prayer. They each and all, and probably with textual justice, believe themselves to represent the legal Church of England, as represented in the letter of its double-faced, or three-sided official documents. Thus believing, each section of Anglicanism, in turn, does more, with logical minds, to damage the reputation of the Establishment and to lower its prestige than the attacks of open enemies. The more consistent members of each section of Protestant Episcopalians, were they frank, would gladly see, as they ought gladly to see, their communion thoroughly purged of the presence of the other two. But, on this point they are not frank; and some members of the extreme party of the right, who profess to respect

¹ The reader may care to be introduced to, or reminded of, a noteworthy, anonymous and short work of fiction, which enshrines much social truth touching the agricultural poor of England, their condition, trials and sentiments. It is called *The Life of Thomas Wanless, Peasant*. Manchester: Heywood, 1885.

authority, together with many of the left and centre, pretend to rejoice in this abnormal discord: whilst, the three schools combine only, and ought to combine only, with sincerity, when their common State Establishment, which equally upholds them all, with its untold privileges, with its endowments and edifices, with its spiritual assumptions, with its secular rank and dignity, is seriously menaced in its tenderest part by the foe from without, or by the traitor from within.

More need not be said at the present stage of the inquiry. Enough has been urged to warrant the plain enunciation of the following question, even when tempered with the qualification which precedes it. If only the bare outline be true of what has been above written of this second result of the official supremacy of Protestant Anglicanism, is it probable that the State-protected Religion is capable of counteracting that spiritual condition of the English people which we are engaged in considering? Can Anglican Episcopalians essay to cope with the second relation between divine truth and the human intellect, which is the topic of our present argument, and which we have ventured to call complete ignorance?

ORBY SHIPLEY.

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM—V.

OOSTACKER AND TERMONDE.

G HENT is said to surpass every other town in Belgium in the number of shrines of our Lady which it possesses; though the claim would hardly be allowed to pass unchallenged by Bruges or Brussels. Among the more celebrated of these shrines must be mentioned those of our Lady of Dolours, our Lady of Lede, our Lady of the Bank, our Lady of the Swallows, our Lady of Hal, our Lady of the Blind, and our Lady of the Voluntary Slaves; to which formerly might have been added another famous for miracles—that of our Lady of the Rays, or our Lady crowned with Stars. The

statue of our *Lady of the Bank* was, tradition tells us, found on the bank of the Scheldt, not far from the Abbey of St. Peter; a confraternity was founded, in connection with the Shrine, in 1321, and still exists. The devotion to our *Lady of Lede* took its rise at the end of the fourteenth century, when a statue, representing our Lady, bathed in tears, sitting leaning against the cross, and receiving the Body of our Lord, was sent from Cologne to Lede, a village not far off. The statue at Lede, which became the object of a celebrated pilgrimage, is known as our *Lady of the Sweet Passion of God*. The statue of our *Lady of the Voluntary Slaves* has been in Ghent from time immemorial; a confraternity was founded under this title in 1634, and enriched with indulgences by Urban VIII. and Innocent X. The devotion to our *Lady of the Swallows* dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. According to the legend, a flight of swallows were seen flying round and round an old oak near Ghent, and it was further noticed that they never left the tree by day or night. On examination an image of our Lady was found carefully hidden. A cultus sprang up, and miracles were not wanting to confirm it. The statue was solemnly transported to Ghent, and a chapel built for it; but in 1805 it was placed in the chapel of St. James's Hospital. A solemn octave, in honour of our Lady of the Swallows, begins every year on July 2nd. The oldest existing shrine is that of our *Lady of Dolours*, also known as *N. D. de l'arbre pleureur*, which represents our Lady holding the dead Body of our Lord. Indulgences were granted to all who should visit the oratory so early as 1313. A new chapel was built in 1771, by Gudeval Seiger, Abbot of St. Peter's; the miraculous statue being placed on a throne at the High Altar. Numerous *ex-voto* testify to the success with which the help of our Lady is invoked at this shrine, which till recent years was the most celebrated shrine in Ghent and its environs; but since 1874 that of our *Lady of Lourdes at Oostacker*, a hamlet about two miles from the city, has thrown all others into the shade.

This shrine is really situated in the hamlet of Sloten-driesch, a part of the commune of Oostacker, which was in former times a dependency of the Abbey of St. Bavon, whose

abbots exercised the power of life and death within its bounds. The people of this district have always been very devout to our Lady; whose suppressed feasts they keep with the old solemnity, and whose Rosary is generally said in common by each family.

The chief family of Sloodendriesch was for long that of the Baron de Plotho, but this ended with an heiress who married, in 1785, Eustace Marquis of Courtebourne. He died in 1845; leaving a son, Alphonsus, who married Mary, Countess of Nedonchel. She was left a widow in 1857. Madame de Courtebourne is as distinguished for the simplicity of her life as for her "profound and respectful attachment to the Catholic Faith," the ordinary characteristics of the *old* Catholic nobility of the continent.

In 1871 she had a grotto made in her park to contain an aquarium; and by a strange coincidence it was in or close to the spot in which her husband's uncle, Baron Francis de Plotho, a secular priest, had built himself a hermitage after failing in his endeavour to become a Trappist. She determined to place a statue of our Lady in the grotto, and, whilst she was hesitating which it should be of two or three in her possession, the parish priest of Oostacker happened to call and was told of her idea. A statue of our Lady of Lourdes was at once suggested by him. His suggestion was acted on, and the statue placed in the grotto. A custom sprang up of all who visited the aquarium saying an *Ave* before it; and after a time the parish priest was asked to bless the statue, which had become the chief object of visits to the grotto. On account of the known piety of its owner, the Bishop of Ghent gave the requisite authorisation, and St. Peter's day, 1873, was fixed for the ceremony. No one could have foreseen what this would lead to.

The people of the neighbourhood heard of what was about to take place and asked permission to assist at the function; this was granted, and some two thousand persons were present. The ceremony made a deep impression on those who assisted at it, and soon a further permission was asked for all who wished to do so, to be allowed to visit the

grotto during certain hours on Sundays and festivals. Once more the pious owner consented.

The first extraordinary cure, or miracle, using the term in the permitted sense, happened in February, 1874. After this pilgrims came from far and wide. Madame de Courtbourne asked permission from the Bishop of Ghent to build a small chapel near the grotto, and was astonished at his lordship's reply:—"It is not a chapel, Madame, but a church and a large church which must be built." She did not hesitate, but undertook to bear all the expense. The Bishop of Ghent laid the foundation-stone on May 22nd, 1875, and the church was consecrated on September 11th, 1877, by Monsignor, now Cardinal, Vannutelli, Nuncio to the Court of Brussels. The church was given to the Jesuits; one of the sons of the pious foundress had belonged to the Society, and had been rector of its school at Tournay.

Some idea of the popularity of Oostacker may be gathered from the statistics of the pilgrimages, from which the following facts are culled. On one day in May, 1875, twenty-five thousand *men* went together in pilgrimage from Ghent; in 1876 there were a hundred and fifty organised pilgrimages, in which more than sixteen thousand persons took part; in 1885 there were three hundred and sixty-five pilgrimages, with nearly fifty-one thousand pilgrims. No idea can be given of the enormous number of private pilgrimages.

The fame of Oostacker was enhanced, and the number of pilgrims greatly increased by an incident which occurred very early in the history of the shrine. Three impious undergraduates of the University of Ghent plotted together to deceive the people. They went to Oostacker, and one of them pretended to be blind. His two companions bathed his eyes with the water of the grotto and continued to ask him: "Can't you see yet?" At last they got for their answer: "I can see no longer." The unhappy youth had been struck blind, and was led away from the grotto in a state of helplessness.

It is time to describe the spot which in recent years has acted as a magnet for Flemish piety. The country is flat, and without beauty, and as unlike as possible to the beautiful

surroundings of the sanctuary of Lourdes. The Gothic church has a fine interior, though the outside leaves something to be desired. In its neighbourhood are a number of inns for the refreshment of pilgrims, most of which have pious names, as, for example, *Hôtel de Lourdes*, *Hôtel St. Joseph*. The grotto is a minute's walk from the church, and stands in a kind of garden, at the entrance to which is a notice-board, bearing the single word *Silence*. Round the edge of the garden are seven chapels, each of which contains very beautiful statuary, representing one of the Dolours of our Lady. Those who make the way of the Seven Dolours, in fact all men within the sacred enclosure, are bareheaded. The grotto itself is under a mound, and just outside the entrance is a basin containing the water, which at first used to have a little Lourdes water mixed with it every day. The inside is covered with *ex-votos*, among which crutches and candles figure largely. In addition to these there are several letters, written to thank our Lady for her help, which have been framed and hung round the grotto. Outside on the top of the mound there are three pyramidal structures, from which are suspended a great number of the little waxen representation of the various parts of the body constantly given in Belgium as *ex-votos*:—a leg, if a leg has been cured; an arm, for an arm; a head, for a head; and so on.

It may be gathered from what has been said that the number of extraordinary cures at Oostacker must have been very great; and so it has. Oostacker bids fair to rival its great prototype, Lourdes, in the number and the wonderful nature of its cures. One example must suffice. In 1874 Mrs. Nevejan, the wife of a medical man at Thourout, became blind, and was declared to be incurable by the most distinguished oculists in Belgium and Germany. Her case became complicated by other maladies, and at last she was not only confined to her bed, but in danger of death. She received the Holy Viaticum, and then wished to make a pilgrimage to Oostacker. Her husband at first refused to allow this, but at length consented, and she set out, accompanied by her little son, a child of six or seven, and four of her relatives. When they reached the

shrine, after a journey of two hours and a-half or three hours, the little boy threw himself before the statue, and kept repeating:—"Our Lady of Lourdes, give mamma back her sight." Every now and then he turned to his mother and said:—"Mamma, can't you see yet?" This went on for a long time, and the hour of departure had arrived without any result. For the last time the eyes were bathed with a handkerchief which had been dipped in the water of the grotto, and Mrs. Nevejan recovered her sight. The little fellow threw his arms round his mother's neck, and exclaimed:—"Oh, mamma, I am so happy, I have prayed so hard for your recovery!" The party set out, and in time reached Thourout, having been joined *en route* by Mr. Nevejan. All the bells in the town were ringing to greet her, the dean having received a telegram; and, on the arrival of the train, a large proportion of the inhabitants went to the church, where a *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving.

The miracles of Oostacker not only drew crowds of pilgrims to that favoured spot, but also gave a great impetus to the *cultus* of our Lady of Lourdes in Belgium. Altars and chapels were erected in her honour all over the country, and among other places may be mentioned Brussels (St. Gudule), Bruges (the Beguinage), Courtray, Antwerp, Mons, Liege, and Alost; and at some, at any rate, of these altars numerous *ex-votos* are to be seen. For a more detailed account of the pilgrimage to Oostacker our readers must be referred to the *Pèlerinage à N. D. Lourdes en Flandre*, by F. Denis, S.J. (Desclée & Co., Lille, 1886); and, especially for the earlier history, to *Lourdes en Flandre*, by the Rev. E. Scheerlinck (Ghent, 1876).

TERMONDE.

The town of Termonde, or Dendermonde, to give it its Flemish name, distant some seventeen miles from Ghent, is famous for the statue of our Lady of Afflighem, and is within easy reach of other shrines more or less celebrated, the chief of which is at *Lebbeke*. In the year 1108 the inhabitants wanted to build a church, and after much discussion as to the site, finally pitched on a field belonging

to a widow. She consented to sell the field, but requested them to wait till after the flax harvest, as she had sown it on the very day that the decision was arrived at. The matter was settled in this way, but during the night, according to the legend, she was favoured with a visit from our Lady, who told her to get up and gather the flax which was ripe, as she wanted the place for a church. This was said three times, and then the woman getting up saw our Lady, who said, "What are you waiting for? Your flax is ripe and can be gathered. Hasten, for I desire that my Son and I may be honoured for the future on that ground." Our Lady then disappeared. At daybreak the woman hastened to the field, and found that the flax, which had been sown the day before, was quite ripe. To perpetuate the memory of this prodigy, every year on the Saturday after the Annunciation a High Mass is sung as a suffrage for an abundant crop of flax. Other marvels accompanied the building of this church; such as the length and breadth being marked out by threads of silk held by invisible hands. Many pilgrims visit the spot, especially on the Feast of our Lady's Nativity. The statue, when borne in procession, is carried by the principal inhabitants of Termonde. The confraternity of our Lady, Consoler of the Afflicted, was established in this church nearly five hundred years ago.

Andeghem, like *Lebbeke*, about two miles from Termonde, possesses a statue of our Lady of the Hermitage, or, as it is also called, our Lady of the Lime Tree, which for centuries has been celebrated as an object of pious pilgrimage. The very ancient statue of our Lady of the Fog at *Waesmunster* is much frequented, especially on the Feast of the Annunciation, which is always celebrated with the greatest solemnity. At *Buggenhont*, five miles or so from Termonde, in the church built in 1500 in honour of our Lady of Dolours, is found a statue of our Lady, Consoler of the Afflicted, which draws many pilgrims, and which is said to be celebrated for "a prodigious number of miraculous cures." But far more celebrated than any is the statue of *our Lady of Afflighem*, the history of which was written by the late Cardinal Pitra, O.S.B., when he was still a monk of Solesmes.

Rather more than eight hundred years ago a Benedictine abbey was founded at Afflighem, near Alost, in Flanders; the exact date of the foundation is unknown, but as the new abbey was blessed by St. Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, it must have been finished before 1075. From the preaching of the first Crusade, for some reason or another, the Abbey of Afflighem became a favourite with the Crusaders. Among others so devoted to it may be mentioned Thierry of Alsace, Count of Flanders; Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, and first Latin King of Jerusalem, or "Baron and Defender of the Holy Sepulchre," as he preferred to be called; and Godfrey's eldest son, Henry. The abbey became celebrated throughout the Low Countries, and especially for its devotion to our Lady. Pilgrims flocked to it from all parts, and among its benefactors were some illustrious and royal personages, among whom must be mentioned St. Louis of France; and Adelais of Louvain, the second wife of Henry I. of England; her second husband, the Duke of Lincoln; and Henry II. of England. Queen Adelais worked a standard, which became the *oriflamme* of Brabant. It always remained at the abbey, save when the dukes were at war, and on great feasts it was borne in solemn procession in a chariot drawn by four oxen. Before entering on a campaign the Dukes of Brabant received their standard from the hands of the Abbots of Afflighem, just as the Kings of France received theirs from the Benedictine Abbots of St. Denis. Among the pilgrims who visited Afflighem may be mentioned an Englishman, Nicholas Rys, who in 1160 fell ill in its hospice, where he had sought the proverbial hospitality of the monks; he was known to have persecuted the abbey, but was treated so fraternally by his hosts that he joined their ranks as a converse brother.

In the year 1146, the Abbey of Afflighem was honoured by a visit from St. Bernard, who passed through Flanders on his way from Lille, where he had venerated the Holy Candle, to Germany, where he was going to preach the Crusade. He had been called upon to settle a dispute between the Premonstratensian Abbots of Ninove and Dilighem, places not far from Afflighem, and succeeded in his task; the docu-

ment which he dictated and signed being still in existence, and preserved in the public library of Ghent, where it was unearthed by Cardinal Pitra, when engaged in refuting the contention of the Bollandists that St. Bernard was never at Afflighem. Business over, the saint gave himself up to the full enjoyment of intercourse with his religious brethren, and how great the pleasure must have been, and how exact the observance of the rule at Afflighem, may be gathered from his words: "Elsewhere I have seen men, here I see angels. In truth Afflighem afflicts man, but elevates the soul." The names of a few of these angels have been preserved to us. First of all came their leader, the Abbot Peter; then Albert, who had resigned the abbacy, but nevertheless was always known by the title of *Marianus Abbas*; Walter, Prior of Wavre, the originator of the feast of Our Lady of Peace; B. Francon, first Abbot of Vlierbeck; Ingelbert, first Prior of Bigard, the father and biographer of St. Vivine; and Ralph the Silent, who for sixteen years kept silence, and only spoke at last to command a fire, which had broken out before his eyes, to stay its course. St. Bernard, not unnaturally, endeavoured to induce these monks, so exemplary in their observance of St. Benedict's rule to adopt the Cistercian constitutions; he failed in his endeavour, but, none the less, his name was to be for ever connected with Afflighem.

When the moment of his departure had come, he went to the church to make a last visit before leaving. With him were the monks of the house, and various abbots. As they went along the cloister they passed a statue of our Lady, which for sixty years had stood in a corner near the dormitory. Following his usual custom, when in presence of a statue of our Lady, St. Bernard inclined his head, and said *Ave Maria*; and then, in the presence of the assembled monks, the statue inclined its head, and from its mouth came the word *Salve Bernarde*; in gratitude the saint placed the silver-gilt crook of his pastoral staff at the foot of the statue. In memory of this wondrous event, it was decreed that henceforth for ever the "great silence" should be enforced in this part of the cloister; and as the monks passed before the

statue on their way to the church from the dormitory, every morning, they inclined before it three times, anyone who failed to do so being sharply corrected in chapter. The event was not commemorated at Afflighem only, but a mention was made of it in the Martyrology of Villers, on October 18th: "In Belgium, commemoration of our Lady, who, by the mouth of the statue of Afflighem in the presence of the monastic body and many other persons, saluted the Holy Father Bernard, saying in a loud voice, *Salve Bernarde.*"

St. Bernard's staff remained at Afflighem till the destruction of the abbey by the Gueux, in the sixteenth century, when it was confided to the care of Archbishop Hovius, of Mechlin, Commendatory Abbot of Afflighem. He exposed it to the veneration of the faithful in 1595, and restored it to the monks, when they rebuilt their abbey, in 1605.

The sacred statue was broken by the Gueux, in 1580; but in 1606 two statues, exact copies of the original, were made from the remains. It is said, indeed, that some statuettes were also made, and we know that the monks carefully treasured the smallest fragments of the original statue. One of the new statues was placed in the old position in the cloister, but in 1621 it was removed to the monk's choir of the new church. Three years later a solemn procession on the feast of the Assumption was instituted, and the statue was carried by four Capuchins. The new statue excited devotion no less than the original, and various miracles are recorded in connection with it. But in 1796 Afflighem was once more desolated, and the monks expelled. They took with them the statue, and the staff of St. Bernard. In 1836 only one monk remained, Dom Veremond d'Haeus, who was professed at Afflighem in 1793. Just as F. Sigebert Buckley, the sole survivor of the old Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, had the happiness of clothing and professing monks in the gatehouse prison, and thus perpetuating his congregation, so F. Veremond succeeded in restoring his order in Belgium. In 1838, the Benedictines of Belgium bought the suppressed Capuchin Church at Termonde, and in it placed

their venerable relics;¹ and so the statue of our Lady of Peace became once more accessible to the faithful. In June, 1870, the monks regained possession of Afflighem, which eighteen years later was raised again to abbatial rank; and in the same year they opened a house at Steiubrugge near Bruges.

The second statue was given in 1627 to the Benedictine priory of Basse-Wavre, near Brussels, and, we are told, became the source of numerous miracles. Basse-Wavre is still a celebrated place of pilgrimage. The church of Deynesbeke, near Sotteghem, possesses a statuette which is believed to have been made from the fragments of the statue of our Lady of Afflighem; and a similar statuette is venerated in the church of St. Catherine, in Brussels, under the title of the *Black Madonna*. But it would be beyond the scope of the present article to give an account of these off-shoots, so to speak, of the shrine of Afflighem.

E. W. BECK.

MIRACLES.

A FEW months back, Dr. Talmage asked Mr. Gladstone if his faith in Christianity had wavered in his old age. "The longer I live," replied Mr. Gladstone, "the stronger grows my faith in God; and my only hope of the world is that the human race will be brought more into contact with divine revelation." Would that we could say that the world, at the present time, echoed the sentiments of the great statesman! We have only to cast an eye over the literature of the day—to lend a half-willing ear to the current topics of conversation in society—to see that their tone and tendency are as the inverse ratio to the earnestness and sincerity of Mr. Gladstone's noble aspiration. Not that religion, revela-

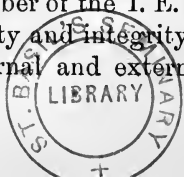
¹ In addition to the pastoral staff of St. Bernard, the monks of Termonde have his chalice.

tion, the work of the churches, are altogether ostracised from society; but that a tone of doubt and denial—nay, of utter scepticism—pervades all classes. The existence of God, revelation, the immortality of the soul, eternity, hell, heaven, the possibility and existence of miracles, are all, in turn, agitating the public mind. These questions are no longer the peculiar property of the professor, nor the eclectic study of the lecture-room. We are living in what is popularly called an enlightened age; that is to say, the age of the manual, the primer, the thousand-and-one literary and scientific periodicals, magazines, and reviews of the day. Our lot has fallen upon an age superficial and unsound, it may be; but an age of general and widespread information. The masses have taken the outworks, and are now storming the citadel of knowledge. Knowledge is no longer the exclusive inheritance of the privileged few; literature, science, history—all are laid under contribution. Philosophical speculation, even, and religious inquiry, have not escaped the profanation of irreverent hands. We therefore think it salutary that such questions should no longer be relegated to, and immured within, the walls of cloister, college, or lecture-room. Dr. Vaughan, late Archbishop of Sydney, spoke in the following terms of the religion of doubt and denial, at present gaining ascendancy throughout the world:—

“It is principally through the ignorance of the multitude that the religion of denial is making, and has made in the past few years, a large number of converts to its teachings; and is likely—unless those who can speak, do speak, boldly and logically, too—to make great havoc among the rising generation, who, having little leisure for the habit of deep philosophical speculation, are led away with facility by such as push themselves forward as oracles of sciences, and as leaders in the van of modern thought.”

We purpose, therefore, in this paper, to discuss the vexed question of “miracles,” their possibility and existence.

In the January number of the I. E. RECORD, we attempted to prove the authenticity and integrity of the writings of the New Testament. Internal and external evidence, contem-



poraneous history, collateral facts—all tended to establish, beyond controversy, the absence of interpolation or corruption of the original Inspired Text. The historical life, then, is no fiction; nor are the writings of the Evangelists and Apostles myths and legends. They are the unimpeachable, established facts of history—a history no less true because it is divine.

The veracity of the Apostles, and the integrity of their works, being beyond dispute, how shall we account for the marvellous and unprecedented events contained in their narrative? Our contention is, that these events are not only historically true, but that they are miraculously true; that is to say, events accomplished not merely through the instrumentality of human or natural agency, but by a power supernatural and divine.

Our Blessed Lord appealed openly and fearlessly to His miracles as an incontrovertible testimony of the truth of His divine mission. They were not wrought in the dark, with closed doors, in secret, or in the presence of a few witnesses. He multiplied the loaves and fishes upon the hill-side, in the presence of thousands of witnesses. He raised the widow of Naim's son to life in the public thoroughfare. He changed water into wine in the presence of the assembled guests of a marriage banquet. He not only worked his miracles openly in the light of day, but He fearlessly challenged His bitterest foes to test and examine their truth. "If I do not the works of My Father," He said, "believe me not. But if I do, though you will not believe Me, *believe My works*; that you may know that the Father is in Me, and I in the Father." (John x. 37, 38.) What answer did they make? "This man," said the chief priests and Pharisees, "doth many miracles." (John xi. 47.) Tertullian taunted the Jews with having "stoned the Christ, not because he worked miracles—that they could not deny—but because he wrought them on the Sabbath day." Celsus, Porphyrinus, Julian the Apostate, did not deny His miracles; but, like the Pharisees, they attributed them to the agency of evil spirits. Upon one occasion the Jews said to our Lord: "Do we not say well that Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?" Jesus answered them categorically: "I have not a devil." Upon another occasion (Luke xi. 15)

they accused Him of casting out devils by the power of Beelzebub, the prince of devils. He replied: "If Satan be divided against himself, how shall his kingdom stand?" St. Thomas (3^a, q. 43, 40.) appeals to miracles as ample testimony of the divinity our Blessed Lord's mission.

Since miracles evidently play such an important part in the life and labour of our Lord, let us ask ourselves what is the nature of miracles—are miracles possible?

Miracles are theologically defined to be sensible effects, beyond the known laws of nature, and only capable of being produced by the extraordinary interposition of divine power. St. Thomas defines a miracle to be an effect produced by a cause beyond the whole order of created nature—and that cause is the omnipotent power of God. Cardinal Manning observes, that "a miracle does not necessarily imply a violation of nature, as some have supposed, but merely the interposition of an external cause, which can be no other than the agency of the Deity." He calls miracles:—"irregularities of the economy of nature, forming one instance of many of the Providence of God;" and again: "they are exceptions to the laws of nature." "A true miracle," says Le Moine, "is a sensible, unusual operation or effect above the natural ability or inherent power of natural agents—that is, all created beings, and therefore performable by God alone."

Miracles are of two kinds:—I. Such as consist in a suspension of the effects of some of the known laws of nature. II. Such as are not contrary to any of these laws but out of the ordinary course of nature, and require a power superior to that of any natural agent to perform them. For a stone to fly upwards, for the sun to stand still, for a man to walk on the water—these are suspensions of the laws of nature. It would be a miracle out of the ordinary course to cure diseases by simply willing, commanding, or by a touch.

Such being the definition of, and nature of miracles, we ask the further question, Are such miracles possible?

I. *Logically*, there is no difficulty, as the possibility and existence of miracles do not imply any known contradiction

II. *Physically*, to a believer in God the question seems blasphemous and absurd. Nevertheless one of the products of this age of progress and enlightenment is the general questioning and denial of miracles. A Christian regarding God as the author of nature—its ceaseless Conservator, the Legislator of its laws, the infinite Source and final Cause of all its forces and phenomena, attributes to Him the power of changing or suspending its laws at will. The relation of the Creator to His creation is most intimate, real, and unceasing. His supervision of the universe is both positive and negative ; not only does He protect the world against destructive agencies, but He directly influences the very being of His creation, so that if His influence were withdrawn the creation would at once return to the abyss of nothingness from which it was drawn. "Conservation like creation, implies a direct action of the Divine Power, and the immediate presence of God in all things that He conserves." St. Thomas teaches that not to conserve would be to destroy, as the conservation of creatures can in no way depend upon themselves; and again, the essence of God being infinite, His power is incommensurable, and everything that exists has the source of its existence in God. Therefore, to the believer, divine interposition is no antecedent difficulty to the credibility of miracles. "They manifest," as Cardinal Newman cogently remarks, "not only the general wisdom, but the design and extended plan—the steady and sustaining purpose of one sovereign mind." They reinforce with new and splendid illustration the magnificent lesson of modern science—complicity of results traced back to simplicity of principles, variety of phenomena issuing from unity of order—"the gathering up, as it were, of the threads which connect the universe in the right hand of the one Eternal Mind." With regard to the physical possibility of miracles, J. J. Rousseau exclaims that he hesitated whether to call the man who could doubt such a possibility, a madman or a blasphemer.

"But [cries out the modern sceptic] mutability, inconstancy in the laws of nature, imply inconstancy, mutability in the mind of the author of nature—the mind of the Divine Architect. From the

beginning of all time the Creator has formulated His laws, and ordered His purposes with regard to the regulation and preservation of His universe. To suppose change, derogates from the dignity of the Divine Mind. The laws of nature are the decrees of God; but the decrees of God cannot be changed, since God's will is immovable. Therefore, miracles cannot happen."—Spinoza, *Voltaire*.

The man of science, too, has his watch-cry: "If the laws of nature are unstable—may be suspended or reversed—then is our province invaded, our principles violated, and we ourselves undone."

True, God decreed from eternity that the world should be governed by certain uniform laws, but he also decreed that in certain circumstances those laws should be interrupted, suspended, or changed. "God," says St. Thomas, "invested nature with certain laws, but he reserved to himself the power of departing from these laws. Hence change of order does not imply mutability or change in the Divine Mind." "God acts," says St. Augustine, "sometimes against the usual order of nature, but never against the supreme and absolute law of divine justice. He changes His works, but His counsels and views He never changes."

Bishop Hay makes the following pertinent remarks on this subject:—

"The whole creation, and all the laws by which it is maintained, proceed from the free will and good pleasure of Almighty God. He made use of the present system of nature with a view to those wise moral ends which He proposed to Himself. He freely made all things in nature as they are; He can with equal ease change them as He pleases. As He freely enacted those laws by which all nature is governed for the best ends, so He can dispense with them when He sees proper—that is, when the end proposed can be better accomplished by such dispensation; and though this good end happens in time, both it, and the dispensing with any law of nature in order to procure it, were always present with God from all eternity; and, therefore, when it is actually accomplished in time, it can argue no change in Him. He forms no new decrees, He makes no new laws, He acquires no new knowledge; what He willed in time, He willed from eternity. *Opera mutat consilia non mutat.*"

With regard to the outraged men of science, we can

only say: "Ne sutor ultra crepidam." Cardinal Newman aptly remarks (*Idea of University*):—

"Men whose life lies in the cultivation of one science, or the exercise of one method of thought, have no more right—though they have often more ambition—to generalize on the basis of their own pursuit but beyond its range, than the schoolboy or the ploughman to judge of a Prime Minister. But they must have something to say on every subject; habit, the fashion, the public require it of them; and if so, they can give sentence only according to their knowledge."

And Bacon observes: "Men have used some sciences to which they have most applied, and give all things else a tincture according to them, utterly untrue and improper." Cicero tells us of the musician who maintained that the soul was but a harmony, and says pleasantly: "Hic ab arte sua non recessit."

Science corrects science, and as Bacon again points out: "Neither is it possible to discover the remote and deeper parts of any science, if you stand upon the level of that science and ascend not to a higher science." Physical science relates to the physical world—its forces, powers, phenomena—the study of the correlations of cause and effect in the laws of nature. A miracle belongs to another science—that of Theology; a science different from, though not opposed to, the science of the mere physicist. The votary of physical science may discover, analyse, and classify the ordinary laws and forces of nature; but before a miracle—the revelation of God's light, glory, and power, we can only address to him the words that were addressed to Moses from the burning bush: "Come not nigh hither, put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place wheron thou standest is holy ground."

In the possibility, opportuneness, and even necessity of miracles, we must, moreover, remember that God rules a world not of irrational creatures, *automata*, mere machines—necessary agents devoid of free-will—but free agents and rational creatures. His government of the material universe is absolute—the conservation of his creatures is unceasing—but in the general divine ordinance and government of the world man's will is free. In all our acts there are two

forces—the force of God which moves us, the force of our will which moves simultaneously but freely with the divine motion. These two forces very frequently act in direct opposition one to the other; then God interposes His divine authority and power to rectify the evil done, and in order to remind His erring, forgetful creature, supervenes nature, suspends its laws to assert His supreme prerogative, and give the lie to those who would banish the Creator from His own creation.

An interesting question is raised by controversialists as to the continuation of miracles: May we expect living miracles to exist in the present day—or did the age of miracles pass away with the death of the last Apostle? Some maintain that miracles ceased with the lives of the Apostles—others that they were frequent during the first three centuries—until the Church came forth from the catacombs, and was recognized and established by the civil law in the person of the Emperor Constantine. Others contend with regard to the fourth, fifth, and even to the sixth century. It need hardly be remarked that the Catholic Church has given no countenance to these discussions. Believing in her divine mission, convinced of the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost, remembering the promise of our Blessed Lord, that He will remain with His Church till the end of all time, the Catholic Church confines the operation of miracles to no persons and to no age. The establishment of God's kingdom—when the Church was in its infancy—required a more splendid demonstration of supernatural power. Hence in the time of our Lord and the Apostles the world was filled with the glory of their miracles. A miraculous agency was invoked to give testimony to and confirm the supernatural element in their doctrines and teachings. But in the present day the existence of the Church for now nearly two thousand years whilst earthly powers and dynasties have crumbled away beside it; the influence of that Church on the destinies of the world; the moral power it has exercised over the lives and conduct of men; the insatiable void which its destruction would create in the world from which it has disappeared—all testify, no less than the miracles wrought by our Lord, to the

divinity of its mission, and to the abiding presence of God's power in its midst. No! God's arm is not shortened, and if it were conducive to the welfare of His Church, the glory of His Name, the salvation of souls, the mighty universe is still in the hollow of His hand, its winds; its storms, its waves are still the slaves of His behest—its powers, its forces, its laws, whether to make the sun stand in the midst of its course, or to make the deformed cripple leap with joy with the sense of restored strength and power to his limbs—laws, and their suspension or change, still obey the voice of the Great Legislator. “And as for Me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My Spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.” (Isaiah lix.) “And whatsoever you shall ask in My Name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.” (John xiv. 13.) “Greater works than these shall he do, because I go to the Father.” Such promises were given for the support, comfort, and confirmation of His Church. They were the Divine legacy which should strengthen and uphold the Church at the departure of its founder. The assurances, then, that such miracles may be perpetuated is beyond the shadow of a doubt; and that such miracles have been wrought, we have the conclusive incontestible evidence of the Church. It may be interesting to give here the formalities necessary to the recognition of a miracle by the Church.

1. To avoid all precipitation, the popular report of the sanctity and miracles of the deceased must have existed for some considerable time before the bishop be allowed to begin his proceedings of inquiry.

2. The bishop must himself preside, if possible, at all the steps of the process; and if he be obliged to substitute any of the inferior clergy, this judge must have a Doctor of Divinity and a Licentiate of Canon Law for his assistants.

3. He who receives the depositions must countersign every article with the witnesses themselves who subscribe them.

4. Each deponent must be asked for a circumstantial relation of the facts which he attests. It is not allowed to read over to witnesses what may have been deposed by those preceding them, and to cause it to be confirmed by their consent; but each one must be examined by himself apart, and the answers to each interrogatory extend at full length.

5. The notary and the promoter of the cause, as well as the witnesses, must be sworn to observe profound secrecy with reference to the questions put and the answers given.

6. Information must be sent to the Pope of the whole procedure, and of the judgment of the Bishop, passed thereupon.

7. A copy of the papers must be made in proper form, authenticated, sealed, and sent to the Congregation of Rites at Rome.

8. The originals are preserved in the Archives of the Cathedral Church of the diocese, in a special chest, sealed and under different keys, which are deposited with persons of different rank and character.

9. Besides the witnesses presented to the Bishop by the promoter of the case, he must also examine as many others as he can find capable of giving any proper information.

10. No extra judicial acts or attestations are allowed to be inserted among the authentic writings of the process.

We conclude our short paper, therefore, by re-stating what we have attempted to prove—that miracles were acknowledged to have been worked by our Lord; that He appealed to them as a testimony of His Divine mission; that miracles logically and physically are possible, and derogate in no way from the perfection of the attributes of the Divine mind; that they are beyond the scope of the mere physical; and that the continuance of miracles is an attribute of the Catholic Church—the true Church of an ever-present omnipotent God.

FRANCIS B. SCANNELL, O.S.B.

CATHOLIC CLUBS FOR WORKING LADS.—II.

IN the former part of this essay, I expressed my conviction that a Club would not succeed unless it was in some sense educational. I propose now to develop this view, basing my suggestions, as before, on the result of experience.

It must, of course, always be borne in mind that the ostensible object of a Club is to provide amusement. It may and should prove a most effectual means of promoting both the religious and intellectual advancement of its members; but amusement is the bait which attracts them, and we must be careful that our zeal for the improvement of the lads does not lead us to forget this. For the same reason, both educational and religious work must be introduced with tact, and care must be taken not to exaggerate the results which will follow from self-improvement. It is not wise, especially in these days, to tell a lad that he will advance his position in life, and increase his earnings, as a result of reading and culture. He probably knows enough of the struggle for existence to be aware that hundreds who are more accomplished than he can ever expect to be find it difficult to obtain employment; and our aim should be to raise the tone and standard of a class, rather than to take the most promising individuals out of it.

In saying this, I am conscious that more than one of my old Club lads at Isleworth has materially advanced his position in life; and I am aware that this is attributed, by those who have the best opportunities of knowing, to the training and influence of the Club. But such cases are, and must be, exceptional, and it is not wise to bring them forward as a stimulus.

It is, I think, better to be perfectly straightforward, and to say to the lads: "The world is full of beautiful things, which will make your life brighter and happier if you know how to use them. If you turn your attention to reading, you can obtain for yourself an endless variety of entertainment, which will be profitable as well as pleasing; for the more you read, the more you will understand about the

things around you, and the more interesting they will become. If you take up drawing or music—if you spend your spare time in museums and picture-galleries, or in studying the works of nature, if you are living among them—if you devote yourself to the acquirement of technical knowledge, or practise feats of skill—in all these ways you will make your life fuller and happier, even if you never add a penny to your income.”

With all this, however, it must never be lost sight of that a considerable proportion of the members will not take up any educational work. With these, you must be satisfied with the reflection that, so long as they are in the Club, they are, at any rate, saved from the streets and the public-house; and, if this is all that the Club accomplishes, it is, so far, doing good and useful work.

The principal means of education is, of course, by reading. In every Club there will be some members who, at least, read every week some one or more of the numerous stories which run through a long series of penny instalments, and which are artfully contrived so as to terminate at a crisis which renders the purchase of the next number a necessity. Such stories are passed from hand to hand, and so reach a wide circle of readers. I am not going to enter upon the question of their merits or demerits. It must, however, be admitted that they supply the only literature—if the word may be used in connection with them—which is read by a large class of boys, and that they at least serve to keep up the habit of reading, which is, indeed, acquired at school, but is too often abandoned as soon as school is over. “Jack Harkaway” and his innumerable followers, schoolmates, and imitators, and the interminable adventures of “Mick M’Quaid,” have engaged the wrapt attention of successive generations of schoolboys, and seem likely to continue to do so for a long time to come.

Other lads find their reading in the weekly newspaper—which, in my experience, is usually *United Ireland*. This, I remember, greatly shocked a worthy brother of St. Vincent de Paul, who felt it his duty to report to a high authority the dangerous and seditious literature which I was providing

for my Club. But the high authority declined to interfere, and the London Council of St. Vincent de Paul ruled that politics could not be excluded from Clubs, however out of place in Conferences; so the really excellent Irish landlord who tried to boycott the paper did not make much by his interference.

The question of politics in Clubs may fitly be noticed here. The matter has never presented itself to me as a practical difficulty; for, as I have already said, my lads have always been Irish in sentiment and mostly so by descent. In such cases, it seems to me that the members have a right to choose their own newspapers; and if these are political—well, what Catholic newspaper is not? We have one, which has chiefly a local circulation, which keeps clear of vexed questions; and we *had* another, which, after a profession of neutrality, became viciously party in its politics, and then died. Unless, therefore, Catholic papers are to be excluded, politics must be allowed, and they must manifestly be those of the members for whom the papers are purchased. I do not think folk realize how strongly radical our young Catholic working-men are, at any rate in London; and that not by any means only because at the present time the Radical party has adopted the Home Rule programme. A paper that is Catholic and Irish is naturally popular among Irish Catholics; and this is why *United Ireland* (not of course to the exclusion of the cheaper religious papers) is always in request.

Besides the readers of stories and newspapers, there are two other classes: one, a very small one, of those who have a real love for knowledge and literature; the other, which is larger, of those who hardly ever take up a book or a paper, who come to the Club simply for the games, or to meet their friends. The first should be helped forward by the loan of books, by encouragement to buy them for themselves, and by recommendation of what to buy; the last should not be bothered to take up work for which they are unsuited, and which, if unduly pressed, may alienate them from the Club. To these, the routine of the Club presents all that they can receive in the way of education.

Among the readers, however, some can be induced to go beyond the newspapers and the "penny dreadfuls." For the last twelve years I have had a reading-class, sometimes two, in connection with the Club, consisting of from six to ten meeting once a week; and if anyone interested in a Club will take up this special work, I think he will be amply rewarded for his trouble. If he has an available room and a decent library, and will invite the lads to meet at his house, he will find it advantageous to do so. Lads don't care to go to the school; the Club-rooms can hardly be used without trenching on the rights of other members; and it is well to have books of reference at hand, for one never knows what questions will be asked. At Isleworth about half a dozen read in this way several of Shakespeare's plays, with one or two of Goldsmith's and Sheridan's: at the present time we are reading Cassell's *Citizen Reader*. Plays, however, are undoubtedly the best for reading; the constant change of speaker keeps the interest alive and the attention fixed: and with Shakespeare one can hang a great deal on to the peg afforded by some phrase which needs explanation. We always read each play through twice, and prefaced it with Lamb's *Tale*, which I read to them. I usually read something before they went away; good stirring historical poems, such as Tennyson's *Revenge*, or simple ones, like *Dora*, were liked; so was Rossetti's *White Ship*. The original "readings" and comments relieve any monotony which might otherwise exist; but the real value of work of this kind lies in the opportunity which it gives for conversation and the interchange of ideas. A vast amount of instruction can be imparted in the course of an evening spent in this manner, and I do not advocate too close an adherence to the subject which is immediately in hand. It is not difficult in this way to spend two hours a week very pleasantly, and I believe the lads gain more in the way of general information than they would otherwise obtain.

At Isleworth many of my lads were in the choir; this involved some musical training, which is a valuable adjunct to education. We are just starting a singing-class at Southwark, which seems likely to do useful work.

An occasional "social evening," or entertainment in the Club, given by the members, will help to keep up the interest. Here much may be done by excluding the low type of music-hall song which is allowed to obtrude itself far too frequently in our popular entertainments. I do not mean that such songs are indecent, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, but I am sure that the tendency of most so-called "comic" songs is lowering; and it is to me an unexplained mystery how Irishmen can endure and even applaud ditties in which their countrymen are represented as fools or knaves, and in which such "fun" as exists turns upon drunkenness and coarseness. It is sometimes urged that people like these songs and are amused at them; this, in a sense, is true; but is that any reason why we should give them no opportunity of preferring what is better, by guiding their tastes in a more healthy direction?

Every Club should have a library, and this should be selected with due regard to the tastes of the members, who indeed, should be encouraged to suggest additions. I am inclined to think that the Club books should not be lent; not only because the proportion of lent books which are lost is even greater in a club than in a private library, but because a certain number who would come to the Club to read would stay at home if they could take the book away with them; and a good attendance at the Club is desirable. Every book should be readable, and good of its kind; and the selection should be varied and comprehensive. With my lads, it is desirable to encourage and foster the fondness for Irish literature which is natural to them; such books as A. M. Sullivan's *Story of Ireland*, and *New Ireland*; O'Connor's *Parnell Movement*; the *Essays* of Thomas Davis; most of the volumes of Duffy's *National Library*; Patrick Kennedy's books, and the like, will be read with avidity. All intelligent Irish lads read and delight in *Speeches from the Dock*; but perhaps this would not be always approved by those who provide the library. There should be a certain number of Catholic tales, avoiding such as are too sentimental, and such fictions as *The Lily of Israel*; some lives of Saints, well and attractively written; and a fair sprinkling of the higher

standards of reading-books of different publishers, which are very popular as volumes of miscellaneous reading, and can often be picked up at small cost. One or two books of reference, such as Chambers' *Etymological Dictionary*, and Cassell's *Concise Cyclopædia*, should be on the shelves; and volumes of *The Graphic* and *The Illustrated London News* are a constant source of interest.

In our large towns, the members of the Club should be taken to picture-galleries, public buildings of interest, churches, cathedrals, and the like. Care should be taken to explain to them the subject or other points of interest connected with pictures; and it is therefore better to organize several expeditions, taking a few—not more than six—each time, rather than to take a large number at once. It is astonishing how apathetic lads are about things of this kind, unless their observation is stimulated, although they are quite ready to take an interest in pictures or buildings when the reason for doing so is pointed out to them. It is, of course, a great drawback to this sort of work that in England our galleries and museums are closed on the one day on which the working-man can make use of them; but opportunities can be found by those really anxious to make them available. An excursion into the country is another form of education, and one of which a certain number will from time to time avail themselves.

I have left to the last the most important kind of education—that which is connected with religion, but it is certain that in this direction the influence of a Club may be very powerful. Our lads are exposed to dangers of many kinds in their daily association with their fellow-workmen, who are almost certain not to be Catholics, and nowadays are too often opposed to all religion. In the reading-classes to which I have referred, I am constantly interrupted by some question suggested by something which has been said in "the shop"—some passing remark, it may be, or some taunt for which there was no answer ready. In cases of serious trouble, the lad would probably consult his confessor, if he were in the habit of visiting him frequently; but there are numbers of small matters in which he would not do this, although he is

glad to have an explanation of what troubles him. It must be remembered that many of our lads have not a very accurate knowledge of their religion—such knowledge, that is, as would enable them to confute an opponent; and they are glad to have someone to whom they can apply for information.

The aim of everyone who is desirous of making a Club successful, should be to induce the lads to look upon him as a friend, and to be upon terms of perfect confidence with them. It is not always easy to attain this footing; but its attainment should be steadily aimed at, and will in due time be acquired. The magnetic power of attraction and of perfect understanding between teacher and taught is common in books, but rare in real life; where it exists, it is a special gift, and a valuable one; but those who possess it are few. It is, however, not difficult to convince lads that you have their interests at heart; that you are open and above-board with them, and anxious to promote their happiness; and this conviction will solve many of the little difficulties which are sure to arise from time to time.

I find I have omitted to say that such Clubs as I have been speaking of should be restricted to Catholics. If this is not the case, their religious influence will be weak, if not wanting; it is manifestly impossible to insist—say—on attendance at Mass, if you are conscious that a proportion of your audience do not know what Mass is, nor why they should attend it; and anything like a general Communion is, of course, impossible.

I have tried to show in the above remarks that it is not impossible to manage a lad's Club, if reasonable means be adopted to ensure success. The importance of keeping our young men together is generally admitted; but I regret to say that I know few, if any, Catholic Clubs which undertake this work for lads and young working-men of the ages I have mentioned. I have not hesitated to point out how small a percentage of such lads will avail themselves of opportunities of culture, and how very much smaller is the number of those who will persevere. And yet the proportion is, I believe

much larger among this—the artisan—class, than it is among the young clerks and others who wear black coats, fashionable collars, and elegant ties, and consider themselves vastly superior to those who are, they think, on a somewhat lower plane of existence. The difference between the two classes seems to me to be, that the former—the working lads—are, at any rate, aware of their own ignorance, whereas the others are ignorant that they *are* ignorant. They seem to embody the sentiment irreverently attributed to a prominent personage at the University of Oxford :—

“ My name is Benjamin Jowett ;
 What there is to know, I know it ;
 What I don't know isn't knowledge ;
 I am the Master of Balliol College.”

For these, however, much more is done in the way of providing amusement ; but I am by no means sure that the result is satisfactory.

Some organization for our working lads, such as is provided by the Young Men's Friendly Society, the London Diocesan Council for the Welfare of Young Men,¹ the Manchester Working Lad's Association, and numerous other bodies, is an urgent want, and would do much to arrest “ the leakage ” which undoubtedly exists. We may reasonably hope that the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, through its Patronage Committee, or otherwise, will take the matter up more thoroughly, and on broader lines than it has hitherto done : and as a step to this, that the well-meant but badly-executed explanation of “ Patronage ” work which appears in each yearly Report, will be re-written by someone who has had practical experience among working lads. What is needed is a combined effort, the result of a meeting in London or any centre, of a few men able and willing to give time and care, and a little money, to work of this kind.

There is yet another means by which this and much other

¹ Mr. Pelham's *Handbook of Youths' Institutes*, issued by this body, contains an excellent summary of London work among young men.

solid work could be carried on. Three years ago I published a paper¹ from which I venture to extract the following :—

“Many of the English public schools and colleges have of late years taken up a new kind of work. A mission is started in some poor part of London to establish a church, with schools, clubs, and social works of all kinds, the expenses of which are defrayed by the members of some one of these schools and colleges. In South London alone such missions have been planted by five Cambridge colleges, and by Charterhouse, Wellington, and Dulwich schools.² In this way another band of union is established between the different classes of society; and even those who from one cause or another, cannot themselves take active part in the work of civilizing, and in a manner Christianizing, the community, are enabled by their alms to share in the work. Cannot something of this sort be done among ourselves? How many priests there are who would willingly have in their crowded missions a hall for meetings and lectures, rooms for clubs and libraries, amusements for their boys and young men, social recreation for their girls and young women, but who might as well wish for the moon as for anything of the kind! The needs of our poor and the duties of the more wealthy towards them have lately been brought before the inmates of some of our schools and colleges; and it may be hoped that this will lead to some practical result. If Stonyhurst, or the Oratory School, would undertake to subscribe annually some sum towards the support of a working-men’s club in the poorer parts of London, or Manchester, or Liverpool, the result could not fail to be beneficial. A blessing to ‘him that gives and him that takes’ could not fail to follow; one more link would be added to the chain which should bind together the different classes of society—a chain which is weakening year by year; we should realize more and more that we are children of the same God and of the same Church; that our aims and hopes and interests are the same; and that it is not so much our duty as our privilege to help one another.”

It would be a beginning in the direction indicated if either of the schools named, or any other, would make themselves responsible for a Club such as I have been attempting to describe. The actual management would be vested in the hands of a small local committee, who would from time to time report to the school how the Club was progressing; it might be that such a com-

¹ *Dublin Review*, July, 1887.

² This number has been increased since the above was written.

mittee might be formed of the students of the school. The communication thus established could not fail to be beneficial to all parties concerned: the expense would not be great, and the trouble involved would be a labour of love. If those in authority should condescend to notice favourably the suggestion thus crudely set forth, it would be a privilege to me to enter further into details of a scheme which has in it the elements of success, and is at least deserving of a trial.

JAMES BRITTEN.

GANGANELLI.

LAURENCE or Vincent Ganganelli, more known generally to fame as Clement XIV., was by birth an Italian, being born in the ancient town of St. Angelo in Vado, near Rimini, in the Duchy of Urbino, in the year 1705.

His family had been resident there for generations and bore the name of their birth-place. His father, who was a physician, continued till his death to reside in the family mansion, with its airy rooms, well-arranged furniture, and a balcony that looked out on a picturesque vine-clad plain. He moreover enjoyed a large practice in the district, and unwonted popularity with all classes of the community amongst whom he lived.

His son was in complexion fair for an Italian. His intelligent face, lighted up by remarkably lustrous eyes, and this manner, at once cheerful and attractive, made him a favourite with the people of the neighbourhood, especially with the poor. He had frequently been brought into contact with the latter, by his father on his medical visits to the homes of the sick poor, where he observed the great depth of their religious feeling; notably in the strong men, rough from digging in the fields, the workers in the garden, and the husbandmen; all loving their little children and wives, respecting their aged parents,

attending them in their illness, administering to them in their need, and when all these were passed, closing their eyes in death with the hope of their opening them hereafter in a better world.

As much he considered might one look for a gem on a barren waste, as for such charms of home life in any place outside the haunts of great religious influences.

In 1724 he resolved to enter the service of the sanctuary, and having fully made up his mind, joined the Franciscan Order, towards the end of that year. Little more at this time is known about him. He made his solemn profession in the year 1725; was ordained priest in 1732, and not many years afterwards created Cardinal by Clement XIII.

About this period the controversy raged which ended unfortunately in the suppression of that great order, the Society of Jesus, and was at flood height when he entered the sacred college. Happily for himself Cardinal Ganganelli saw the worthless and evil designing character of the men who were endeavouring to make desolate the sanctified homes of the great sons of Loyola. Being himself the only religious of any order, wearing at the time the Church's purple, he considered it incumbent on him to do what came within his power to oppose so wicked a project.

The firmness which characterised this resolve is said to have been most pleasing to the Pope, who felt glad at the wisdom of his choice in making a cardinal of such a man, whose general appearance, voice and manner wrought impressions in his favour. Besides, it is well-known that Clement XIII., when bishop of Padua, was a sincere and ardent admirer of the society; a fact that spoke clarion-tongued for their goodness in being esteemed by one enjoying so high a reputation for sanctity.

But rudeness and insolence were at this period the order of the day, and had since the beginning of the eighteenth century marked the conduct of the Catholic monarchs towards the Apostolic See, who now more than ever determined to maintain this attitude of opposition, instead of their former respectful deference.

It would seem as though the glories of Pepin and Charlemagne, and the victories of Hildebrand were alike fugitive in this age, and had passed like northern lights, and faded only to leave the sky in greater darkness. In such times we can scarcely feel surprised that great reluctance arose among many churchmen to undertake the burden and responsibility of the Papal Throne. Of these one was Benedict XIII., of the Orsini family, who in 1724, after his election, begged with tears not to be forced to accept the Pontifical dignity. He was a Dominican, and only submitted to the office under obedience to the General of his Order.

Nor is it surprising that this sentiment should prevail, when a little time previously he with many others saw how the troops of Joseph I., Emperor of Germany, had pillaged the States of the Church, and his generals conclude an alliance with the Dukes of Parma and Piacenza for the purpose of laying the clergy under contribution, because that monarch thought Clement XI. had, during the War of Succession, looked with favour upon the claims of France in opposition to his brother's accession to the Throne of Spain: though this War of Secession, which arose on the death of Charles II., Clement did all he could to prevent. In like manner, when the Roman Court, though much against its will, but in the interests of peace, was forced to recognise Charles III. as King of Spain, and to grant him the investiture of Naples, Philip V. of Anjou, on being made aware of the conditions of this treaty, became so indignant that he commanded the Papal Nuncio to at once leave Spain, and forbade all intercourse between the Holy See and his subjects. To this ebb had the affairs of the Church come between her chiefs and the princes of Europe, when the Bourbon kings of Spain and France made their desperate onslaught on what was then, as now, considered one of the most useful out-posts of the Papacy, the Society of Jesus. Amongst the satellites-in-chief of the crowned heads, at whose bidding was made this unworthy attack, special mention might be made of Pombal, the Portuguese Minister, and the Court Canonist Periera. Of these the German historian

Alzog writes thus: "Whatever may have been the motives of the latter, the former certainly acted from diabolical hatred of men who would not consent to be his tools, and from the lust of gold in which the reductions abounded." This Pombal, it is said, had himself got up a conspiracy against the king, and did all he could to lay this act of perfidy at the door of the Jesuits; ten of them were put on their trial for this conspiracy, and, notwithstanding the glaring unfairness of the court in the manner of its constitution, obtained an honourable acquittal.

Again, John Chatel, as far back as the year 1594, was said to have made an attack on the life of a certain king of France; even the guilt of this deed was now imputed to the Jesuits, and the accusation was renewed, though this John Chatel, in the strongest protestations, over and over again, exonerated these venerable men from all knowledge of his act. Thus were continually the most crafty political methods employed against the Society of Jesus, till finally the European sovereigns resolved in a body to avenge, as it were, in the person of these good men whatever wrongs they imagined they had at any time endured at the hands of the Apostolic See. They, therefore, forthwith demanded through their envoys, that the Pope should "abolish unconditionally the Society of Jesus."

This demand may be said, with truth, to have broken the heart of that great Pontiff, Clement XIII., who, in order to appease this demand, called a Consistory for the 3rd of February, 1769, in which it was to be considered. He passed away, however, before this date without having shown any notable signs of the approach of his so near dissolution.

In May of the same year Cardinal Ganganelli became his successor. He took his predecessor's name on ascending the Papal Throne, and was installed as Clement XIV. Though his election did not take place till the Conclave had sat for three months, the appointment appears to have given great satisfaction both to priests and people, it being well known that the august office—whatever might be said of its bestowal occasionally in the past on persons not

raised above mediocrity—had on this occasion, at all events, been bestowed on one whose abilities were an honour to the Papacy.

His installation took place on 19th of May, 1769, and, what rarely occurs, he had on the occasion to be consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia, Bishop of Rome, as when created a Cardinal he was only in Priest's Orders.

Scarcely had the oil of chrism dried on his hands, when he felt, with black dismay, that the question of the suppression of the Jesuits had commenced already to cast its shadows into the council-chambers of the Holy See—though, in the light of history, one finds it difficult to understand by what mental process he could have thought to ward off, through his reign, so grave a question, especially as he should have expected that his early espousal, when cardinal, of the cause of the followers of St. Ignatius, made him anything but a favourite in the eyes of the kings of Europe.

His first directions, therefore, issued on becoming Pope, were those most likely to avert, if not destroy altogether, the machinations of the enemies of the Jesuits. He raised to a bishopric the Canonist Periera, and made a cardinal of the brother of Pombal. Moreover, to assuage the various Potentates, he forbade for ever the reading of the Bull "*In Coena Domini*" at which they took so much offence. These, and similar acts, were the means he used to reach the sympathies of "the powers that be." But they fell on the stolid hearts of men in whose lives no track remained that led to good, either in religion or politics. These concessions only brought him back a reminder of the promises he made in the first year of his Pontificate to the Spanish Government on September 30th, 1769; another to France, the November of the same year—"that he would abolish the Society of Jesus." He still, however, fondled the hope that his cherished wish would yet be realized, and that in the end mutual discussion would beget feelings of a more tolerant and just kind, and such as would help all parties to reject, with scorn, the execution of so great an injustice.

Needless to remark, such proposals found no favour in any

of the Cabinets of Europe, with the result that never before had the members of the Curia beheld in Clement so much fire and so little sunshine. It was, he now found, too late to stem the torrent that swept on in increasing volume, menacing ruin to the order of the Jesuits. And he suffered intensely from a tide of conflicting thoughts that rushed in surges through his over-wrought brain. At length he yielded to the renewal of the Consistory of February 3rd, which the death of his predecessor rendered temporarily inoperative.

For four years a congregation sat, especially appointed to consider charges, which somehow suggested, to say the least of them, the idea of foam and water, many of which were without foundation. Men of mind, and of great learning and discrimination worked the machinery, through which flowed the subtle essence that was supposed to contain the poison said to vitiate the institute now on its trial for existence.

Enemies of the society, more especially the emissaries of the different governments, took every advantage of unscrupulously using the power their position had conferred. They even forced their opponents to leave the respective countries in which their order had foundations, and refrained from no device, capable of being employed, to damage their character in the eyes of the world. Charges the most gross were circulated, to their prejudice, in every imaginable form. In the meantime canonists on either side strove hard to maintain the ground assumed, and allotted to them by their respective patrons; and fought hard behind long ranges of probabilities, and in deep trenches of all manner of distinctions, and from within walls of words. The end came at last, and found expression in the Brief beginning with the words, "*Dominus ac Redemptor noster.*" This bore date July 21st, 1773, and settled practically a dispute that had lain long in abeyance. Then came into historical prominence the celebrated saying of Aqua Viva, "let them be as they are, or let them cease to be." That expression told the story of the true nature of the Jesuit order in a phrase that was modest, so far as their own disposition in the hour of persecution was concerned.

With regard to the justice or the injustice of this decision, no more than with its results either to the Apostolic See, or to the actors in its different stages of progress, it is not necessary or desirable to enter on a disquisition here, as I merely allude to the suppression of the society in so far only as it became a phase in the life of Clement XIV.

Clement did not long endure the shadow this event cast on his life, and soon showed signs that old age and its accompanying infirmities had begun to tell upon his formerly robust frame.

He paid frequent visits to the Church of the Santi Apostoli in Rome, where in early life he officiated as a priest, and where he now sought the consolations of religion by surrendering himself to great devotional feeling.

He every day said Mass, prayed much, and made long meditations. The bent of mind which in boyhood prompted him to enter the Franciscan Order, seemed now to come back upon him with peculiar force, and he regretted ever being compelled to leave the seclusion of his convent. Unlike men in general, who fear much when their end approaches, the fear of death in Ganganelli seemed to become lulled by the promptings of strong faith.

At the Easter of 1774 he was taken dangerously ill; he lingered, however, a few months, and died September 22nd, the same year. A monument (the work of Canova) placed in the church of his order at Rome, the Santi Apostoli, to commemorate his memory, is still there to denote that he was once Bishop of the Eternal City.

JOSEPH A. O'SHEA, O.S.F.

CATHOLIC V. PROTESTANT; OR, CONTROVERTED
POINTS OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE SUBSTANTIATED BY HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THERE are few priests engaged in any sphere of missionary duty who are not called upon, from time to time, by non-Catholics, and sometimes even by the children of the household of the Catholic faith, either to give Scriptural evidence of Catholic dogma, or to refute from the Word of God, some of the misconceived notions of Protestants. To inquirers after truth, moreover, they occasionally need to be ready to give "an account of the faith that is in them."

It often happens that the duties of the clergy are so onerous, manifold, and absorbing, that they have little leisure time, for searching either the Scriptures themselves, or the works of authors who have *ex professo* treated controversial subjects.

Hence, it has occurred to me, that it would be of advantage to the readers of the I. E. RECORD if some one arranged in alphabetical order, the various subjects of controversy, and brought to bear upon each the sacred texts, as presented both by the authorised Catholic and Protestant versions of the Scriptures, carrying on this work, month by month, and a little at a time, until the controverted matter at least concerning the principal points of doctrine, be pretty well exhausted. I feel it is no inconsiderable venture, for one engaged in many of the ordinary duties of an active priesthood to undertake to inaugurate this project; but how better spend my leisure time than in helping to compass so desirable an end?

I subjoin a brief paper on *Absolution*, as being the first controverted point in alphabetical order.

The plan I propose to adopt is as follows:—(1) to give a definition of the subject treated; (2) to furnish the Catholic texts which bear directly or indirectly upon it; (3) to give the same from the Protestant versions of the old and newly-revised editions; and (4) to conclude each short article with an explanatory note.

Moreover, to spare the reader the trouble of reference the texts of Scripture shall always be given in full, unless when identical. The Catholic references will be taken from the Douay version; the Protestant from the old and new versions as in present use by the Church of England; and, whenever the version of the former is found to differ in words or short sentences from either of the latter, such words will be printed in *italics*, so that the reader may see at a glance the slightest verbal divergency.

Having sketched my plan of procedure, let us now consider the important subject of sacerdotal

ABSOLUTION.

Definition.—Absolution from sin is “a remission of sin which the priest, by authority received from Christ, makes in the Sacrament of Penance.” (*Cath. Dict.*, page 5.) “It is a judicial act by which a priest, as judge, passes sentence on the penitent.” (*Conc. Trident.*, Sess. xiv., Can. 9.)¹

CATHOLIC VERSION

(DOUAY).

Math. xvi. 19.

“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.”

Math. xviii. 18.

“*Amen* I say to you, whatsoever *you* shall bind upon earth, shall be bound *also* in heaven: and whatsoever *you* shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed *also* in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“*He said therefore to them again:* Peace be to you. As the Father hath sent me, *I also send you.* When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins *you shall forgive*, they are forgiven them; and whose sins *you shall retain*, they are retained.”

PROTESTANT VERSION

(OXFORD, 1611).

Math. xvi. 19.

“And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

Math. xviii. 18.

“Verily I say unto you, *Whatsoever ye* shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and *whatsoever ye* shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“*Then said Jesus to them again:* Peace be unto you; as my Father hath sent me, *even so send I you.* And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. *Whose soever sins ye remit*, they are remitted unto them, and *whose soever sins ye retain*, they are retained.”

PROTESTANT NEW RE-

VISED VERSION

(OXFORD, 1881).

Math. xvi. 19.

The same.

Math. xviii. 18.

“Verily, I say unto you, *What things soever ye* shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and *what things soever ye* shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.”

John xx. 21, 22 and 23.

“*Jesus therefore said to them again,* Peace be unto you; as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: *whose soever sins ye forgive*, they are forgiven unto them; *whose soever sins ye retain*, they are retained.”

NOTE ON ABOVE REFERENCES.

On the above passages of Holy Scripture, St. Chrysostom,

¹ “Si quis dixerit, absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis non esse actum judicialem . . . anathema sit.”

one of the greatest lights of the early Christian epoch (5th century), writes thus:—

“To the priests is given a power which God would give neither to the angels nor the archangels; for to these it was not said: whatsoever ye shall bind,’ &c. Earthly princes have, indeed, the power of binding, but it is only as to the body; but the binding power of the priests reaches even to the soul, and ascends to the heavens, insomuch that what the priests do below, God ratifies above, and the Master confirms the sentence of the servants.”—*St. Chrys. on the Priesthood.*

Such, in a word, may be said to be the language of the Holy Fathers in all ages.

“It is, indeed, true, that God alone can forgive sins in *His own name and by His own power*; but as He has the power of forgiving sins in His own name, He can *communicate* that power to others as *His ministers*.”

And this is what He has really done :

“*Solus Deus per auctoritatem et a peccato absolvit et peccatum remittit. Sacerdotes tamen utrumque faciunt per ministerium, in quantum verba sacerdotis in hoc sacramento instrumentaliter operantur in virtute divina, sicut etiam in aliis sacramentis.*” (*Sum. Minor. St. Thom. Tract. XI., de pæn, No. 3.*)

From the above texts, then, the Catholic Church maintains that Christ evidently gave the power of binding and loosing to all the Apostles and to their successors, while expressing the supreme prerogative and power of St. Peter, their head, to whom He specially addressed Himself in the 16th chapter of St. Matthew’s Gospel. For the keys of a city or kingdom are wont to be presented or handed over to the person that exerciseth the *chief* power. So that, while we own a power of the keys given to all the Apostles alike in both SS. Matthew’s and John’s Gospels, we regard it as subordinate to St. Peter and to his successor as the Head of the Church on earth. Hence we see in the 18th chapter of St. Matthew the power of binding and loosing, which was promised to St. Peter in a more eminent manner, is here promised to the other Apostles. Then from the 20th chapter of St. John’s Gospel it is clear that Christ *did* bestow this power upon all the Apostles, when He said: “Receive ye the Holy

Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained." These words clearly express the delegation of His power of forgiving sin, which, as God, He hereby gave to His Apostles and to their successors—all bishops and priests—to forgive sin in His name, as His ministers and instruments, even though they be sinners themselves; for in this they act, not by their own power, nor in their own name, but in the name of God, who, as the principal cause, always remits sin. The holy Fathers of the Church, the great exponents of the doctrine of the early Church and of their times, following St. Augustine, affirm the same. Vide St. Aug. tract. 49 *in Joan*, and in his book of 50 Homilies, hom. 9; St. Chrysostom *de Sacerd.* lib. 3; St. Ambrose, lib. 3 *de poenit*; St. Cyril, lib. 12, cap. 50, *in Joan.*; Basil, lib. 5, *contra Eunom.*, wherein he proves the Holy Ghost to be God, because He forgiveth sins *by the Apostles*; St. Irenæus, lib. 5, cap. 13; St. Greg. *Hom. in Evang.*, &c. It might be well to quote here the words of Tertullian, who witnesseth for the century immediately after the Apostles. He writes:

"If you think heaven still closed, remember that *the Lord left the keys of it to Peter, and through him to the Church.* . . . The all-provident God, in case there should be some obstacle to the opening of those gates after Baptism, *instituted something further to open them, namely, the Sacrament of Penance.*"

Origen, too, says:

"If we have revealed our sins, *not only to God, but also to those who are able to heal our wounds and sins*, our sins will be blotted out. . . ."

And St. Cyprian:

"Let all confess that satisfaction and remission of sins *granted by priests hold good with God.*"

In the fourth century, St. Athanasius writes:—

"As man is illuminated with the grace of the Holy Spirit *by the priest* that baptises, so also he who confesses in penitence, receives *through the priest*, by the grace of Christ, *the remission of sins.*"

And to meet that trite objection of both ancient un-

believers, as well as modern non-Catholic Christians, what could be more powerful than those words of St. Augustine :—

“ Let no one say, ‘ I confess my sins to God ’—‘ God knows my heart ’—and ‘ God knows more than anyone can know, because I do penance in my heart ’—‘ Therefore [responds the Holy Doctor] therefore, *without reason* it was said : ‘ Whatsoever you shall loose on earth, ’ &c. . . . Therefore, *without purpose*, the keys were given to the Church. *Without meaning !* In vain becomes the Gospel ! In vain—the words of Christ ! ‘ Frustramus Evangelium ! Frustramus verba Christi ! ’ ”

And yet, despite the clear evidence of Scripture on this point, and the universal acceptance of it by the great lights of the Church, the doctrine of sacerdotal absolution has nevertheless to occupy a foremost place in the field of controversy. For not only do our separated brethren reject it and the Sacrament of Penance, of which it is an integral part, but the so-called Reformers of the sixteenth century plainly removed the necessity of any such sacrament by their extraordinary, bold and even blasphemous teaching regarding free-will and sin. Though we shall have to treat these matters, as well as confession, properly so-called, in their own alphabetical order, it will be nevertheless appropriate and useful to quote a few of their extravagances on this point.

“ The commandments of God are all equally impossible.” (Luther, *de libert. Christ.*, tom. 2, fol. 4. 2.) “ Good works, even the best of our works, are mortal sins and deserve damnation.” (Luther, *Ast.*, 32, tom. 2, fol. 110.) Calvin taught the same, according to Alexander Ross, *View of Religions*, page 237, a book printed in 1658, *which I have* : “ No sins can damn a man, but only unbelief.” (Luther, tom. 2, fol. 171, 2.) “ By God’s own will He lays man under a necessity of being damned.” (Luther, *ib.*, fol. 434, 2.) “ Free-will after sin is an empty name ; and when it does its best, it sins mortally.” (Luther, tom. 2, fol. 111, 2.) “ God forces man to sin.” (Zuinglius *de Prov. Dei*, tom. 1, fol. 365-366.) “ God has created the greatest part of mankind on purpose to damn them.” (Calvin, according to Collier’s Dict., under the word *Calvinism*.)

So much, though only a little that could be quoted, from the Fathers of the Reformation.

The Church of England (and with it we may allocate the non-Conformists), rejects the doctrine of sacerdotal absolution by the fact of admitting only the two Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, while she distinctly states in her Twenty-fifth Article that penance is not to be counted as a sacrament, having no visible sign or ceremony ordained of God. (*Book of Common Prayer*, Art. xxv.) Yet with her proverbial inconsistency she explicitly approves of auricular confession and sacerdotal absolution in her "Visitation of the Sick," as follows:—

"Here shall the sick person be moved to make a *special confession* of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession *the priest shall absolve him* (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, *who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners* who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and *by His authority committed to me*, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'"

Now as the practice on this consistently follows the rejection by them of the Sacrament of Penance, except in optional cases in *articulo mortis*, the logical conclusion is that, if there be any sacramental efficacy or condoning power in the absolution, he is exhorted not to die without absolution, *even though he lives a whole lifetime without it*. Who does not see the gravest inconsistency here? The Ritualists, Puseyites, and High Church party generally, seem to recognise so keenly this inconsistency that they are gradually introducing the practice of sacerdotal absolution; moved also, no doubt, by the irresistible force of the Divine Word and by the authority of tradition. The force of the above texts, the Low Church party seems to studiously shirk. Their Bible is generally unannotated; hence the evident sanction of the power of binding and loosing stands without comment. And if we seek one of their versions with notes, what do we find? I will quote from Wood's *Christian Family Bible*, in which the Rev. author declares *he has only directed attention in his notes to those passages which manifestly appeared to want explanation*. (Wood's *Bible*, prefatorial address.) Well surely, the above texts court some explanation. Let us turn then to

this annotated Bible. To John xx., verse 23—"Whose soever sins ye remit, &c," he has the following note:—

"According to the tenor of the Gospel, that is, supposing them to repent and believe, they (the sins) are remitted; 'and whose sins ye retain,' supposing them to remain impenitent, they are retained. So far is plain. But here arises a difficulty. Are not the sins of one who truly repents, and unfeignedly believes in Christ, remitted without priestly absolution? And are not the sins of one who does not repent or believe, retained even with it?"

The annotator says not a word more; he seems to have overcome the acknowledged difficulty by merely stating it. And if we appeal to their theologians, we find Bishop Porteus, commenting on the above text of St. John, asserting that Christ did not give the Apostles any real power to remit sins, but "only a power of declaring who were truly penitent, and of afflicting miraculous punishments on sinners; as likewise of preaching the Word of God." So far does this explanation of Dr. Porteus conflict with the plain natural sense of the Written Word that the renowned Protestant champion, Chillingworth, shows at length the inconsistency, and concludes by acknowledging that they who seek absolution should approach "one that hath authority delegated to him from God Himself to absolve and acquit them of their sins." (Chillingworth, *Serm. vii.*, pp. 408, 409. See Milner's *End of Rel. Con.*, Letter xli.)

The Rev. Dr. Whitby (1718) thus paraphrases the text of St. John:—

"Then said Jesus to them again, 'Peace be to you, as My Father hath sent Me (to preach in His name), even so send I you (to preach in My name). And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and said to them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost (to enable you for this office). Whose soever sins ye (thus commissioned and thus assisted by the Holy Ghost, declaratively shall) remit, they are (and shall under the Gospel covenant be) remitted to them; and whose soever sins ye (declaratively in your Gospel shall) retain, they are (and shall in Heaven be) retained.'"

It may be well to conclude with the remark that the Lutherans (the elder branch of the Reformation) expressly hold that absolution is *no less a sacrament* than Baptism and the Lord's Supper; that *particular absolution* is to be retained

in confession; that to reject it is the error of the Novatian heretics, and that, *by the power of the keys* (Matthew xvi. 19) *sins are remitted*, not only in the sight of the Church, but also in the sight of God. (*Conf. Augs. Arts. xi., xii., xiii., Apol.*)

I trust by these quotations I have furnished sufficient matter to aid my brethren in dealing with any inquiries after truth concerning sacerdotal absolution.

Confession, which naturally precedes the act of a judicial sentence and sacerdotal absolution, will be treated in its proper place; but the next subject in order will be on "Abstinence and Fasting."

E. A. SELLEY, O.S.A.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

THE USE OF LARD AND DRIPPING ON FAST DAYS AND DAYS OF ABSTINENCE OUTSIDE LENT.

"VERY REV. SIR,—Would you kindly answer the following questions in the next Number of the I. E. RECORD:—

"Is the use of lard and dripping permitted on fast days and days of abstinence outside Lent?"

"And does the permission to use lard and dripping on fast days extend to the collation as well as to the principal meal?"

"H. M. M."

We desire, at the outset, to direct the attention of our readers to a very exhaustive paper, on the use of lard and dripping on Lenten and extra-Lenten fasting days, as also on all days of abstinence during the year, by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, in the I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. ii. (1881), page 166. We reproduce here the substance of His Grace's exposition, so far as it treats of fast days and days of abstinence *outside of Lent*.

Among the dispensations asked for by the Irish bishops assembled at the Synod of Maynooth, was the following:—
"Denique Episcopi petunt ut diebus jejunii, exceptis solemnioribus, usus laridi tanquam condimenti permittatur." This

dispensation was granted in the following terms:—"Quoad usum lardi et sagiminis supplicandum Ssmo. pro extensione Indulti dati die 20 Februarii, 1853 Emo. Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ad omnes Hiberniæ dioceses. Eadem die ac Feria, Ssmus. audita relatione ut supra benigne annuit pro gratia juxta DD. Emorum suffragia."

To reply to our correspondent's question, we have now to inquire, does this concession extend to fast days and days of abstinence outside of Lent? And does the permission to use lard and dripping on fast days extend to the collation?

I.

Does this concession extend to *fast days* outside of Lent?

The concession does extend to fast days outside of Lent; because this concession is only an extension, to the whole of Ireland, of an Indult which had been granted to the diocese of Dublin as early as 1853. Now, the Indult granted to the diocese of Dublin availed not only for fast days in Lent, but extended also to all fasting days outside of Lent. Hence the dispensation granted to the whole of Ireland, in 1877, must be regarded as extending to extra-Lenten fasting days.

It can happen, however, that, in a particular diocese, it may not be lawful to use lard or dripping on fast days outside of Lent; because, as His Grace writes, "It must be borne in mind that the Indults of 1853 and of 1877, are not to be regarded as dispensations granted directly by the Holy See to the faithful, but as Indults empowering each bishop, as far as in his wisdom he may deem it expedient to do so, to grant this dispensation to the faithful of his diocese."

When we say, therefore, that the concession granted in 1877 extends to fast days outside of Lent, we mean that, in virtue of that Indult, the Irish bishops are empowered to allow their subjects to use lard and dripping on fast days. If a bishop exercises this power, then his subjects may use lard and dripping on fast days. If the bishop deems it inexpedient to exercise his power of dispensing, then the faithful in his diocese may not use lard and dripping on fasting days. Practically, therefore, each priest must inquire

whether his bishop has granted this dispensation to the faithful in his diocese, and whether it extends not only to Lent, but also to the extra-Lenten fasting days.

II.

Does the Indult of 1877 extend to *days of abstinence* during the year—*e. g.*, to Fridays?

This question, also, must be answered in the affirmative; that is, the bishops have power to grant this dispensation, even on ordinary days of abstinence during the year. But, again, the bishops may not always exercise this power; and hence, as in the preceding case, each priest must learn for himself whether his bishop's dispensation, in the use of lard and dripping, extends to days of mere abstinence during the year.

III.

Does the permission to use lard and dripping, on fast days, extend to the collation?

Though—according to a principle oftentimes explained—permission to use lard, &c., at the collation, would involve a dispensation in the law of *fasting*, as well as of *abstinence*, still the Irish bishops undoubtedly have power to extend the dispensation even to the collation. The bishops, however, may restrict the use of lard and dripping to the principal meal; and hence each priest must learn the extent of his own bishop's concession. But “there can be no doubt [to use His Grace's words] that, as a matter of ecclesiastical legislation, the use of lard, &c., as condiments, when allowed at the principal meal, is also, in the absence of a special restriction, allowed, in similar circumstances, at the collation.” And what is allowed at the morning collation to those who fast, is also allowed, in similar circumstances, to those who may take a full breakfast—*e. g.*, to those who are excused from fasting by reason of their exhaustive occupation.

Finally, we subjoin a few necessary observations:—(1) It is not allowable to eat lard in its solid state, like ordinary food: “Certum est. [writes Sabetti] non licere illud edere per frusta ad instar obsonii, quia ita caro reputatur.” (N. 334, Quaer. 2°) (2) Lard and dripping, therefore, may be taken

only in a liquid state, as condiments, "and only in cases where other kinds of food are allowed, in conjunction with which they are thus serviceable." Hence, at the *collation*, "their use, as a substitute for oil, is allowed only in the cooking of certain kinds of food, vegetables, &c., the use of which had, previous to this concession, been sanctioned by usage." Poor people use lard and dripping in a liquid state, as a condiment with bread, potatoes, &c., and also in the cooking of other kinds of food. (3) When lard is allowed on fast days or days of abstinence, *swine-lard* only is understood to be permitted: "Nunquam vero in concessione condimenti laridi intelligitur adeps cujuscumque alterius animalis praeter suillum." (Sabetti, *ibid.*) Lehmkuhl, however, says that, in some places, the word *laridum* gets a wider interpretation; hence, the custom of one's country will be a safe guide to follow in this matter: "Et licet illud, [laridum] si dispensatio conceditur, intelligi consueverit de solo sagimine *suili*, in quibusdam locis tamen etiam de alius generis sagiminibus." (Lehmkuhl, vol. i., page 774.)

II.

THE RE-BAPTISM OF INFANTS BAPTIZED PRIVATELY BY NURSES OR DOCTORS.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly notice the following in the pages of the I. E. RECORD:—At a meeting of priests, a point arose with regard to conditional baptism, after baptism is conferred by a nurse or medical doctor. One of the priests held that conditional baptism should be administered in *every* case, even though in a particular one the nurse or doctor were taught how to baptize, and were, besides, cool-headed and conscientious; and he founded his argument on usage, sanctioned by the bishops. Others were of opinion that it would be altogether opposed to the teaching of theology to baptize in all cases indiscriminately, and against the statute framed by the bishops, which deals with this particular question. "SACERDOS."

Though the priests referred to by our correspondent seem to have differed very much in their speculative views regarding the re-baptism of infants, we fancy there is very

little practical difference of opinion amongst them. We would say, in reply to our correspondent's question :—

1°. Infants privately baptized, by nurses or doctors, are not to be indiscriminately re-baptized. It is perfectly clear that, if a priest has no doubt about the validity of such a private baptism, he cannot re-baptize the child. Now, we can conceive cases where there would be no reasonable doubt about the validity of private lay baptism; for example, if administered by a doctor who was known to be familiar with theology, and very conscientious in the discharge of his duties. This may be a very exceptional case; but it illustrates the rule laid down by theologians, that children baptized privately by nurses are not to be indiscriminately re-baptized. Gury asks, “An sint rebaptizandi infantes sive ab obstetricibus, sive a laicis baptizati?” And he answers, “Resp. Neg., nisi adsit probabilis suspicio erroris in collato baptismo. Ita communissima et vera sententia, inquit S. Lig., n. 156, ubi decisionem S. Congreg. commemorat.” (Gury-Ballerini, vol. ii., n. 249, Quaer. 4.) Similarly, the Maynooth Statutes say, “Baptizari sub conditione volumus infantes expositos a parentibus, atque etiam eos qui a nutricibus, aut obstetricibus in domibus privatis abluti sunt, nisi similiter fide dignis testimoniis constet baptismum fuisse rite collatum.” (Page 76, n. 40.)

2°. When may a priest be sufficiently certain of the validity of baptism conferred by a nurse or doctor to omit the administration of conditional baptism? The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide addressed an instruction to the Vicars Apostolic in the East Indies on this subject, which supplies the reply to our question :

“Unusquisque missionarius catechistas suos . . . semel saltem singulis annis diligenter examinare tenebitur, ut certior fiat, quinam inter illos sint fiducia digni. 2°. Ut non teneatur missionarius, baptizatos a catechista fiducia digno, sub conditione baptizare, requiritur ut adsint duo testes, qui testificari possint baptismum fuisse legitime collatum; quibusdam tamen casibus exceptis, in quibus singulis perpensis circumstantiis, attenta peritia et probitate catechistae, cui tamen fiducia non est nimis facile concedenda, fieri potest, ut nullum prorsus probabile dubium circa validitatem baptismi oriatur, etiamsi non adfuerint duo testes.” (Apud Lehmkühl, vol. ii., page 15.)

Therefore, if two trustworthy and competent witnesses testify that baptism has been already validly conferred by a lay person, then the priest is not bound to re-baptize the infant. This would seem to be regarded by Propaganda as the normal evidence of the certainty of private baptism. In some exceptional cases—"quibusdam tamen casibus exceptis"—the evidence of one witness, or the evidence of the lay minister himself, may convince the priest that baptism should not be repeated. The evidence of the lay minister of baptism is not, however, to be too easily believed—"cui tamen fiducia non est nimis facile concedenda." Hence, too, the Maynooth Statutes prescribe that the baptism should be repeated, "Nisi similiter *fide dignis testimoniis* constet baptismum fuisse rite collatum." Missionary priests in this country, we think, regard with suspicion the baptism conferred by nurses, because they are not always the most intelligent persons; and though they may have been well instructed, there is a danger that, being unaccustomed to baptize, and being somewhat disturbed by the excitement of the occasion, and from other causes, they may omit something really essential to the validity of the sacrament.

3°. In every case of private baptism the priest must diligently inquire whether baptism has been validly conferred before he can proceed to re-administer the sacrament, even conditionally. "Verissime dicitur, in singulis casibus diligenti examine inquirendum esse, num servata fuerit debita materia et forma. Id enim etiam postea, anno 1878 generali edicto S. Officium denuo inculcavit." (Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., page 16.) Priests, therefore, should always make this *diligens examen*; but, of course, the *examen* will vary with circumstances; *prout adjuncta ferant*. They can ask, was private baptism administered? Did any person witness it—and in this country we think it is rarely if ever witnessed by anyone except the nurse; then, if not witnessed by others, priests can ask the nurse, if she is present, how she baptized, &c. Of course, priests are not bound to be making useless inquiries; and, therefore, if a priest could not accept conscientiously the evidence of the nurse alone, he would not be bound to put her any questions, if the baptism were not witnessed by other trustworthy and competent witnesses.

4°. To conclude, therefore: a child who was baptized by a nurse or doctor, should be re-baptized, unless the priest is certain that the baptism was validly conferred. And, except in the case of very intelligent and self-possessed nurses—in exceptional cases, a priest can scarcely accept the testimony of the nurse alone that the sacrament was validly conferred. A nurse may go through the ceremony correctly when examined by the priest, and make some serious mistake when administering the sacrament. In individual cases, therefore, each priest shall have to determine for himself whether there is any doubt about the validity of the sacrament or not; but as the priests who have spent a considerable time on the mission, insist on re-baptizing in those cases, we would recommend young priests to imitate their example, at least until they can learn from their own experience, what value to attach to the baptism conferred by nurses. We may remark too that, though baptism cannot be at all repeated unless there is some doubt about its validity, Lehmkuhl distinguishes between when a priest is *bound* to re-baptize conditionally, and when he *may* re-baptize conditionally. According to Lehmkuhl, a priest *may* re-baptize even when there is not sufficient doubt about the past baptism to induce an *obligation* of re-baptizing. (Vol. ii., page 15.)

Finally, we would direct the attention of our readers to the following from Gury:—"Hinc parochus curet, ut fideles rectum baptizandi ritum probe teneant ac servent; præsertim vero quoad obstetrices hoc munus ei incumbit, cui invigilare episcopi est." (Pars. ii., n. 249, Quaer. 4, note 2.)

III.

THE UNION OF PARISHES; AND THE MASS PRO POPULO.

The following case of conscience has been referred to the Editor of the I. E. RECORD:—

"The parochus had been for some years parish priest, with the usual collation of a parish of somewhat more than 500 families. The adjoining parish of an equal number of families became vacant on account of the translation of its parochus to another more suitable. On the invitation of the bishop the two parishes were placed under the present parish priest's care and jurisdic-

tion. The parishes now are worked by the assistance of curates, one of whom resides in the lately annexed district. The parochus has not got any collation in *scriptis*, and, as far as he is aware, there were no conditions annexed by the Ordinary when making the annexation. He has been now some nearly ten years in this position, and until lately was discharging satisfactorily to his own conscience the various duties and obligations of his office towards his added flock. Hitherto he discharged the obligation of saying Mass by offering the Mass for the people of the two parishes, in the same way as he had been previously accustomed to offer Mass for the people of his parish before its union with the other one. Lately, however, he has commenced to have scruples on the matter, from reading cases that seem to him nearly *a pari*, and he is very much in doubt but that he is bound to offer a distinct Mass for the people of both parishes—so that in this respect the people whom he has lately acquired should not be in a worse position owing to this deprivation. The parochus asked the curate of the new parish if he offered up the *Missa pro populo*, and his answer was that he did not. He does not wish to be asking his bishop any questions about his position or the terms of the union of the parishes, and he would wish to know from the editor what his opinion is regarding his present obligations and likely, too, past neglect, and how this latter may be remedied.

“SACERDOS.”

Our correspondent asks our opinion as to whether he is bound to have two Masses applied for his people on Sundays and holidays—one Mass for the parish to which he was first appointed, and another for the adjoining parish which was committed to his care at a later period. This depends on the manner in which the parishes were united. We shall therefore have to consider—1°. The different ways in which parishes may be united; 2°. How the obligation of saying Mass for one's parish is affected by these different modes of union; 3°. What are our correspondent's present obligations; and 4°. What are his obligations in regard to the past.

I.

Canonists tell us that parishes may be united in three ways—by *extinction*, by *subjection*, and by *annexation*.

“Unio, annexio, seu conjunctio beneficiorum fieri potest triplici modo: 1°. *Extinctione*, si, v.g., ex duabus parochiis fiat

una, adeo ut ambo beneficia in unum tertium coalescant . . .
 2°. *Subjectione*, si una Ecclesia alteri subjiciatur tanquam superiori, adeo ut ei adhaerere debeat velut accessorium principali . . . 3°. *Simplici duorum Annexione*, adeo ut aequè principaliter uniantur. Ambo suam naturam, et titulum conservant cum privilegiis, et neutrum alteri subjicitur; sunt tantummodo sub uno rectore.”¹

These different modes of union have an important bearing on the present question; hence it is necessary to attend carefully to their meaning, and to the difference between them. In the case of union by *extinction*, both old parishes cease to exist. They are no longer, *e.g.*, parish *A*; or parish *B*; or parish *A*, plus parish *B*. The old parishes cease to exist as parishes, and a new parish is formed consisting of what before were two real and separate parishes. This is well expressed by Huguenin: “Unio fit per confusionem [per extinctionem] cum plura beneficia in unum veluti corpus tertium coalescunt, ita ut singula quidem existere desinant, eorum tamen jura compatibilia in beneficium novum transferantur.” (*Expositio Juris Canonici*, tom. ii., page 150.)

In the case of union by *subjection*, one parish is subjected to another, “tanquam accessorium principali.” And in the case of union by *annexation*, two parishes are permanently subjected to one pastor, though retaining their separate rights, name, and status: “Quando duo beneficia in perpetuum uni rectori subjiciuntur, salvis utriusque beneficii juribus, statu et nomine.” (Huguenin.)

II.

How is the obligation of saying Mass for the people affected by these different modes of union? When parishes are united, there remains the obligation of saying separate Masses for the separate parishes, unless the parishes themselves have ceased to exist—unless the union has been plenary and *extinctive*. Lehmkuhl writes: “Imo si parocho, duarum parochiarum administratio committitur, debet aut per se, aut per alterum curare, ut pro *singulis parochiis* singulae

¹ *Praelectiones Juris Can. Habitee In Sem. Sancti Sulpitii*, tom. ii., page 538.

Missae applicentur." (Vol. ii., page 144, Ad. v.) And Gury still more explicitly teaches this doctrine: "Imo obligatur parochus duabus parochiis praepositus, duplicem in festis applicare Missam per se vel per alios, nisi unio illarum parochiarum sit plenaria et *extinctiva*." (Ed. Ratisbon, Pars. ii., n. 361, note 1.)

If, therefore, parishes are united only by *subjection*, or *annexation*, there remains the obligation of offering separate Masses on Sundays and holidays for the separate parishes.

III.

What are our correspondent's present obligations? If the union of the parishes were *extinctive*, then our correspondent would fulfil his obligation by offering one Mass on Sundays and holidays for the united parish. But if the union was not *extinctive* then he is bound to have separate Masses offered for his two united parishes. Was the union of the parishes *extinctive*? It depends on the intention of the bishop who united the parishes; but we should say, from our correspondent's letter, that it was not *extinctive*, and that he is bound to have separate Masses said for his parishes. Our correspondent thus describes the mode of union: "The adjoining parish of an equal number of families became vacant . . . On the invitation of the bishop, the *two parishes* were placed under the present parish priest's care and jurisdiction." Now, this would correspond to union by *Annexation*, *unio aequae principalis*, as it is sometimes called, which we have already explained. Of course our correspondent's bishop might have intended the *unio extinctiva*; but it does not appear from our correspondent's own description, that it was an *extinctive* union. We think, therefore, that our correspondent, notwithstanding his unwillingness, should refer the matter to his bishop. If the bishop who united the parishes be still alive, he can explain the nature of the union: if he be not alive, his successor may find some record of the manner in which the parishes were united, which would solve the difficulty. In either case the parishes can be united *extinctive* from the present time, and then our correspondent will fulfil his obligation in future by saying one Mass for his parish on Sundays and holidays.

IV.

What are our correspondent's obligations in regard to the past? Again, if we were to judge by our correspondent's own description of the mode of union, we should say that the parishes were united by *annexation*, and that our correspondent is bound to supply the Masses that have been omitted. But, again we would recommend our correspondent to refer the matter to his bishop. He may decide that the parishes were united *extinctivè*; and even if it were certain that they were united only by *annexation*; or if it remained doubtful, they could be united *extinctivè ex nunc*. And as our correspondent acted *bonâ fide*, and as the matter is one in which a mistake might easily occur, we think he could easily obtain from Rome, through his bishop, a *compositio* in regard to the Masses that have been omitted. He may get absolved from his obligations concerning the past, by offering one Mass, or a few Masses for his people.

Finally, we wish to supplement our notes in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD on the subject of Honoraria and Duplication. We quoted the following from Lehmkuhl:—"Constans autem est prohibitio pro secunda Missa, quae sic ex necessitatis causa celebratur, . . . obligationem ullam justitiae vel quasi-justitiae extinguendi." We should have added, that a priest who has charge of two parishes, and who must say Mass in both parishes on Sundays and Holidays, may, on the same day, fulfil the two-fold obligation of saying and offering separate Masses for his two parishes.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEAKAGE OF THE CHURCH.—OUR BOYS.

"REV. SIR,—Were I to answer your correspondent, 'Missionary Coadjutor,' at any length, I feel I should only be going into a question which has already been dealt with elsewhere ('Leakage of Church in England,' &c., C.T.S.), and a long letter would

trespass too much on the space of the I. E. RECORD, and on the patience of your readers. I must, therefore, be very brief.

"Far from wishing to put additional weight on the shoulders of our overburdened priests in England, I simply speak of one form of 'leakage' still going on, and how it is to be met. If he doubts me, let him, in any church where no Boys' Guild exists, count the number of boys (over thirteen) at Mass on Sunday. A well-known London priest once said that almost nine out of every ten boys were lost sight of after leaving school.

"I quite agree that the three or four evening services in each week are too much. By all means knock them off, and have a weekly meeting for boys and youths. Benediction services are not the means ordained to bring stray sheep to the fold, such as are gathered together in the place and manner I wrote of in my essay. I say that Clubs *are* also the Church's ways, at least for our age, and are suited specially to our exigencies.

"I fear he makes rather serious allegations against clergy of Great Britain in pages 570 and 571. All the priests I know do try to prevent mixed marriages, and we preach on it once or twice a year. I have prevented one or two.

"I never knew before, also, that 'hardly half the working population go to Confession before matrimony,' &c. In our diocese we are most careful. In all my experience, I only married one couple unshriven, and that by a mistake. Hence, his sneer, about 'building clubs' to save their offspring, is quite uncalled for. The whole tone of his letter seems rather un-courteous.

"As to whether our leakage is worse than other countries, that is nothing to do with the case. Such comparisons are puerile. We have to attend to our own household. If in our country the Church is, as he says very truly, all but exclusively kept up by that very class among whom there is the leakage, then there is all the more reason for paying attention to the sons of our poorer people. "S. V."

LEHMKUHL'S "MORAL THEOLOGY."

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I am aware, like many other readers and subscribers of the I. E. RECORD, that there are many corrections and emendations made to the third and subsequent editions of Lehmkühl's *Moral Theology* by the learned author.

"I would be anxious to know if such corrections and improve-

ments have been published in pamphlet or booklet form ; and, if so, where it can be procured, and at what price.

“ If this has not been so, may I suggest that it would be well to bring the omission under the notice of the learned author and publishers through the medium of your widely-circulated I. E. RECORD. Those amongst us who have bought the earlier editions of the great work cannot afford to invest a like sum in the later editions, but would gladly purchase a supplement, &c.

“ SACERDOS.”

[We are not aware that the additions and corrections referred to have been published in a separate pamphlet form.—Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND ON THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

At the Annual General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, held at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on Thursday, the 25th of June, the following Resolutions were adopted on the Education Question, and the policy of the present Ministry in reference to it:—

“ I. We take this opportunity of again publishing and of re-affirming the Resolutions of the last General Meeting of our Body, in reference to the Education Question.

“ These Resolutions, originally drawn up at a Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland, held at the Archbishop's House, Dublin, on the 21st of March, 1889, were adopted by the General Meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, on the 25th of June, 1889. They are as follows:—

“ 1. On the subject of Primary Education, the Committee beg leave to call attention especially to the following grievances, which the Bishops have repeatedly complained of, individually and at their meetings, and which have been specially set forth in the Report of Lord Powis's Commission, in 1870, and in several

subsequent official Reports, notably in a recent Report of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, as urgently calling for redress :—

“(a) Restrictions on religious teaching and practices, and on the use of religious emblems, are enforced in schools, which are, and have been, strictly denominational, or unmixed, as to the religion of the pupils. Catholics claim as a strict right, inseparable from religious freedom, that the managers of such schools should be free to conduct them on denominational principles; and that the conscience clauses and restrictions of the mixed system should apply only to schools frequented by children of different religious denominations.

“(b) The existing Model Schools, although strongly condemned by Royal Commissions, are still maintained at a heavy expense to the State, mainly for the benefit of middle-class Protestants.

“(c) The newly-established Training Colleges are placed under heavy pecuniary burdens and disadvantages, from which the State Training College is entirely exempt. Catholics claim, as an essential condition of the new training system, that the denominational Colleges shall enjoy the same advantages, in every respect, as the mixed College. A recommendation to this effect was made by the Royal Commission of 1870.

“Underlying the above and other grievances, and mainly chargeable with them, is the unfair constitution of the Board of National Education. This Body, by which the grants to Primary Education are distributed, and the whole Primary System is administered, is not fairly representative of the Catholic population of Ireland, and offers no adequate protection for the large Catholic interests involved in the National System of Education. We demand, as an essential condition of the reform of the system of National Education, that the Board be reconstituted on a new and equitable basis.

“2. As to the system of Intermediate Education, the following amendments have been frequently asked for by the patrons and managers of Catholic Intermediate schools, and the same

have been recommended by the Educational Endowments Commission.

“(a) That the amount of the funds allotted by the State for the carrying out of the system, which is admitted on all sides to be entirely inadequate, should be largely increased.

“(b) That as the competition created by the system involves a large increase of school expenses, the results fees obtainable by schools should be increased.

“There is, moreover, a very general demand that, as in the Royal University, so in the Intermediate Examinations, girls, in so far as it is considered desirable for them to take part in the competition with boys, should compete for the same prizes, and under the same programmes.

“It is also keenly felt as unfair to Catholics that non-Catholic members form the majority of the Board of Intermediate Education.

“As regards University Education, the committee renew the oft-repeated protest of the Catholic bishops, clergy, and people of Ireland, against the unfair and oppressive system of higher education, established and maintained in Ireland by State endowments in the interest of non-Catholics, and to the grave social detriment of Catholics.

“Catholics demand equality in University, as well as in Intermediate and Primary Education with their non-Catholic fellow-subjects, so far as those systems are sustained and endowed by the State. They demand that their educational grievances, which have extended over 300 years, and which have been a constant, ever-growing source of bitter discontent, be at length redressed, and they appeal to all sections of Parliament, without distinction of political parties, to legislate promptly and in a just and generous spirit in this all-important matter.

“The committee abstain from formulating the University system which would best satisfy their demands and wishes; they will merely observe, that these would be satisfied substantially (a) by the establishment, in an exclusively Catholic, or in a common University, of one or more colleges conducted on purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in all the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by other colleges of whatsoever denomination or character; (b) by admitting the students

of such Catholic colleges, equally with the students of non-Catholic colleges, to University honours, prizes, and other advantages; and (c) by securing to Catholics in the Senate or other supreme University Council, an adequate number of representatives enjoying the confidence of the Catholic body.'

"II. We wish to reiterate the expression of our thanks to Thomas Sexton, Esq., M.P., who in the last session of Parliament brought forward, in a speech of singular power, the claims of the Catholics of Ireland as set forth in the foregoing resolutions; and to the other members of Parliament who so ably supported him.

"III. We request our representatives to continue their efforts to secure for their Catholic fellow-countrymen justice in this important matter of education. Furthermore, we request the Irish Parliamentary Party as a body to press this question on the attention of Parliament by every effectual means in their power, even to the resistance, if necessary, of the annual votes to the Queen's Colleges.

"IV. We regret that the expectations raised by the declaration made on behalf of the Ministry in reply to Mr. Sexton's speech last session, still remain unfulfilled, and that in one most important matter the fulfilment of them has since been declared to depend upon conditions which must be regarded as practically impossible.

"V. We request the Bishop of Ardagh, our representative on the Senate of the Royal University, to resign his place on the Senate as a protest against the continued neglect by the Ministry of the interests of the Catholics of Ireland in the matter of University Education.

"VI. Regarding the 'Custody of Children' Bill, and the 'Protection of Children' Bill, recently introduced into Parliament, as most dangerous in their tendencies, we feel called upon to request the Irish Parliamentary Party to give to these bills the most strenuous opposition, unless they are safeguarded by the insertion of such provisions as will secure the children against the dangers of proselytism.

"(Signed),

"✠ MICHAEL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh,
Primate of All Ireland, *Chairman*.

"✠ BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK, Bishop of Ardagh
and Clonmacnoise, *Secretary*."

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF S. RITES.

SUMMARY.

Is it allowable to fix painted figures to the back or pillar of Chasubles ?

BRUNEN.

Rmus. Dnus. Franciscus Salesius Bauer hodiernus Episcopus Brunen. exponens a fidelibus sibi commissae Dioeceseos, occasione primi millenarii ab obitu S. Methodii Episcopi proxime recolendi casulas et pluvialia dono offerri suis Ecclesiis exhibentia a tergo imagines Ss. Pont. Cyrilli et Methodii non acu in tela serica, sed oleo super tela lineo vel gossypio pictas alterique eiusmodi telae agglutinatas, a S. R. C. humiliter quaesivit, an sacra paramenta cum eiusmodi imaginibus legitime adhiberi possint ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, re mature perpensa, ita in casu rescribendum censuit :

Pictas imagines uti exponitur permitti posse, dummodo agatur de paramentis sericis, vel auro argentoque contextis, ac de cetero ad normam legum liturgicarum confectis.

Atque ita rescripsit ac declaravit. Die 30 Martii 1885.

SUMMARY.

I. May the clergy sit in choir, while the celebrant is incensing the altar, and saying the Introit and *Kyrie* ?

II. May a custom of doing so be tolerated ?

III. The Pax at a Mass at which a bishop is assisting.

CONCORDIEN.

De mandato Rmni. Episcopi Concordien. Rev. D. Antonius Canonicus Belgrado hodiernus Magister Caeremoniarum in Seminario ipsius Dioeceseos S. Rituum Congregationi insequentia Dubia pro opportuna solutione humillime subiecit, nimirum :

Dubium I. An, praeter Episcopum, etiam Clerus sedere possit quando Celebrans altare thurificat absoluta Confessione, et recitat introitum et *Kyrie* ?

Dubium II. Sin autem tum ad eam altaris thurificationem, tum ad recitationem Introitus Clerus stare debeat, quaeritur num tolerari possit consuetudo sedendi ?

Dubium III. Invaluit consuetudo ut in Missa solemni cum adsistentia Episcopi, celebrans Canonicus det osculum pacis Presbytero adsistenti, qui eum defert ad Episcopum ac statim

Diacono, qui etiam dat Subdiacono Ministris Missae inservientibus, secus isti in Officio suo perturbarentur. Potestne tolerari inducta consuetudo?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris ac Rmi Assessoris ipsius Sacrae Congregationis, omnibus mature perpensis, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. Affirmative ad primam partem, seu durante thurificatione; Negative ad secundam, seu quum recitatur Introitus et *Kyrie*.

Ad II. Provisum in primo.

Ad III. Servandam Caeremonialis dispositionem.

Atque ita rescripsit, et servari mandavit. Die 14 Aprilis 1885.

SUMMARY.

Solemn Procession on the occasion of closing the 'Quarant' Ore.

TROIANA.

Rñus. D. Thomas Passero hodiernus Episcopus Troianus quod sequitur Dubium S. Rituum Congregationi enodandum subiecit, nempe:

In Ecclesia Cathedrali Troiana singulis annis solemnè pompa Sñum. Eucharistiae Sacramentum publice fidelium adorationi exponi solet in forma quadraginta Horarum; antequam vero SSma Eucharistia reponatur, fit cum eadem infra ambitum Ecclesiae solemnè Processio incedentibus singulis Capituli Canonice, planetis indutis, ut praescribitur in Missis et Vesperis Pontificalibus. Dubitans autem idem Episcopus an huiusmodi consuetudo adversetur Rubricis et Decretis S. R. C. humillime petiit utrum licite ea servari queat?

Sacra vero eadem Congregatio ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii in casu respondendum censuit:

Servari posse expositam laudabilem consuetudinem. Atque ita respondit. Die 14 Aprilis 1885.

SUMMARY.

I. Effects of the personal privilege of saying the new Votive Offices and Masses.

II. Is it allowable to sing the other parts of the Palm Sunday and Good Friday service, if the Passion be not chanted?

III. The Mass for Ordination held on Saturday of Quatuor Tempora when it is a Vigil.

IV. May the Stations of the Cross be left uncovered during Passion time?

V., VI., VII., VIII., IX. Questions regarding the conditions and manner of celebrating the Feast of the Titular of an Oratory.

X. Rules regarding the Mass to be said *in aliena Ecclesia*.

XI. Do these rules hold for Oratories?

XII. Is the Mass-bell to be rung at a Mass in a private oratory where only the priest and server are present?

XIII. The tone of the prayers at the Benediction *cum SS^{mo}*.

MARIANOPOLITANA.

Rmus. Dnus. Eduardus Faber Episcopus marianopolitanus a S. R. C. insequentium Dubiorum solutionem humillime postulavit, nimirum :

Dubium I. An extra Ecclesias, quarum Calendario rite addita fuerunt Officia votiva, per Decretum 5 Iulii 1883 concessa, privilegium personale ad libitum ista recitandi Missasque respondententes more festivo celebrandi sic intelligi debeat, ut in cantandis Missis ac Vesperis (salvo iure Missas more stricte votivo celebrandi) ne Commemoratio quidem de iisdem fieri possit?

Dubium II. Utrum Dominica Palmarum ac Feria VI in Parasceve liceat ceteras functionis partes cantare ubi *Passio*, deficientibus Diaconis, a Celebrante tota legetur, excepto fine qui iuxta rubricam cantatur in tono Evangelii?

Dubium III. An, Vigilia occurrente in Sabbato Quatuor Temporum, Episcopus Ordines conferens, debeat non solum facere Commemorationem de Vigilia per orationes, sed etiam eiusdem Evangelium in fine legere?

Dubium IV. Utrum imagines, quae quatuordecim Viae Crucis stationibus affigi solent ad instruendos fideles eorumque pietatem fovendam, relinqui possint non velatae, tempore Passionis?

Dubium V. An Decretum in Marianopolitana 29 Novembris 1878, ex quo constat quoddam Oratorium consecratum ibidem descriptum ius habuisse ut celebrentur cum Octava tum ipsius Festum Titulare, tum eius Dedicatio, extendi debeat ad oratoria eiusdem generis simpliciter benedicta, in eo sensu quod eorum Titulus cum Octava sit celebrandus?

Dubium VI. An titulus, cuiuslibet Oratorii in perpetuum cultui divino ac praesertim Missae celebrandae addicti, in actu

consecrationis vel benedictionis auctoritate Episcopi assignatus eo ipso ius saltem in actu primo habeat ut eius festum (nec non et Dedicatio si sit consecratum) sub ritu Duplicis primae classis cum Octava celebretur, ita tamen ut exercitium istius iuris non incipiat, nisi certae conditiones impleantur, quibus ab initio non existentibus vel postea deficientibus, suspenditur?

Dubium VII. Utrum, ad supradicti iuris exercitium tria haec requirantur et sufficiant:

I. Quod Oratorium omnibus fidelibus pateat, vel saltem ad usum non privatae familiae, sed v. g. personarum in Seminariis, Hospitio etc. degentium adhibeatur?

II. Quod ibidem peragi soleant iuxta dispositionem Ordinarii quaedam functiones Ecclesiasticae aut saltem divini Sacrificii oblatio?

III. Quod adscribatur sive Clericus beneficiatus sive Communitas ad recitandum in choro canonicum Officium stricto obligato, sive Congregatio inter membra sua numerans clericos sacris ordinibus initiatos, sive Sacerdos ab Episcopo deputatus ut sit proprius Oratorii Rector?

Dubium VIII. Utrum in praedictis Oratoriis, quae propter tertiae conditionis supranumeratae defectum celebratione Festi Titularis (et Dicationis) cum Octava privantur, licitum sit ex Decretis in Compostellana 8 Aprilis 1808 ad 8, in una Societatis Iesu 18 Septembris 1877 ad primum ex ipsa die qua officium etiam accidentaliter translatum recitandum foret, cantare Missam de Titulo (et de Anniversario Dicationis) additis in quantum eas patitur ritus solemnitas, Commemorationibus Officii currentis cum Evangelio Dominicae vel Feriae maioris in fine?

Dubium IX. An ubi cantatur ista Missa, ceterae si quae ibidem celebrentur similiter de Titulari (vel de Dicatione) legendae sint?

Dubium X. Duae tabellae de celebratione Missae in Ecclesia aliena publicatae sunt anno 1859 tanquam a Secretario Sacrae Congregationis Rituum approbatae (quorum exemplar per modum appendicis iam exhibitum fuit); quaeritur utrum servari possint et debeant istae tabellae, an vero sequenda sit regula generalis, vi cuius (praeter, paucas exceptiones quoad Missam Conventualem, Missam de Beato, etc.) Sacerdos non legit Missam iuxta Calendarium Ecclesiae alienae, nisi quando in ea vel celebratur Officium duplex aut duplici aequivalens cum diverso colore, vel fit de Festo cuius Solemnitate populi concursus attrahitur?

Dubium XI. An regulæ circa Missæ celebrationem in Ecclesia aliena similiter obligent :

I. In Oratoriis saltem benedictis sive festum eorum Titulare celebretur cum Octava sive non ?

II. In locis ad tempus, donec erigatur Ecclesia vel Oratorium, ab Ordinario deputatis ad Missæ celebrationem, etc. ?

III. In parvis Oratoriis extra principale Oratorium apud communitates Ecclesiasticas etc. cum licentia competenti institutis ?

Dubium XII. Utrum Rubrica qua præcipitur campanulam a ministro Missæ lectæ pulsari, spectet ad Oratoria huiusmodi, in quibus plerumque solus adest celebans cum ministro ?

Dubium XIII. Utrum Orationes coram Sanctissimo Sacramento exposito extra Missam et Horas Canonicas cantandæ sint in sexto tono an vero cum duplici vocis a *Fa* ad *Re* inflexione ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, re mature perpensa, ita propositis dubiis rescribendum consult, nempe :

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Servetur methodus præscripta a Benedicto XIII pro Ecclesiis ruralibus.

Ad III. Affirmative ad primam artem, negative ad secundam.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Pro Oratoriis simpliciter benedictis Negative, et serventur Decreta.

Ad VI. Si sit consecratum Oratorium ius ei competit uti pro publica Ecclesia consecrata, si sit benedictum provisum in V.

Ad VII. Si Oratorium sit consecratum, sufficit sola consecratio.

Ad VIII. Si Oratorium sit consecratum, serventur eadem quæ in Ecclesia ; si benedictum provisum in V.

Ad IX. Si sit consecratum, Affirmative.

Ad X. et XI. Servanda regula generalis etiam in Oratoriis, exceptis mere privatis.

Ad XII. Campanula in Missa pulsanda est etiam in privatis Oratoriis.

Ad XIII. Orationes in casu cantandas esse sexto tono cum unica vocis inflexione in fine cuiusque orationis.

Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit ac servari mandavit. Die 18 Iulii 1885.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE PASSION PLAY AT OBER-AMMERGAU. By the Rev. Gerald Molloy, D.D., D.Sc. London: Burns & Oates. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

QUITE a large number of works on the Passion Play have appeared in England within the past twenty years. They are all, as far as we know, Protestant both in their authorship and tone. Dr. Molloy has, however, supplied to Catholics of the English-speaking world, and, indeed, to all fair-minded Protestants also, by far the most interesting and trustworthy account of the great drama—of its execution and surroundings. No person who intends to visit Ober-Ammergau should start without a copy of the book; and anyone who cannot afford himself that pleasure, will find the most complete and graphic description, not alone of the Passion Play, but of every detail of scenery, of travelling, and of practical experience connected with it.

The "Play" itself is solemn and impressive beyond description, and is sure never to be forgotten by those who witness it. It can only be seen every ten years.

Dr. Molloy's work will be an interesting and useful *souvenir* for the privileged few who can make their way to the Bavarian Tyrol this time; but it really conveys to those who are not so favoured, a very full and interesting notion of the modern representation by the inhabitants of a retired Bavarian village, of the greatest event the world ever saw. J. F. H.

S. ALPHONSI M. DE LIGUORI EPISCOPI, CONFESSORIS ET ECCLESIAE DOCTORIS, LIBER DE CAEREMONIIS MISSAE. (Pustet.)

ALTHOUGH this book on the ceremonies of the Mass bears the name of St. Alphonsus, the greater part of it is not his work. It consists of three parts:—(1) an introduction of more than thirty pages; (2) the explanation of the ceremonies of the Mass; (3) appendices. The second part alone is the work of the Saint. It was written by him, in the Italian language, when already an old man, and is now presented to the public, translated into Latin by the Rev. G. Schober, C.S.S.R. This part is, as might have been expected, clear, full, and accurate; but it would, perhaps, have been more easily studied if the translator had suppressed

St. Liguori's words wherever a contrary decision has been given since his time. Father Schober, out of reverence for the founder of his Order, has, in all cases, given the words of the original author ; but wherever, owing to recent decrees, any change has to be made, it is done in notes—St. Liguori's words being bracketed, and printed in italics.

The first part treats of the obligation of the Rubrics, of the application of the Mass, of preparation and thanksgiving. The third part contains some very useful matter, especially a long appendix on Votive Masses, and an appendix on Masses for the dead.

The book is a very useful one, and contains extensive and accurate information regarding the Rubrics connected with the celebration of the Mass.

LIFE OF FATHER CHARLES SIRE, S.J. Translated from the French. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is the life of a very devoted priest of the Jesuit Order, whose reputation for sanctity was widely known. He was member of a large and saintly family, having five brothers priests. One of them it was, the Abbé Dominique Sire, of St. Sulpice, who got the Bull *Ineffabilis*, proclaiming the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, translated into every known language, richly illuminated, and presented in a magnificent "meuble" to Pope Pius IX. The subject of the present biography was chiefly remarkable in the discharge of the ordinary duties of a Jesuit novice and priest, for his strong faith, his unflinching devotion to the Sacred Heart and the Blessed Virgin, and a general sweetness and serenity of disposition which scarcely anything could ruffle. The translation, though defective in many respects, is yet good enough to give a fair insight into the virtues and character of this saintly priest.

J. F. H.

LIFE OF ST. BONAVENTURE. Translated by L. C. Syke. Burns & Oates, and Catholic Publication Society Co.

THIS "Life" gives in a comparatively small compass, not only the leading features of the life of St. Bonaventure, but, in addition, much information about the order of which he was such a distinguished member. The writer has displayed considerable familiarity with the works of St. Bonaventure, both philosophical and ascetical, and has evidently formed correct notions about the state of religion and of learning in the thirteenth century. The translator might have vouchsafed the name of the writer, or even of the language in which the "Life" was originally written.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1890.

AN ISLAND SHRINE IN THE WEST.

ARDILAUN, more correctly Ard-Oilean, or High Island, is one of the most interesting of the many holy islands off the western coast of Ireland. There is another island of the same name in Lough Corrib, from which Sir Arthur E. Guinness takes his title of Baron Ardilaun; but the ocean island was practically unknown, except to the saints of old. It is situated about six miles south-and-by-west of Inisboffin, and about three miles off the extreme western point of Connemara, which is known as Aghros Point, and is about eleven Galway miles west of Clifden. Being so very remote and almost inaccessible, it has been very rarely visited by strangers; even the most enthusiastic antiquarians have shrunk from committing themselves to an open boat in these wild seas, and then scaling the perpendicular cliffs that rise all round the shores of the island.

We were enabled, not without some risk, to visit this singular holy island last July; and we venture to hope that a brief account of such a sanctuary of ancient piety will prove of some interest to our readers. We made an early start from Clifden, on Monday morning, the 22nd of July, accompanied by our worthy host, Father Lynskey, the excellent pastor of Clifden, and his curate, Father Biggins, both well skilled in the colloquial Irish language, which is a matter of some importance for those who venture to explore these remote regions. The drive from Clifden to Omey Island lies along the northern shore of the long narrow inlet of Streams-

town, and affords many picturesque views of the bold headland that runs from Clifden towards Omev Island, and overlooks all the hills and islands of these remotest shores. On arriving at Omev, which is about seven miles beyond Clifden, we drove across the strand that separates it from the mainland when the tide is out, and paid a visit to that island, which is very celebrated in connection with the history of St. Fechin.

The islanders of Omev told us that, as it was blowing a stiff breeze from the north-west, it would be quite impossible to reach Ardilaun on such a day, and advised us not to make the attempt. However, the time at our disposal was limited; we had come far to see this island shrine, and if it could not be reached in July, when could we hope to reach it? So Father Lynskey resolved to drive on to Aghros-Beg, and see if the hardy fishermen of the ultimate west would venture to effect a landing on Ardilaun. Yes, they would; the clergy were to be along with them, and they had nothing to fear. It would, no doubt, be a tough pull in the teeth of such a wind and such a sea; but all would go well if we only kept steady and the men worked hard. Our crew consisted of six stalwart and good-humoured young fellows with bronzed faces, strong arms, and fearless hearts. Their good pastor had succeeded in getting a pier built for their boats, which before were often dashed to pieces on the rocks; and if he asked them, I believe they would volunteer to take him all the way to America. The waves were much broken by the cross seas between the rocks and islands on this part of the coast, yet we shipped very little water, and slowly forged ahead in the very teeth of the wind and sea until we reached partial shelter under the lee of the Friar's Island, whose huge cliffs rise black and bare between Ardilaun and the mainland. The wash of the broken billows, however, compelled us to give the island a wide berth, although we were for a while actually under the shelter of its precipitous rocks. Then one more supreme effort was made to clear the half mile of open sea between the two islands, through which the wind and waves swept fiercely in from the north-west. The sweat rolled down in streams from the men's faces, yet still they

bravely held by their oars, now in the trough of the sea, and the next moment on the very crest of the huge billows that rose so threateningly around us. No word was spoken, the men held their breath, and steadied their oars so as to catch the water at the proper moment, when the oars would help to balance the boat on the broken crests of the waves. After twenty minutes' hard exertion we got over this bit of angry sea, and all felt a sense of relief as soon as we glided under the comparative shelter of the cliffs of the High Island.

It certainly well deserves the name. Is there any chance, we thought, of stepping on to that steep sea-wall, and then scaling these horrid rocks? How can the boat approach them even for an instant without being dashed to pieces? None of us were novices at sea; but we all saw the difficulty of landing on the island; and even the skilled mariners, who live so much on these stormy waters, could not say for certain, until they reached a certain spot, whether it would be possible to land on the island or not. But they would soon tell us. We were now approaching the little cove in which alone we could hope to land with a westerly or north-westerly wind. It is at the eastern side of the island, and would certainly escape the observation of any persons who were not acquainted with the place. This little cove is very deep—the men told us it was fully twenty fathoms—and runs in under the shelter of a huge projecting cliff, which towers over it on the north, and thus somewhat shelters it from the broken waves. Not that we shall land, in the ordinary sense of our boat touching the shore—that would be quite impossible in these restless waters, bounded by these steep and rugged rocks. Experience has taught the Connemara fisherman how to effect his purpose in another way, and even allow his boat at the same time to take care of itself. He makes a rope fast to a huge stone, which he throws out from the stern into the sea, and which is heavy enough to hold his boat under a lee shore. Then he pays out the rope until the boat approaches near enough on the crest of a wave for an active man to jump ashore with another rope, to which a light anchor is made fast. This anchor he secures in the face of the rock as best he can, and then the boat rides

securely between these two cables. By hauling the anchor line taut she may be brought close enough to the rock for the passengers to jump in, one by one; but when the strain is removed, she recedes from the shore, and rides securely by the stone anchor, which will not allow her to touch the rocks. It was thus we left our boat, riding safely on the waves without even one man to care her. It was not at all easy to scramble up the cliff, although here and there something like footprints were cut in the rock. But one of the men, having reached the summit, assisted his next neighbour, and so on at the various stages of the ascent, until all had reached the summit in safety. A false step, however, and the climber would certainly glide down the face of the slanting rock into a boiling sea some twenty fathoms deep. He might then strike out for the boat or the mooring ropes; but he had no other chance of escape.

The island is about a quarter of a mile in length, but not more than a furlong in average breadth. It contains an area of eighty-two statute acres covered with a beautiful sward of short green grass, so soft and so elastic that it feels under the foot like a velvet carpet or a spring mattress of woven wire. I never saw anywhere the soil covered with a softer and greener sod, or one richer with the fragrance of many odours. The rocks protrude in rounded eminences in two or three places, but the remaining part of the surface is gently undulating and covered with the same soft and fragrant turf even close to the edge of the cliff. The general level of the island is about 200 feet above the sea, and it is faced round by a wall of absolutely inaccessible cliffs, except at that point on the eastern shore where we landed with so much difficulty. When the wind blows from the south there is a similar little cove to the north of the same protruding cliff that sheltered our boat, where a landing can also be effected, but only in the calmest weather. On the north-western face of the island, which is exposed to all the fury of the Atlantic, the cliffs rise sheer from the waves, and actually overhang the sea at a height of nearly 300 feet in the highest points. The prospect from this portion of the island, looking to the north-

west, is very grand and awe-inspiring. Boffin and Shark raise up their bare black outlines beyond the waves against the naked sky to the north; to the west is the ultimate ocean, which amongst these islands can hardly be said to be ever calm; on the land side, the Twelve Pins of Connemara rise up in gloomy grandeur; then, looking southward, beyond Cruagh Island may be seen the white breakers around Slyne Head lighthouse and the distant islands of Aran, and, of a clear day, Kerry Head and Brandon Hill rise up grandly from the sea on the extreme verge of the southern horizon. And then the eye turns from all this savage grandeur of rocks and waves and mountains to repose with double pleasure on the vivid green of the soft turf beneath your feet.

Neither is all life wanting on this lonely island. It is true, there are no inhabitants in the island now; but there is a great abundance of rabbits, and a small and hardy colony of sheep that are slung up the rocks to browse on the fragrant herbage, and whose flesh is so sweet that it would be a luxury for an epicure. The gannet and the herring-gull and all the birds that haunt the desolate ocean islets are here, too, in abundance. But of man, at present, there is no trace, except a solitary roofless house, which was built to shelter the miners, who sunk a shaft in search of silver and copper ore; which, however, appear to have disappointed their expectations, for both house and mine have been long abandoned by the workmen.

What renders this island specially interesting is its ecclesiastical ruins, which, in all probability, date from the sixth century. We shall here describe them exactly as we saw them. We first came to a holy well at the foot of a ledge of rock, which rises above the green sward of the island. It is surrounded by a rude stone wall, and close at hand was a flag sculptured with a plain Celtic cross of the most ancient type. The flag was probably used to cover the well; but it was broken either by the miners or some Vandal visitors, who had no reverence for holy things. The well itself is called "Tubber Brian Murrogh," according to some of the fishermen; but others declared that it was "St. Brian Boru's Well." It is on the south-eastern part of the island, and about 100

paces from the bee-hive cells and the cashel that enclosed them. The water is of a tea-colour, probably owing to the presence of peat; but it is sweet and pleasant to the taste. O'Flaherty, describing this island, says: "It is inaccessible but on calm settled weather, and so steep that it is hard after landing in it to climb to the top, where there is a well called Brian Boramy (King of Ireland) his well, and a standing water, on the brook whereof was a mill."¹ The standing water is there still, and the brook still bears its surplus flood to the edge of the precipice, over which it pours its stream into a deep black pool walled in by cliffs more than 150 feet in height. The sea below is as deep beneath the surface as these giant walls of rock rise above it, so that the aspect of the spot is at once terrible and grand. Boats rarely ever venture into the recesses of these stormy ocean halls. It is still called in Irish *Cuan nuillin*, or the mill-cove, because the mill-stream poured down its steep flanks into the sea. The stream itself is not more than fifty yards in length from the lakelet to the edge of the cliff. The place where the mill-wheel turned can still be traced, and although in summer it was a tiny stream, no doubt the frequent rains of the west always supplied the monks with abundant water to grind their corn. The lakelet is evidently of natural not artificial formation; it seems, too, to be of considerable depth, and contains some fish, which was doubtless one of the reasons that caused the island to be chosen as a hermitage by the saints of old.

On the margin of the lake, under a rising ground that sheltered the spot from the cold winds of the north-east, the monastic buildings were situated. They were all built of flat stones, without mortar; but both buildings and enclosure are now completely ruined. Enough, however, remains to determine their nature and extent. They were of the same general character as the ecclesiastical ruins that are still to be seen on so many of the islands of the West. There was the rectangular oratory, the cloghauns or bee-hive cells, and the enclosing cashel; which last, however, was

¹ See *West Connaught*, page 115.

little needed, for nature's rampart was all round about them ; and, even if some marauders were bold enough to scale the cliffs at the landing-place, it would not be difficult to defend the monastery itself. It was admirably situated for that purpose, under a cliff that sheltered and defended it on the east ; to the south was the lake ; on the west and north-west, the mill-stream and the sea-cliffs cut off all approach ; so that a few resolute men could have held it against a host.

The cashel was 35 yards by 26 ; the oratory, near its centre, was 21 feet by 12, in the clear. There are remains of three cloghauns : one which, still nearly perfect, has thick walls, square within, but circular on the outside, and it is an excellent and well-built example of its class ; the second is unroofed, but the walls remain ; only the doorway of the third can now be observed—it was close to the oratory on the east. The western gable of the oratory is still nearly perfect ; the stones were small and flat. The doorway had a horizontal lintel, with very slightly inclining jambs ; but the masonry seems to have been of a rather inferior character. The native rock is not the granitic felspar and quartz of the mainland, but seems rather to be a hard mica slate, easily split up into flags. The eastern gable of the oratory is now entirely destroyed, and its stones scattered about. One cell stood at the east end of the oratory, the two others were near its north-east angle, but apparently outside the cashel. A little mortar seems to have been used in the heart of the wall of the oratory ; but none was used in building the cashel or the cells. Some 40 yards from the cashel, on the north, there is another awful sea-cove or pool, appropriately called *Dubh-linn*, or "The Black-pool." It is of a still deeper and wilder character than that into which the mill-stream pours its waters, and rendered the monastery absolutely unapproachable on the north and west. Between the cashel and this Black-pool there are traces of another building, which was probably a guest-house for the reception of strangers—it is no longer possible to determine its exact character or extent.

Slyne Head and its light-house, with all the sea-worn islets that surround it, can be distinctly seen from the cashel,

about eight miles due south; and it forms a very striking object in the distance. A little to the left, but close at hand, rise up, bold and bare, the rugged outlines of Cruach, or "The Stack Island." O'Flaherty calls it Cruagh-ar-ni-may, and Sir James Ware names it *Insula Cuniculorum*—it was so fruitful of rabbits; but it was fatal to dogs, which either "dye on the spot, or shortly after coming out of it." The rabbits are there still; but we did not hear that it is still "a bane to dogs," as the old historian of Iar Connaught describes it.

We found no inscribed stones on the island, although it was alleged by the men that there were some to be seen there a short time previous. There are traces still discernible of the monks' garden, and what seems to have been an ancient graveyard, on the eastern shore of the smaller lake, between it and the cliffs. Of course, if the monks had a mill, they doubtless raised, as well as ground, their own corn, in the sheltered nooks on the south-eastern arm of the island. On the western and north-western slopes no crops could live, if the sea-breezes blew of old, as they do now, over the island. O'Flaherty says that, in his own time, there was "extant a chapel and a large round wall [the cashel enclosure]; and, also, that kind of stone building called cloghaun. Therein, too, yearly, an eyrie of hawks is found." We believe they breed there still; although the boatmen were not quite certain on this point.

But who were the holy men who dwelt in these little cells, and prayed in that poor oratory, surrounded by these awful precipices and that ever-restless ocean? It is not unlikely that this island was the one referred to in *The Navigation of St. Brendan*, as the first of the many strange islands discovered by that daring sailor-saint. When he had been many days at sea, and his supply of provisions was well-nigh consumed, Brendan and his monks, we are told, saw an island towards the north, which was very high and rocky—*valde saxosa et alta*. And, as they approached the shore, they saw that it was exceedingly lofty, and straight as a wall; and they saw streams flowing down the cliffs into the sea; but they could find no port to bring their vessel

alongside. Now, the monks being almost famished with hunger and thirst, eagerly sought to catch in their vessels a little of the water, as it fell from the cliffs; but the blessed Brendan rebuked them, and bade them wait until God would show them a landing-place, and some means of refreshing their wearied limbs. It was not, however, until they had several times sailed round the island that God showed them, on the third day, a narrow cove for landing, which was only large enough to admit a single vessel. Then Brendan rose up and blessed the narrow entrance, and found that it was cut into a rock, which rose up on either side like a wall, but yet gave them a means of reaching the summit.¹ All this is an exact description of what we ourselves saw at Ardilaun; and there is probably no other island in the North Atlantic Ocean of which it is equally true. What follows belongs entirely to the marvellous and supernatural, but certainly is not uninteresting. The writer of the voyage, describes how, when the saint and his companions walked along the shore, a dog came to meet Brendan, as if he were his master, and then led the saint and his companions, by a certain pathway, to a "town," into which they entered. And, lo! they found a large room prepared for their reception, with seats and couches, and water to wash their feet.

Now, as soon as they were seated, Brendan warned his monks not to touch anything without permission, as he feared that one, who was more greedy than the other brethren, might be tempted by all the fine things that they saw around them; for the walls were hung with curiously-wrought vessels of various metals, and also with bits and reins, and drinking-horns mounted with silver. After a little, Brendan seeing no one, and being very hungry, said to the brother who used to wait at table: "Bring us the dinner, which God has sent us;" and the brother rising up found a table close at hand prepared for dinner, with napkins, and loaves of wondrous whiteness—one for each of the company—and fishes also in abundance. Then Brendan blessed

¹ *Navigatio Brendani*, cap. iii.

the table, whilst the brethren all joyfully partook of the food prepared for them, and gave thanks to God. After their meal they lay down on the couches to rest their limbs, tired from the toils of the sea, and slept soundly.

Now, whilst they were sleeping, Brendan rose up to pray, and he saw the devil, in the shape of an Ethiopian boy, take one of the silver-mounted bits from the wall, and give it to the greedy brother, who immediately concealed it in his bosom. But when morning was come, Brendan awoke the brethren to prepare and continue their voyage; and once more they found the table ready, and an abundant meal prepared for all. At their departure the holy man once more cautioned them not to touch anything beyond what God had given them, and all promised to obey. "Ah!" said Brendan, "one of you has in his bosom a silver bit, which the devil gave him last night." The wretched man thereupon confessed his sin, and threw himself at the feet of Brendan, imploring pardon for his crime. Then the holy man visibly expelled the demon, before them all, from the penitent sinner; but the saint at the same time told him to prepare to receive the Viaticum, for that his death was nigh, as a penalty for his sin. And so he died, and was buried on the island; but his soul was carried to heaven by the angels of God. Then the saint re-embarked with his companions; and as they were setting out there came to the shore a young man, but they knew not whence he came, who gave them a basket of bread and a jar of water, to be their food on the sea until Pentecost; and so they departed from the High Island.

There may have been hermits living on this island at the time of St. Brendan's voyage, about A. D. 540; but it was, as O'Flaherty tells us, St. Fechin and his monks who founded the "abbey" on Ardilaun, the remains of which are still visible there.

This saint flourished during the first half of the seventh century, for his death is noticed in A. D. 664. He was a native of Bile, in the County Sligo, but in the spirit of missionary enterprise, so characteristic of our early Irish saints, he preached the Gospel and founded monasteries in

various remote parts of the country, especially at Fore, in Westmeath, and at Termon-fechin, in the County Louth. It was probably at the request of King Guaire that he undertook the conversion of the pagan inhabitants who still lingered in some of those remote islands of the West, especially in the island of Omey. And it was, doubtless, with a view to his own greater seclusion that he betook himself from Omey to Ardilaun, and there founded the oratory and the bee-hive cells which we have been describing. After his own departure for Meath, it is quite clear that Ardilaun still continued to be the penitential retreat of his disciples. We find, however, no reference made to any of his successors until A. D. 1017, when, according to *The Four Masters*, Gormhgal of Ard-Oilean, chief anmchara of Ireland, died. O'Flaherty describes him as "a very spirituall person of renowned sanctity, who made in this island his hermitical retirement."

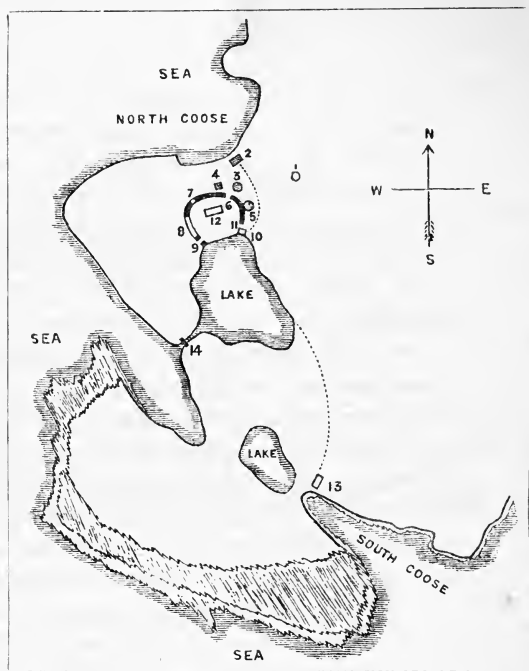
Besides Gormhgal, Colgan gives the names of the following saints as interred in Ardilaun:—Maelsuthunius, Celecharius, Tressachus, Dubthacus, Dunadach, Cellochus, Ultanus, Cormacchus, Conmachus. But it is quite evident that Colgan mistook Ardilaun for Inishere, the eastern of the three Isles of Aran; for it is in Inishere, not in Ardilaun, that all those holy men, with the exception of St. Gormhgal, are buried.

Mr. G. H. Kinahan, read a paper before the Royal Irish Academy, in 1869, in which he gives a short account of the ancient buildings on the island, as they appeared at the time of his visit. He also gives a sketch-plan (see next page) of the south western extremity of the island, in which the monastic ruins are situated. It is quite evident from a comparison of Mr. Kinahan's account with the present state of these ancient buildings, that the ruins have suffered much within the last twenty years. The island abounds in rabbits, which naturally take refuge in the old walls. When the shepherd boys, who occasionally visit the island, hunt these rabbits they frequently tear down the old walls to come at their game; and there is at present no one to prevent them from rooting up these venerable structures as much as they please. It is

greatly to be regretted that the ruins of this island were not taken charge of by the Board of Works, as the present proprietors seem to be utterly indifferent about them, regarding them, doubtless, as nothing better than mere heaps of old stones.

We cannot, however, agree with all Mr. Kinahan's conclusions, in his brief but interesting paper.

His plan shows at least three gates in the original cashel.



There possibly may have been two—one at the south-western, and the other at the south-eastern angle adjoining the lake. But neither in this nor in any similar structure that we have seen, will the most careful inquiry show more than two gates; and, generally speaking, they will be found at opposite points of the enclosure—one for ordinary use, and the other, probably, for escape in case of sudden attack.

Again, Mr. Kinahan's plan shows three of the cloghauns

as outside the monastic enclosure. It may be assumed with perfect certainty, that if they were really outside the cashel, they were not cloghauns or monastic cells, in the ordinary acceptation of the word. It appears to us quite clear that these three cells were built adjoining the wall or the enclosure, probably for want of space within it, but in such a way that the entrance to the cell opened on the enclosure, and practically formed a part of it. And the peculiar feature in these cells, not clearly brought out by Mr. Kinahan, is, that they were square or rectangular within, with a dome-shaped roof, but outside they were certainly circular, so far as we can judge from the one whose walls are still in a fair state of preservation. It would seem that St. Fechin and his monks, though for convenience sake they adopted the rectangular shape within, were yet unwilling to discard the traditional form of the bee-hive cell which was handed down to them by their sainted masters of the sixth century.

We think, too, that the building marked No. 1 on Mr. Kinahan's plan, and which he describes as a circular cloghaun, twenty-seven feet in diameter, was an unroofed enclosure, either for the temporary accommodation of guests, or for the cattle of the monastery. It was without the cashel, but within the outer wall, which seems to have run north and south, from cliff to cliff, both sheltering and defending the monastery proper as well as all its adjacent grounds and buildings. At the northern and southern extremities of this wall there were two strong buildings, marked No. 2 and 13 on the plan, which were, doubtless, employed to shelter those whose duty it was to watch and defend the approaches to the monastery.

We could find no trace of the cross which is figured by Mr. Kinahan, and which he saw near the landing-place on the eastern shore of the island. The cross at the well, which he has also sketched is now broken, and, doubtless, the fragments will also disappear in a short time.

This remote island is certainly worthy of a visit from those who take an interest in our early Christian antiquities; but the only way in which it can be safely accomplished is under the guidance of the brave and hardy fishermen, who

dwell on the mainland at Aghros Point. The surrounding sea is full of rocks; the cliffs are almost inaccessible; and it would be well-nigh impossible for a stranger to find the exact place where it would be practicable to effect a landing. Doubtless this is also the reason why no family has dwelt on the island within the memory of man, although the soil seems to be fertile, and there is abundance of water, and probably as much peat as would suffice for fuel. Will the day ever come again when holy men, flying from the vanities and deceits of the world, will people once more those holy islands of the west? Will the sound of the Angelus bell be ever heard again over these wild seas, and the chant of sacred psalmody once more awake the echoes of the ocean caves? Who can tell. This we know, that if we had to make the choice, we should prefer a cloghaun on this lonely but beautiful island, to a cell in some dark attic over a dirty street, where the sights and sounds and smells, by day and by night, are a perpetual abomination.

✠ J. HEALY.

THOUGHTS ON THE SIMPLICITY OF GOD.

“ Simplex esse, simplex posse
 Simplex velle, simplex nosse
 Cunata sunt simplicia.”—BOËTH, *Hymn*.

“ Nach der Lehre der Offenbarung, wie nach der Vernunft, ist Gott absolut, d. h. nicht bloss physisch, sondern auch metaphysisch einfach, so das in Ihm keine Zusammensetzung irgend welcher Art stattfindet, stattfinden kam und gedacht werden darf.”—Dr. SCHEEBEN.

HOW few persons there are, even among the good and fervent, who love to dwell upon that which, after all, is the grandest and most sublime of all subjects—viz., the nature and attributes of God. Men may think often and devoutly of Jesus Christ; and Jesus Christ is, of course, God as well as man; but, even in contemplating Him, they are wont to dwell almost exclusively on the human side of His

character. They muse upon His sufferings, humiliations, labours, and journeyings ; they weep over His passion, death, and burial ; they picture to themselves His gentleness, condescension, patience, and love ; but the thought of His divinity, His awful power, irresistible omnipotence, and uncreated wisdom, His mysterious eternity, infinity, and inaccessible purity and sanctity, seldom occupies the prominent place in their minds which it assuredly deserves.

In fact, His human nature is so much more easy to conceive, and His created soul is so far more intelligible an object, that some persons are really in danger of altogether overlooking the divine nature which was His from all eternity.

Now, in contemplating God, the very first thought that naturally arises before us is His unity. So soon as we begin to exercise our reason on the subject, we find ourselves exclaiming: "God is one." One in nature, and, as faith teaches, three in persons ; one in essence, three in relation. The Trinity in God is a subject we must reserve for some future essay ; but let us now attempt to put down a few thoughts concerning the unity of God.

God is one in the strictest sense of the word: one intrinsically and in His own nature, and one in the sense of being without an equal.

The unity of God, considered in His own nature, we may speak of as the simplicity of God ; thereby drawing out the contrast between His oneness and the multiplicity and complexity existing in creatures. For, in every being, save in God, there is a greater or less degree of complexity. Thus, man himself is composed of body and soul. The human body is made up of various parts. Each part is distinct. The head is not the hand ; the hand is not the foot ; the foot is not the arm. So, too, as regards the soul. Though not a material substance—though not possessed of distinct organs or physical parts—still it is by no means simple, in the sense in which God is simple. The soul has various powers and attributes, and they are all distinct. The memory is not the will ; the will is not the understanding ; the understanding is not the imagination. And none of these is the soul

itself. Each is merely a faculty of the soul. We cannot say that the soul *is* reason, or justice, &c. We can say only that the soul *has* or exercises reason, justice, &c. They are attributes of the soul, and distinct from the soul itself; so that there is a real difference between the soul and its faculties and powers, and no strict unity or absolute ontological identity exists between them.

God, on the contrary, is absolutely one and indivisible. It is true that we speak of the attributes of God; for this we are compelled to do owing to the exigencies of language. But God has no attributes in the ordinary sense of that term. We say God is "good." But to speak of a being as good, is to speak of him as possessing a certain quality; hence, if we wish to be exact, we cannot so speak of God. He does not possess goodness, as something added to His essence; He *is* goodness. It is His very being. *Deus simplex, quia, quod habet, hoc est.* So of every other quality, which, by the necessity of human speech, we attribute to Him. He is not wise; He is wisdom. His wisdom is indistinguishable from Himself. The same must be said of His power, patience, sanctity, mercy, providence, and of all else. Such qualities are not *of* God, nor *in* God; they *are* God. This is why the Scripture does not inform us that God loves, nor that He has love; but that He is love. *Deus caritas est.*

God is love; and, as He is love, so is He also wisdom, power, omnipotence, beauty, sanctity, and all else; and yet His wisdom is but another name for His power; and His power is but another name for His love; and His love is but another name for His justice; and His justice but another name for His beauty. In the Deity, goodness, beauty, truth, wisdom, &c., do not exist as distinct attributes; they are all so many different names for His very essence, according to the different manner in which that essence is conceived and regarded by creatures. These, and the innumerable other terms which we employ, indicate, not an innumerable number of perfections, but an innumerable number of different aspects of the one infinite and indivisible perfection. The distinction we make between one divine perfection and another, is not a real intrinsic distinction, but merely

an ideal one; or, as theologians put it, not a *distinctio realis*, but a *distinctio rationis*. We employ different words, not to indicate any objective change on the part of God, but simply to indicate the selfsame indivisible and changeless essence of God, as it presents itself, new in one way, now in another, to our limited understandings. In fact, we do very much what we do when speaking of terrestrial things. We speak, for example, of the sun *rising*, and the sun *setting*. There is no real distinction between the setting and the rising sun; for the sun neither rises nor sets. It is the earth alone that is responsible for the phenomena. It is the earth, not the sun, that changes its position. This terrestrial movement, however, gives to the sun a different appearance in our eyes; and, to indicate this difference, we call it by a distinct name. We speak of the altered relation as though it were the sun itself that varied and shifted its position. The same may be said of the moon, which we describe as full, half, &c.

Unity, as it exists in God, is so absolute, that it admits of no modification or alteration whatsoever. In fact, change is metaphysically impossible, except in a finite being. For what does every change necessarily imply? Either an addition of some kind, or a privation of some kind. In fact, change cannot be accounted for on any other hypothesis. Take a familiar example. To-day, I am beaming with happiness; to-morrow, I am a prey to the most acute sorrow. Why the change? Perhaps, because news reaches me of the death of a devoted friend; *i. e.*, my knowledge has been increased: or, again, it may be because I have lost my riches, my reputation, or my health; *i. e.*, something has been withdrawn from me, which before I possessed and enjoyed. But, since every change supposes an accession or a privation, God must be changeless. For He is infinite in every respect; and He who is infinite in every respect cannot receive increase, for what is capable of increase is necessarily limited. So, for a similar reason, neither can the infinite suffer any privation. For, so soon as anything is wanting, the infinite ceases to be infinite; or, in other words, God must cease to be God—which is, of all impossible things, the most impossible.

It may help somewhat to clear our views on this subject, if we here remark that even creatures enjoy a certain measure of unity. A man is the same man to-day and yesterday. That is to say, there is the same individual, the same *suppositum*; but still we cannot say that there is actual identity. He may be sometimes in one state, and sometimes in another: *e. g.*, at one time discouraged, downcast, and in despair; at another, bright, cheery, and full of hope. But there is nothing to correspond to this in God, who knows no change or shadow of alteration, but is ever the infinitely perfect throughout all ages, times, and periods. "Yesterday, and to-day, and the same for ever."

Hence all that seems to imply change in the Creator, must be understood to mean, in sober truth, nothing more than a change in the creature. What looks like change in God is really the simple and divine act of omnipotence, changeless in itself, producing change in all things else. We say God loves and hates; that He is angered and pacified; now roused to indignation, now induced to relent and to pardon: that He punishes and rewards, &c. And when we hear such things said, and read such expressions in the Bible, we are sometimes apt to forget the calm, consistent, and passionless nature of God, "with whom there is no change, nor shadow of alteration." (James i. 17.)

In all such cases, the change which we attribute to God, must really be referred to that which is external to God. In such a matter, it is not easy to find an example that may fittingly illustrate our theme; but let us make an attempt. Take, as an instance, the sun shining in the heavens. The sun casts a ray of heat upon the earth: this ray is precisely the same whether it fall on one object or another. But, observe, though the *ray* be the same, the *effect* of that ray may be not only different, but even opposite, according to the condition, quality, and character of the object on which it falls. If it fall on a piece of wax, it will soften it, and make it perfectly plastic and yielding; but if it fall on soft wet clay it will produce diametrically the opposite effect. It will harden and bake it, till it breaks up and crumbles away into dust. So God, as innocent of all change as the sun's rays, by one

and the same act produces the most opposite results—*e. g.*, rewards the saint and punishes the sinner.

Take another example from the order of nature. What are more dissimilar than mid-winter and mid summer? Yet the contrast arises, not as most people would suppose, from any difference in the rays of heat falling from the sun, but solely from the difference in the angle at which the earth presents itself to those rays. If we study the seasons, for instance, in the northern hemisphere, we shall find that the earth is no nearer the sun in the heats of summer, than in the frosts of winter; on the contrary, it is appreciably further off; the difference of the seasons being due to the greater or less inclination of the earth's axis to the ecliptic, or plane in which the earth revolves around the sun. When the earth assumes a position so that the rays fall almost perpendicularly, we experience the heat of summer; when it assumes a position so that these same rays fall at an acute angle, we have the piercing cold of winter. The ray, so to speak, is immutable, and the wholly opposite effects, observable, are owing, not to any alteration in the sun, but to an alteration on the part of the earth. The sun—a figure of God—undergoes no alteration; yet, though this great source of heat rests unaffected, the earth will enjoy summer or endure winter according as it presents itself to the sun's glance.

These may be taken as imperfect similitudes of God's action upon different creatures. The changelessness of the ray suggests the immutability and simplicity existing on the part of God; its different effects upon different objects suggests the mutability and the varied conditions existing on the part of creatures. God is said to love one soul, and to reward it with the imperishable joys of heaven; He is said to hate another, and to pour out His wrath upon it, and to thrust it into the eternal fires of hell—and, of course, God does really detest sin and love virtue. Yet the one act and the other, though totally different, so far as the two souls are concerned, are absolutely one and the same in God—and can bear no evidence of any mutability in the immutable. His act is one and the same, for the simple reason that it is Himself; He *is* His act—"actus

purissimus." Yet the selfsame act will produce different and even opposite effects upon unlike objects, or upon the same object in different conditions. To illustrate this yet more fully, let us make use of an analogy. Instead of the soul (1) made for God, (2) made to enjoy God, and (3) to bask in the brightness of His presence, let us take the human eye (1) made for light, (2) made to enjoy light, and (3) to bask in the brightness of its presence.

Now a healthy eye, an eye which is sound and perfect, rejoices in the light. The presence of the light is a source of perennial contentment and satisfaction to it. But, suppose a change to come over this delicate organ; suppose the eye to be diseased, inflamed, injured. Then, what was before a source of pleasure, is changed into a source of pain, annoyance, irritation, and suffering. The sore blood-shot eye now shuns the light; its brightness becomes insupportable; its only escape from pain is in darkness; and the blinds are drawn, and the shutters closed, and the rays of the sun are not allowed to fall upon the dilated pupil. Whence this difference? It is not to be found in the light itself, but in the altered state of the eye. The light is ever the same—ever pure, clear, cheery, bright, glorious; but the eye, because diseased, *because fallen from its perfect state*, now finds intolerable what once it sought; now finds pain, where it once found pleasure.

So is it, in so far as a similitude can be applied, with the soul rejoicing in heaven, and the soul tortured in hell. By the selfsame act God rewards the good and punishes the bad. It is not God who has changed, it is the soul. Let us attempt to explain: God is not merely good, He is infinite goodness; to the good, infinite goodness will be in harmony; but goodness will never harmonize with evil. It will be in opposition with it; and if it is eternal goodness, it will be in eternal opposition; and if infinite goodness, it will be in infinite opposition. Thus, it is the very goodness of God, the selfsame immutable attribute which, without any shadow of change, constitutes at once the heaven of the saint and the hell of the sinner. Men talk as though God had changed towards them; but it is they who have changed towards

Him. In a word, it is not the light that has lost its brightness and withholds its cheering rays; it is the disease the eye has contracted which has made the presence of the selfsame rays, once so delightful and joy-giving, now so agonizing and intolerable.

So with regard to every divine act *ad extra*. God seems to act differently at different times, and differently towards different persons and objects at the same time; yet faith assures us that on the part of God there is no change whatsoever, and that His state being one of infinite perfection, cannot suffer the slightest alteration. To alter would be to grow less perfect; for being already infinite in all perfection, He cannot alter in the direction of *greater* perfection; if He alter at all, it must be in the direction of *less* perfection—which is absolutely impossible with God: “Ego Dominus et non mutor;” “I am the Lord, and I change not.”—Malac. iii. 6.

When God, therefore, *appears* to act in an infinite variety of ways, it is in reality but the one infinitely perfect act, in itself absolutely simple, which is producing innumerable different effects, and manifesting itself in an infinite variety of forms.

Let us, in illustration, refer once again to the sunlight. The rays of the sun are (practically) ever the same, but see how differently they affect the different objects on which they fall; *e. g.*—(a) We watch them fall on the ocean, and we see the waters rising by evaporation and the clouds forming till the arching heavens are filled with them; (b) or, again, we watch them fall on the snow-capped mountains, and behold! the glaciers, and the ice and snow melt, and the torrents are let loose, and bound down their rugged rocky beds, and over the gigantic cliffs on their way to the sea with the sound of thunder; (c) or, we see them shining upon the broad stretching plains and valleys, and at once stirring the fresh-sown seed with a sense of awakening life, till the blades of grass appear, and the soft green velvety verdure spreads itself like a carpet over the land; (d) or they fall on the bare corn-fields and (e) the leafless vineyards, and in a few months the sunny earth smiles in golden

harvests, and glows with the innumerable clusters of purple grapes.

It is the same sun, the same rays; yet how varied are the effects, according to circumstances of place, of time, and of distance! Or, to descend into minuter particulars: All colour on earth is due to the action of the sun. It is the one sun that (*f*) paints the lily, that (*g*) gilds the pistils in its chalice-cup till they look like points of burnished gold, that (*h*) lends to the heather-bell its fairy-like hues, and (*i*) makes the hawberries glow like fire in the autumn hedgerows. A single ray falls like a pure white arrow from the eastern sky, yet, seen through a prism, it seems to the observer wholly transformed, and aglow with all the colours of the solar spectrum. It is red and orange, purple and violet, blue, green, and gold, and changes like a witch's oils.

Throughout all these variations, the ray remains unaffected. It is the same sun, the same light, the same strange power, that, falling upon different bodies, exhibits itself in such an endless variety of ways. Men ask, in their ignorance, why God changes His attitude towards one and towards another. But with as much reason they might ask why the sun changes its attitude towards the soft damp clay, which it hardens and pulverizes, and towards the hard wax, which it softens and melts like water. As well ask why the sun paints the lily white, the rose red, and the violet purple; or why it leaves the dry twig unadorned, while it clothes the lily of the field in a wealth of glory and splendour unknown to Solomon in the zenith of his power. The difference is not to be sought in the sun, but in the objects with which the sun is called upon to deal. It would be manifestly absurd to say that the sun shows partiality, or that it is differently affected towards different objects. No, the sun is the same. The source of the difference is not attributable to the glorious orb of day, but to the unlike condition of terrestrial things.

This, though necessarily an imperfect and unsatisfying illustration, is yet the best we can offer, and may help in some measure to enable us to conceive, at least *what is meant* by the immutable unity of God within Himself, throughout

all the changes and vicissitudes that are the result of His action upon creatures.

But if God is one in His own nature, one in the sense of being free from all complexity and multiplicity of parts and attributes and faculties, *i.e.*, the essentially simple, He is, of course, equally one in the more ordinary sense—that is to say, in the sense of being without a rival, without an equal, without any other to compare with Himself.

“See ye, that I alone am, and there is no other God besides me: I will kill, and I will make to live; I will strike, and I will heal: and there is none who can deliver out of my hand.” (Deut. xxxii. 39.)

“*I alone am.*” Compared with God, all other beings can scarcely be said to exist at all. He alone exists necessarily and essentially. He alone always was; He alone had no beginning. He alone exists of Himself. Not only is God a being above all others; He is a being so essentially apart—alone, and *sui generis*, that we cannot even compare any other to Him. No comparison is so much as possible.

If we take the tiniest atom, invisible to the naked eye, we may compare it with the bulk of the earth—nay, more, however unmeasurable the contrast we may, nevertheless, institute a comparison between it on the one hand, and the entire creation, earth, moon, sun and stars, on the other; but we cannot even compare in any way a creature, nor all creatures together, with the infinite, uncreated, and ineffable being of God. He is not alone superior to all creatures, but all creatures are in His sight as though they were not. Though nothing that we have ever known can equal the magnificence and dazzling grandeur of the least saint in heaven, yet the splendour and glory and beauty of all saints and angels, of cherubim and seraphim, principalities and powers, united and multiplied a billion times over, are less as compared with the glory of God, than a glow-worm's spark as compared with the brilliance of the noonday's sun—and not merely less, but infinitely less. Here, surely, is food enough for a life's reflection!

Unhappily, men do not think enough of the grandeur and incomparable splendour of Him who rules the world: if they

did, not only would they dare not offend Him as they do, but they would love to lose themselves in the thought of Him, and of His marvellous attributes. The pettiness of earthly gains, the poor tawdry rewards offered by the world; the hollowness and emptiness of transitory things, the foolish ambition and vain struggles for worldly honours, dignities, wealth, &c., would excite nothing but disdain; and man's one ambition and aim would be to secure possession of the infinite and the incomparable.

It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to dwell upon all the attributes into which, for the sake of clearness, we are accustomed to divide the indivisible perfection of God. But let us take one, as an example of all the rest.

The omnipotence of God. God is not merely powerful and omnipotent—He does not possess power as an attribute, as something added. He is omnipotence itself. He is omnipotence, just as He is charity, or wisdom, or sanctity: it is His very nature. His power is not acquired, as the power of an angel; it is His very being; nor is it dependent on another, as the power of a creature depends on God; it is self-existent. His power is not circumscribed as the power of other beings is; it is without bound, or limit, or restriction. It is absolutely infinite. To the most powerful creatures some acts are more difficult than others; but with God there can be no “more or less difficulty,” because there is no difficulty whatsoever. To create a grain of dust or to create a thousand worlds, is equally easy to Him who can do all things by a word: to lay the glistening dew-drop in the flower cup, or to fashion the fathomless sea is equally easy to God. Difficulty is a word which has no meaning when applied to omnipotence.

He has given us some slight glimpse of His might in the visible creation. The earth on which we dwell reveals to us something of His power. The sun shining down upon us, over 90,000,000 of miles away, and which is over a million times the bulk of our earth, tells us a little more; still more are we penetrated with a sense of God's power when we contemplate other planets, compared to which the sun itself is but a puny insignificant object—such as Sirius, which is

calculated to be a thousand times vaster than the sun, and a million times further off—and our knowledge will grow yet further, as we contemplate those stars, so far distant that their light, though travelling 180,000 miles in one second, yet takes years to reach us; and which (though they are really vaster than the whole world) appear but as microscopic grains of untold splendour.

Yet, immense as the universe is, its creation and preservation do not exhaust the power of God: He might, did He so please, call into being a universe so great, that the present universe would only compare with it as a grain of dust to a mountain; and then a third universe bearing the same proportion to the second, as the second to the first; and so on indefinitely and for ever. We lose ourselves in the effort to conceive it—and yet He would not have exhausted His power, nor have in any way strained it. And what we have said of size, we might also say of beauty—the present beauty of creation might be doubled; and the result doubled again; and so on throughout endless ages.

But nothing can really represent to our minds the magnitude of His power. All creation babbles of it. Every object on which the eye rests points to it. But it is after all but the merest babbling, but the merest pointing. We may learn more and more of it, but an infinite distance must ever separate us from its full realization. To understand an infinite object supposes an infinite capacity; but the power of God is infinite; therefore, to the extent in which our minds fall short of infinitude, to the same extent must they ever fall short of realizing the power of God. In fact, the created intelligence of man or angel is not merely *far* from understanding—not merely a *vast way off* understanding it, but an INFINITE way off understanding it.

And what we say of His power, is true of every attribute and divine perfection. Even in heaven itself; even when illuminated by the supernatural light of eternal glory, we shall not be able to fully understand, nor to adequately realize the infinite perfections of God. In fact, the higher a saint is in glory, and the more exalted he is in perfection, the more fully and completely he will under-

stand how absolutely and essentially incomprehensible God is.

Indeed, God is not incomprehensible to man only, but to *every created intelligence*, and not merely while existing in the order of nature, but even if raised to the order of grace and glory. In fact, theologians think not merely that no created mind can fully and adequately comprehend God, but that God could not even communicate such a power of comprehension, for the same reason that He could not create an infinite being, nor place any mere creature on a perfect level with Himself—which would involve a contradiction.

We shall know more of God than will satisfy us, when we get into His kingdom. Nay, we shall comprehend enough to intoxicate us with a happiness and a joy which no words can express; but we shall never, never exhaust His beauty, wisdom, and magnificence, &c. His infinite perfections will ever outstrip the utmost efforts of our finite minds; and our limited capacities will never be able to encompass His divine nature, nor to comprehend it adequately; or, in other words, to know Him as He knows Himself. If we could do that, we would be not men, but God.

Such, then, is the unity and unequalled excellence of Him whom we adore. We have said enough to show that He is one, without a rival, without a second to dispute His sovereignty; alone in the infinitude of His matchless nature. Hence the Church sings every day in the Mass, "Tu solus sanctus; Tu solus dominus; Tu solus altissimus:" "Thou *alone* art holy; thou alone art the Lord; thou alone art the Most High."

The thought of the unrivalled majesty and omnipotence of God is very salutary. Indeed, it is by musing upon such themes that we come to realize—(1) our own nothingness and insufficiency; (2) the enormity of any sin committed against Him; and (3) the immeasurably greater value of the least act done for His sake than the greatest achievement performed under any other impulse.

To think seriously of the unapproachable beauty and glory of God is, indeed, to set one's very heart on fire with

the most insatiable longing to see the King in all His beauty and unveiled splendour.

In contemplating heaven, people are too apt to set before their minds the delights of sense, the sights, the society, the heavenly music, the clarity, the agility, the grace and perfection of outward form and colour. But all these joys, however true and intense they may be—and even they are, no doubt, intense beyond words—sink into insignificance when we come to think of the Giver. They bear no proportion to the ecstasy of delight arising from His presence. Who shall picture it? who describe it? When we have used up every comparison, and exhausted all language, and wearied our minds in our effort to image forth some feeble reflection of His beauty, we are as far off as when we began, and, like St. Jeremias, must exclaim:—"A. A. Domine, nescio loqui; puer sum." We can only say that it is unique, unparalleled, infinite and uncreated; we know not what it is now. But, in the words of inspired wisdom, "we shall be *satisfied* when His beauty shall appear."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

A SOUTHERN SUMMER.

I.

A COOL green winter was the prelude to our Victorian summer. For five long months the shifting season ran through a varying gamut of sleet and bluster and flaying winds, with brief snow-falls, and infrequent summer-like days when the bees came out from their hives and searched for blushing flowers to woo. Through all this moving change the rain dripped drearily down, soaking the thirsty earth, till its great red bosom waxed dropsical and oozy. The main roads were rutted and sloshy; and as for the bye-roads, and the unmade highways that led to school and church and sick-call, through the endless gum-tree¹ forests that have

¹ The *Eucalyptus*.

got the name of "bush,"—well, they were like long thin streaks of the Bog of Allen. Ah! even were your patient gray as wooden as Don Quixote's Clavileno, you would pity him as he bears you wearily over these deep, muddy, billowy tracks, that wind through growing timber, past fallen forest-giants, through treacherous stumps, down slippery gullies, up greasy hill-sides, and through swollen wintry creeks. We are glad, indeed, when the sun leaves your northern sky and begins his southward march towards Capricorn; for then our weary toiling through the red volcano mire is over: winter is past and summer come. Our spring is but a sowing time; not the aurora of summer, as in the north. It brings us none of your bright "growing" days, when the buds crackle in the hazy morning, and you sniff the summer coming from afar over the low blue southern hills. It brings us no gradual resurrection of green life in field and wold; for Australian trees shed not the leaf. The ungainly gum-tree, that covers the face of nature, here sheds its bark, instead, in long thin flakes, which stand for ever, like discarded rags, on its great straggling limbs. Thus we have no breath of your Irish spring in the air above, no touch of its fresh life on the earth beneath. Late in October, our winter rushes into the arms of summer. Then follows a brief period of "lightning change." The thermometer is a pendulum-beat between 56° and 156° Fah., and our "general man" growls, as he turns over the rich red garden mould: "Precious weather, to be sure! Laugh and cry in the same breath! Winter and summer, freeze and fry! Quicksilver down to the floor to-day, up to the ceiling to-morrow!"

This for a brief season. Then the last flaky clouds melts in the blue depths of air, the sun settles down to toast the patient earth, and the still brooding heat of the southern summer sets in. The deep winter roads of last July become firm and hard, and your flying buggy-wheels whirl up clouds of red dust, that settles down on your white summer suit, and fills your eyes, and loads your ears and nostrils, and gives you the complexion of a full-blood Iroquois. The spongy paddocks have given up their precious moisture to the thirsty air. The wintry creeks have ceased their babbling

song; for few are the brooks that "go on for ever" in this fated land. "Water, bright water!" is the direful summer cry of man and beast and bird. Australia were, indeed, an Amhara of bliss, had it but in equal plenty the sparkling brooks and the noble rivers that are running to such woful waste in green Eirinne of the streams.

Christmas comes. A broiling day. Your three Masses, so many weary miles apart, are but the beginning of your day's work. For all the world knows that to-morrow will take place the "grand annual demonstration" for the support of your Catholic schools. For this have your brave brother-priest and you been toiling ever since the summer days set in. Your central attraction to-morrow will be the much-loved sport of—horse-racing! None other will muster the gathering you need within the iron-fenced race-course paddock. And while men and horses run, and bands play, and people are merry and bright, your refreshment stalls and games and art-unions are working away, and a hundred innocent snares are laid to charm the chinking coins from bucolic pockets. Your Christmas afternoon is devoted to a grand final muster of your volunteers. There are endless conferences with committees and sub-committees; stump orations to boundary riders, ticket-collectors, stall-keepers; parleying, bullying, pouring yourself out like oil on the rippling wavelets of discontent and jealousy that disturb the calm, smooth onflow of all such movements. Then wearily home in the sweltering glow. And "blame not the bard" if, while he flicks at the clustering flies and mops his heated brow, his thoughts turn fondly to the cool associations of Christmas at home, and he longs for the bracing, marrow-finding whiffs that blow from the hoar crowns of Blackstairs or Lugnaquilla.

With what loving folly do we try to keep, under the Southern Cross, the old traditions of your cool, northern Christmas! For this the great, wild Australian turkey graces our festive-board to-day; for this we sober elders devour great slices of indigestible plum-pudding, while we bitterly think of the morrow. Even old Father Christmas and Santa Claus come hither, wrapped (in such weather, too!) in as

many furs as Laplanders, and bear their great fardels of Swiss toys to sceptical young Australians, who never *will* believe in the personal existence of such a strange, outlandish pair. And is not good Sister Euphrasia's pretty Christmas Crib bestrewn with snow and ice? "It is just like home," says she. Alas! the snow is a delusion, and the ice a snare. You know, for certain, that the one was brought from the flour-bag in the convent kitchen; you have reason to suspect that the other is but the pounded fragments of the tumbler that was broken in the refectory last Thursday.

Outside, in the sun, the moving needle of our Fahrenheit stands at 164°; and from the round knoll where the presbytery stands, we can see the smoke of three, six, ten bush-fires curling upward in tall, straight columns, and stagnating in the breezeless air. They are an every-day feature in the Australian summer landscape. A spark from a passing engine, the match of a careless smoker, the brand of an incendiary touches the dry, slippery grass, and on, on the flames go, robbing the thirsting sheep and cattle, year by year, of hundreds of thousands of acres of precious food, into the forest-land; the lapping tongues climb the gum-trees by the crisp, shrivelled rags of last year's discarded bark, and rush, with a hoarse roar, through the dense growth; burning rabbits and snakes in the hollow trees, roasting to death the farm-stock, brought to bay by the tall rail-fence; sweeping down homesteads, and gnawing great black furrows for miles through the dark-green bush. Right fearful havoc, truly! But yon grizzly old colonist, who has just brought us a sick call, laughs lightly at it all. "Why, bless your 'arts," says he, "them 'ere sparks ain't no more'n that (striking a match), to what I've seen in my day, and don't care to see no more." And then he tells us the oft-told tale of the great historic bush-fire of Black Thursday, in 1851, when the Victorian forests were nearly all in flames—countless cattle were burned, and homes destroyed. In Gippsland the sun was eclipsed by the smoke, and a thick darkness settled down on the earth at mid-day. Men tell how birds fell dead of heat on the decks of coasting-vessels, and clouds

of smoke and falling cinders went out for leagues over the waters of the Southern Ocean.

No, it is not pleasant when the smoke and heat of neighbouring bush-fires circle round your dwelling. Less pleasant still, when the north wind—rude as Boreas of old—flings in your face the glow of the Central Saharas, runs riot along the pavements, throws dust and grit by handfuls in your eyes, whisks umbrellas from the hands of helpless females, ruins clothes, spoils tempers, and settles down, like a thick eider-down, about you in the night. For the rest, our nights are passably cool from October to April. Scarcely have the last level bars of sunshine shot over the gum-clad western hills, when up steals a gentle *aura*, laden with a cool breath from the far-off ice-fields of the nether Pole. Then begins the too brief twilight of the South—the fleeting image of your northern *crépuscule*, that lingers far into the lap of night. It is our poetic hour; the hour when Edwin and Angelina go on a sentimental journey around the reedy pool we call a lake; when the cattle come down to drink after the long hot day; and the air is filled with the metallic rasping of the grasshopper, the chirr of cicada, and the buzzing sense of teeming insect-life that a southern sunset brings. This is the hour when the bell-bird¹ pipes his good-night to the sun—a sweet, flute-like *scherzetto*, in a major key; for a happy bird is he, with pretty, quaint ways, and as many poses as a ballerina. A welcome pet in garden or yard is this “artist in black-and-white;” for he can laugh, and sing, and mock, and whistle with marvellous power, and talk as well, if not as wisely, as fabled Bulbul-hezar of the *Arabian Nights*. But, alas! he *will* learn his English after the manner of the foreign tar—the expletives first. In civilized life, too, he gives himself bodily over to thieving, and quarrelling, and picking out eyes, and takes a keener relish in addressing shrill profanity to Bridget’s staid, matronly houdins, than in the sweet wild melody the Lord God taught him to sing from the branches of his native forest home.

¹ *Myzantha melanophrys*; has the size, shape, and habits of the jackdaw, and is vulgarly called the “magpie,” from his black and white coat.

II.

Till the close of 1889, it was an ordinary southern summer. But during January and February, 1890, there reigned in Victoria one of those violent spells of fever heat that continental climates are so often subject to. The sun rose red and fiery in a speckless sky, and looked down with angry eye on the scorching earth. At evening he lingered with swollen face in the scarlet western haze, and left an after-glow that cut your sleep into short naps, until he rose to pursue his glowing path again. The air was stagnant. Across the downs, where the mobile breeze had played, the trembling ether quivered and soared like a miasma over the dark-green forest, beyond which the far-off hills rose, gray and blurred, as in a mirage. Below our door the placid, yellow-faced, pig-tailed Chinaman melted in the glare, as he washed the mullock for stray grains of gold. Turbaned Hindoo and Persian hawkers longed for the cooler shores of Ormuz and of Ind. At Geelong, trade was almost paralyzed. At Williamstown the railway workshops were deserted when the thermometer rose to 130° in the shade. Strange it was, that in this southerly colony the heat raged more fiercely than in Port Darwin, by the distant shores of Carpentaria, on which the sun's eye looked almost perpendicularly down. It was glorious weather for a salamander. For white men it was deadly: sunstroke, "sunsickness," heat-apoplexy, and every form of human ill kept you, through the dull, hot hours, by the sick bed, or with the festering corpses by the open graveside—a thin silk umbrella between your bald crown and the deadly glare above.

Now, in these days there arose a prophet in Melbourne. He hired a hall, and thrice a-day told a wondering open-mouthed crowd that this hot spell was the beginning of the wrath to come; that precisely at four o'clock, on the 2nd of February, 1892, this old sin-sodden earth would be destroyed by fire. People began to wonder why their own salaried prophet spoke not—the Government astronomer—who lives alone in the tall tower, where he regulates the shifting seasons, and listens to the secrets of the moon and stars. Mayhap some hoped that, like the astronomer of

Amhara, he would "restrain the rage of the Dog-star, and mitigate the fervour of the Crab." After many days he spoke: the perfervid glow did not betoken the end of time. It was caused by a dislocation (so to speak) in the atmosphere; by an erratic heat-wave that had dropped down upon us out of its due stratification among the thermal lines of the Torrid Zone. Time would mellow the sweltering glow.

No need to visit the Turkish baths, my friends, so long as you live through a heat-wave in a weather-board house, with canvas lining and a corrugated iron roof. Ha! my portly friend, yon small room were better than all the leeches of Broussais to shrink your Louis-le-gros waist, and dissolve your supplementary chins. Alas, for our poor Cinderella of the kitchen! Many a care has she besides the heat; for has she not just discovered that her beautiful joint is "going;" and lo! the lovely butter she bought at 3s. a pound, one short half-hour ago, has it not collapsed on the dish in a bilious yellow pool! Ah! these are the days when perishable things corrupt their way, and flowers fade, and man's dumb friends sicken of the heat and die. Only the plagues of humanity love the red glare; the rag-tag-and-bobtail of insect and reptile villainy flourish—the ubiquitous house-fly, the poisonous tarantulas, centipedes, and black spiders; the deadly black and brown and tiger snakes; the stealthy mosquito, that settles with downy tread upon your face by night. And what shall I say of that chief plague of the dark and silent hours, our "harmless, necessary cat"—the white-furred Desdemona that purrs so meekly in the daytime? Oft in the stilly night she steals forth to interview her black Othello beneath my bed-room window, and together they rend the midnight silence with that wild fitful feline warbling that puts my wakeful nerves beyond the good offices of poppy and mandragora. Strange anti-climax to the happy nights of long ago, when I lay and listened to the wondrous song of the nightingale in the laurel groves of Brittany!

III.

'Tis not a time for exertion. The very clock ticks feebly on the ragged wall. Old dog Nero is stretched blinking on

the veranda bricks, lazily snapping at the circling flies. Can it be the lively, rampant Nero that played such merry gambols around your buggy on that bleak showery day last June, and embraced with muddy paws your new broad-cloth suit, that was to have figured in a few hours at the great episcopal dinner of the year? Not for the sweetest merino bone would he follow you now, as you sally out into the sunlit glow, with your white helmit of pith and your coat of almost impalpable yellow silk. For, have you not this week to visit the sick, shrive the dying, bless the dead of this city of 40,000 souls, and a great straggling district as large as Wexford or Armagh? Work enough, in good sooth, even had you the hundred hands of Aegeon, and the giant-killer's shoes of swiftness. But no matter: the worse the day the better the deed. So with a brave heart you plunge into the ocean of sweltering air to fish for human souls.

At the slab-hut by the wayside, or the farmer's neat veranda cottage, you are met with the familiar bush salute:

"Hello!"

"Hello!"

"Have a drink?"

"Don't care if I do:" for your throat is dry and dust-lined, and burns for a long, deep draught of something cool. Thanks, not whiskey. Better the brackish water from the weedy pool in yon rocky hollow; better the clammy boiled milk, or the light Colonial wines, or the bubbling things that go off with a pop and a fizz—anything, or nothing. But let not your deep, deep draught be either of the Sir John Barleycorn from "home," nor of the still viler Colonial brand, which (according to an old "bullocky"¹) feels like a live cat in your throat: "bite, and tear all the way down." For look ye, men and maidens all: it is written on the pavements of our streets, on the walls of hospital and jail, that this is not the climate for long, deep swills of brain-fire from the still.

Stay! here is a case in point: one that has befallen thousands of promising Irish boys that came over the sea to pick up golden nuggets by the Australian waysides. You knew

¹ A bullock team driver.

M—? No matter. He was always “well and doing well.” And this was his dreary round of life for years:—1°. Out on a farm, earning £1 a week, a good deal of which found its way into the village publican’s till. 2°. In the city, every three or six months, “knocking down his cheque” in a long wild carouse. 3°. In the hospital, recovering from the effects of his bout. And then, *da capo*—on and on, through the weary years, till he had “sapped the leaning wall of life,” and lay for the last time on an hospital bed, the mere ribs and timbers of a wrecked and broken man. “I’m a gone coon,” he whispered, as his throbbing head lay on my arm, his open hand in mine. ’Twas pity; but ’twas true. So I broached to him my sacred message of repentance and pardon and hope of heaven. But—no, sir-ee; he wasn’t built that way now. Knewed a deal too much for them sort o’ things, any way. He had lost his faith listening to the Atheist lectures that are delivered on Sunday afternoons on the wharves of Melbourne. So we dropped the subject (I would return to it again in the morning), and we talked old memories over; for had we not toiled through Gough, and conned our Murray side by side long years ago at school! Ah, here was a theme that caught his fancy’s eager ear! and right merrily he laughed and laughed on at our boyish pranks, till he seemed to live the old days over again in the gathering gloom of evening. Then a long pause, as he lay in my arms—thinking, perhaps. Heaven knows! But the pause was broken by a wild burst of sobbing. It was just as he used to sob long ago when the iron-tipped heels of the big rough boys seamed the green turf on his mother’s grave. The flood-tide of tears seemed to have washed away the viler growths of later years from his great, honest boyish heart; for now he eagerly pleaded for the Sacraments he had spurned one short half-hour ago. A few days later I stood by his grave—the only mourner—hopeful that his troubled spirit had found rest; grieving for the many brave young Irish hearts that drink has cut off in life’s fair noon in this fated land, where the thirst-compelling heat dries up the pure, sparkling fount of Nature’s breast, and drives men for assuagement to the bar of the public-house.

* * * * *

So wore our summer on till March: two months of the glowing southern heat, two months of the sweltering "wave," during which we watched the sky for a cloud, as the shipwrecked sailor scans the horizon in search of a rescuing sail. At length the "turn" came. It was near the Kalends of March. A faint white cloud rose in the south—the first plume of a gray array that quickly gathered and spread, rank on rank, across the great blue field of heaven. Then up from the south came a welcome whiff of cool air. It played with a metallic sound through the dark dry tresses of the gum-tree, and trickled through your hair like a spray of cooling ether. A fringe of rain hid the horizon to the south; the lightning leaped forth; bang went heaven's artillery, and people rushed to their doors to watch the rain come down. The hot, steaming earth drank and drank on, till at length the brooks ran, and the naked gullies gurgled with a merrier song than ever Southey heard by the waters of Lodore. All night long the raindrops played with a cool swish on the window-panes, and our lives flowed on till the fresh gray dawn in a calm deep sleep, whose surface was unbroken by the ripple of a dream.

H. W. CLEARY.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—I.

IN this essay the writer proposes, under correction, to treat of one of the two great divisions of the Scriptural sense. As however in comparison with the other division, viz., the literal or primary sense which it pre-supposes, his subject is the further or recondite one, he is obliged in the course of this introductory section (No. 4), to discuss briefly the literal meaning. In order to reach the second, he has to pass through the first. This will explain also, why at the outset (Nos. 1, 2, 3) he notices in passing some kindred matters, which just claim a few prefatory remarks.

1. The meaning of Scripture is, in a word, that body of

truth which its Author intends it to convey. Hence, the meaning or true sense of any one of the passages of the holy book is exclusively that particular truth, be it revealed or unrevealed, historical, moral, or prophetic, mysterious or within our comprehension, which is the subject there of the divine thought and expression.

Not the ideas independent of inspiration, or the purely subjective view of what he was instrumental in expressing, which may be conceived as possibly present to the mind of the sacred writer while he penned the sacred page,—for that is not the thought of God, nay does not necessarily even agree with it. If, for instance, an inspired writer did not understand, or even misunderstood, what he was writing, Scripture would nevertheless be the word of God, and bear the same unaltered meaning.

To pass for the present from the canonical writers. In one well-known instance, a high priest speaking under the influence of the Holy Ghost expressed what was far from his thoughts, and diametrically opposed to his habitual sentiments. There were two meanings in the words of Caiphas (St. John, xi. 49-52): one the speaker's *own*, originating in his guilty heart, and so sinful and fallacious as to be the very cause of incurring that dire calamity which he proposed to avert by means of it; the *other*, of which he was totally unconscious, coming from heaven, and being the source of all blessings to the children of God. (See Card. Newman, *On the Inspiration of Scripture*, n. 20.)

Not alone on human word, but on human deed has this over-ruling direction been exercised, while the subject of it remained unaware. When Mary Magdalen in tearful gratitude anointed the feet of Him, the only one that had ever given peace to her soul, she performed, it is true, a supernatural and highly meritorious work; yet not in this purely personal aspect, but in the far higher one manifested through her instrumentality by the Holy Ghost, is the act what is told in memory of her wherever the Gospel is preached. For the anointing was, little as she then knew it, a real prophecy of the Resurrection, for such did Christ declare it to be by its inspired import, when He said: "What she had, she

hath done: she is come beforehand to anoint My body for the burial," Mark xiv. 8 (where "had" is equivalent to "could do" by a well-known Syriac idiom.¹) Beyond her fondest wish, was the penitent enabled to testify her faith and love, by thus bearing antecedent witness to the glorious triumph of the Incarnate God. That she did not perceive this divine meaning, that she saw only the subjective aspect of the anointing, is evident from Mark xiv. 1; but what on account of the Resurrection she could not do when she went to His tomb, she had already been privileged to perform in a supreme degree.

To return. Certainly the canonical writers did understand the immediate product of inspiration; but what in this eliminating process attention is here invited to is, that if in the case contemplated "a holy man of God" were to affix to his own words a meaning other than the divine, such an apprehension of his words on the writer's own part would not concern us, as not being the sense of Scripture, and it is noticed here merely to be put aside. Still its mention has a purpose, for the hypothetical case serves as a background to bring out in relief a real one of every-day occurrence.

2. People, certainly not inspired, sometimes treat the word of God as if, within certain very wide limits, they were free to make what they liked of it. They deal with it as they would not deal with the work of a great man: they quote it, as if in some parts it really had no meaning. Hence, the outcome of their thought is commonly a misinterpretation arising from sheer ignorance or error. Surely the Author of Scripture did not wait for such people to give a meaning to His word, nor so deliver it to Prophet and Evangelist, that all the future or possible constructions put on it by mere men were to determine what it should really signify. Scripture is God's message to us, not ours to Him. "Prudens lector," says St. Jerome, "cave semper, ut non tuo sensui

¹ Found also in Greek.

² St. Thomas ascribes, on account of the concomitant "*nescientia*" existing in like cases in minds not completely under the control of the Holy Ghost, all such utterances to an "*instinctus propheticus*," but not to "*prophetia*" properly so called. (2^a 2^{ae} g. clxxi. art. 5.)

attemperes Scripturas, sed Scripturis jungas sensum tuum." And to St. Paulinus he writes :

"Taceo de mei similibus, qui si forte ad Scripturas sanctas, post seculares litteras venerint, et sermone composito auram populi mulserint, quidquid dixerint, hoc legem Dei putant; nec scire dignantur quid prophetæ, quid apostoli senserint; sed ad sensum incongrua aptant testimonia, quasi grande sit, et non vitiosissimum docendi genus, depravare sententias, et ad voluntatem suam Scripturam trahere repugnantem."

No doubt, under certain circumstances, and with due regard and reverence, Scripture may lawfully be applied to what is beside its own scope. This is technically called "*sensus accomodatus*." A devout and enlightened mind will naturally express its own thoughts on sacred mysteries, or on occurrences viewed in direct relation to the supernatural, in the awful language of God, deeply conscious as such a mind must be of the inadequacy of human words to describe what it feels or contemplates. It had rather that its own thought fell short of the words employed, than that the words should be unworthy of the subject.

For instance, how apposite and how exquisitely beautiful was the application of Scripture made by the bishop who, when the Blessed Sacrament had been stolen from his church, took for the text of the sermon preached before he went barefoot in procession to search: "They have taken Him away, and I know not where they have laid Him." Again, John XXII., in the canonization sermon of St. Thomas, commenced with "*Ecce plus quam Salomon hic*;" and St. Pius V., in his thanksgiving for the victory gained by Don John of Austria at Lepanto, wrote: "*Fuit homo missus a Deo, cui nomen erat Joannes*." Another happy illustration of this legitimate use of the inspired word was afforded by Father Burke (who on innumerable occasions showed himself to be a master of this *sensus accomodatus*), when for the text of his great panegyric on St. Bonaventure (1874), in allusion to St. Thomas, on whose centenary he had preached a short time before, he quoted from the Apocalypse: "And I saw another angel coming down from heaven." In a room of the Birmingham Oratory is said to hang a print of Oriel College with the inscription,

“Fili hominis putasne vivent ossa ista? Et dixi: Domine Deus, tu nosti;” and elsewhere, in loving memory of one who died in early youth, a brother’s hand has traced the words, “Convertere anima mea in requiem tuam, quia Dominus benefecit tibi. Quia eripuit animam meam de morte, oculos meos a lacrymis, pedes meos a lapsu.”

If her children may so speak, much more, but for a different reason, may the Spouse of Christ; much more may the heart of the Catholic Church full to overflowing, pour itself out in the language of heaven. In her liturgy, where so much has to be expressed in inspired language, the Church frequently employs the accommodated sense. Thus many passages of the Old Testament, and in particular of the Sapiential books (for instance, in Mass, the lesson “Dominus possedit me”), which properly refer to the Eternal Wisdom, are applied to the Blessed Virgin:¹ while with regard to the saints, from many instances of this usage to select two occurring at this season, the touching lament of David over Saul and Jonathan finds a suitable place in the office of SS. Peter and Paul (“Benedictus,” Octave): “Quomodo in vita sua dilexerunt se, ita et in morte non sunt separati;” and in the office of SS. John and Paul, “Isti sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum” (Magnificat, 2nd. Vesp.) is from Apoc. xi. 4. “Hi sunt duae olivae et duo candelabra in conspectu Domini terrae stantes” (there, of Enoch and Elias). While, according to many commentators, this is in turn similarly taken from Zach. iv. 2: “Quid sunt duae olivae istae, ad dexteram candelabri et ad sinistram ejus” (of Zorobabel and Josue, considered probably as the respective representatives of the regal and the sacerdotal power), which if true gives to this adaptation of Scripture the highest possible sanction.²

The Church never does, nor can, imply that such employment is in any sense an interpretation. It is not to be found in

¹ “Ipsissima verba, quibus divinae Scripturae de increata Sapientia loquuntur, ejusque sempiternas origines repraesentant, consuevit (*Ecclesia*) tum in ecclesiasticis officiis, tum in sacrosancta Liturgia adhibere et ad illius Virginis primordia transferre.”—(Bull of the Immaculate Conception.)

² Thalhofer takes quite another view of this ecclesiastical usage. Erklärung der Psalmen, S. 775.

her decrees, chapters, or canons; it would be as much out of place in a council, as it is appropriate in the pulpit; it befits the preacher, but not the theologian; it is the emotional language of piety, not the precise one of dogma. The greatest of interpreters, speaking of some who asserted that there was in the words "farinae satis tribus" (Matt. xiii. 33), an argument for belief in the Trinity, remarks: "Pius quidem sensus, sed nunquam parabola et dubia aenigmatum intelligentia potest ad auctoritatem dogmatum proficere." The conventional treatment of Scripture is edifying: "dummodo veritas patrocinetur, et charitas cui Scripturas servire oportet." So St. Bernard wrote on the Canticle of Canticles; but when the gentle mystic came forth as the champion of faith, the "two-edged sword of the word" was no longer wreathed with myrtle, and Abelard soon felt its keenness.

Granted that our ideas, thus clothed in words of unapproachable grandeur, are in themselves beautiful, useful, and true, still they are but human. This is ever to be borne in mind. We may, indeed, express them in language which we reverently make our own for the occasion, and if we are conscious of so acting, if we remember that it is borrowed, there will be no mistake, no harm done; what is reprehensible, is the abuse of "sensus accommodatus,"¹ the employing Scripture for purposes in themselves unworthy, or to which it is inapplicable; or the quoting it which is due to erroneous

¹ There is also what is called "sensus consequens." Father Cornely in his admirable exposition of its nature, by far the best which has come under the writer's notice, divides it into two species. First, the amplification and development of what is latent in the sacred text; second, the inference, similar to a "conclusio theologica," obtained from the union of a text, and another premise (possibly uninspired): (*In other words: as canonists speak, one is "expositio comprehensiva," the other is "expositio extensiva."*) Neither, as he explains, is really what it is styled. The first is not "consequens," because it is the full meaning itself; the second is not "sensus," because it is not inspired (on account either of the one premise, or of the logical process). If, however, the author foresaw it, then it has authority. So St. Augustine teaches, *De Doct. Christ.*, iii. 27; and examples of this "sensus consequens" are, according to the learned Jesuit, found in Scripture (1 Cor. i. 31, with Jer. ix. 23, 24—1 Cor. ix. 10, 11, and 1 Tim. v. 18, with Deut. xxv. 4), and only on this supposition are Rom. xv. 4, and 2 Tim. iii. 16, true. ("Sensus consequens, No. 2," and "sensus accommodatus" if not misnomers, are at best courtesy titles. Such meaning may be in itself true and profitable, but the sense of Scripture it never is.)

opinions on its meaning; or lastly, the maintaining that the purely subjective construction not unfrequently put on it, is its inspired sense.

3. In countless passages a veil of obscurity rests on this, the true and only meaning, and various tentative interpretations are put forward by Fathers of the Church and commentators. This is unavoidable, because the hidden things of God lie so deep, that our guesses at the truth are necessarily uncertain and manifold.¹ There is much more in Scripture than we shall ever fathom in this life, and the conviction should keep us from implying (or perhaps even asserting—unwittingly of course) our concepts to be adequate, and from calling these poor notions of ours—so many senses of Scripture. “Our curiosity often hinders us in reading the Scriptures when we attempt to understand and discuss that which should be simply passed over.” Not only Christians, but all reasonable men would spontaneously reject as absurd the saying of Cocceius, or “canon of interpretation” as he complacently styled it, viz., that “Scripture has just whatever meaning one likes to give it,” if the dictum were put before them on paper; yet there are Catholics, nay, even some ecclesiastics, who closely as they may resemble Saint Spiridion in zeal for verbal accuracy in quotations of Scripture, sometimes in their practice treat it as if it had not a definite and all-perfect meaning—a knowledge of which, where feasible, they are in duty bound to acquire. And now we have cleared the ground.

4. The true sense of Scripture is two-fold—literal and mystical. A literal sense in general is that signified by words, and obviously is not confined to the inspired books, for all reasonable utterances must have a meaning.² Hence

¹ Ἀβυσσος γὰρ ἐστὶ ζήτημάτων ἡ Γραφή. Ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἐπιζητεῖτε ἑαυτοὺς πρὸς τὸ λυσιῶν ζητεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ζητεῖν.—Οὐτε γὰρ, εἰαν λύσωμεν, πάντως ἐλυσαμεν· ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀνθρώπινον λογισμόν οἰκεία τῶν τοιούτων λύσις ἡ πίστις ἐστὶ—Μία λύσις αὕτη, καὶ ταύτης ἀμεινῶν ἕτερα οὐκ ἐστὶ. (S. Chrys., *Hom.* xxiii. on Acts.)

² Origen seemingly held (*De princ.*, iv. 11) that there was no literal sense in certain passages, notwithstanding the well-meant efforts of some writers to explain away his words; but this singular opinion of the “allegoricus semper interpres” need not detain us. If St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine, appear to agree with him, by saying that

many of the rules of literal interpretation apply equally to profane and sacred literature. With regard to this sense, one only, and that a necessary remark, will here be made.

Interpreters of eminence have held that in certain passages of Scripture, some six or seven in all, the literal sense itself was two-fold; that, for instance, "Generationem ejus quis enarrabit," Isaias liii. 8, referred to both the eternal and temporal generation of the Messias; His procession from the Father, and His birth from the Virgin Mary, both being mysteries.¹ However, with all respect be it said, that the literal sense of the words, that intended and expressed by the Author is very different. The best interpretation seems to, be: "(Quod attinet ad) generationem ejus quis enarrabit," &c. "Of His generation (*i. e.* the contemporaries of the Messias), who shall understand that He has died for the sins of the people?" Queen Candace's treasurer felt the need of an interpreter here, and one would be glad to know how St. Philip answered him.

The other texts adduced in support of a manifold literal sense of Scripture also fail, on examination, to bear out the assertion; and St. Augustine and St. Thomas, to whom those writers appealed in favour of their opinion, appear to hold the opposite. Whatever we may think of St. Augustine, the latter clearly teaches in the *Summa* and *De Potent*, q. iv., art. 1, &c., that the literal sense is *one*, and in his voluminous commentaries on Scripture he nowhere implies that a text has two literal meanings, though on obscure texts he commonly gives alternative expositions. Scholars are now agreed (see Ubaldi, Kohlgrueber, Lamy, Patrizi, Ranolder, Dixon, Thüring, Cornely, &c.) that a manifold literal sense is "not proven," and so far the old contention may be considered

some texts are not to be taken literally, it is only in appearance; they mean simply that the language there is figurative, not plain and devoid of ornament.

¹ Father Patrizi says he read on this text the explanations given by more than sixty-seven Fathers and writers prior to the sixteenth century:—only seventeen explain it of both generations (S. Ephrem is of this opinion, see Lamy's ed., tom. ii., p. 146): of the remainder, three explain it of either generation, four of the human, forty of the divine, and one of generation in general, while three more "aliud omnino senserunt." (*Inst.*, cap. iii., q. 2, n. 35.)

as settled by Beelen's masterly treatise on the subject. It is to be noted here, that on the *one* literal sense, and on its *unity* rests all that which in its *threefold* species forms the subject of this essay (Sum. 1^a, 1 q. 10 art. ad 1^m).

5. We considered the literal sense not for its own sake, but as the basis of the higher or mystical one. The reader will observe, that the latter necessarily presupposes the former, and that, in consequence, he who does not understand a text taken literally, cannot consistently know its mystical meaning. He may indeed stumble by good luck on this hidden sense; but he has, at all events, set out on the wrong path. Nay, he is not in a position to see whether there exists a mystical sense there. For though every passage in the Bible must have a literal sense, yet "with certain obvious exceptions," as Cardinal Newman says, it is not known whether or no every passage has a mystical one; so that, in order to form on this an opinion where possible, not of its contents but of its very existence, we need to apprehend the direct meaning of the passage.¹ We cannot be sure of the existence of the secondary, before we have a knowledge of the primary meaning; while, on the other hand, it must be borne in mind that such knowledge alone is not sufficient.

The words signify the literal meaning and nothing more; but that literal meaning is in its turn a sign and represents something beyond. The first signification is *verbal*,² the second is *real*. For a spiritual or mystical³ sense, this is essentially requisite; in its own sub-divisions it matters not whether the "signum reale" be a person, place, thing, or event; but an objective reality, distinct from the words of the inspired writer, it must be. As standing midway it has a two-fold aspect: in the one it is immediately and exclusively designated by the words; in the other, it is a figure or *type*, and bears direct

¹ "Cum igitur res illae quas littera significat, spiritualis intelligentiae signa sunt, quomodo signa tibi esse possunt, quae necdum tibi significata sunt? Noli ergo saltum facere, ne in praecipitium incidas." (Hugh of St. Victor, *De Scripturis et Scripturis Sacris*.)

² Similes, metaphors, and parables have but the literal sense, being themselves only figures of speech.

³ From *μυσ*, I conceal; but the Greek Fathers call this sense, *κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν, ἀναγωγὴν, διανοίαν*, in contrast to the literal, *κατὰ τὴν ῥῆσιν, τὸ γράμμα*.

relation to that higher and further reality which in hermeneutics is with special fitness called its *anti-type*. The use perhaps originated with St. Peter, who calls baptism the *ἀντίτυπον* of the ark, or the higher reality which the ark pre-figured (1 Pet. iii. 21);¹ while conversely, St. Paul calls our first parent *τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος*, or of the second Adam (Rom. v. 14). In the Alexandrine version both words occur, but not with this meaning, which is peculiar to the fulness of revelation. But of types, and the difference between them and symbols, we shall have much to say hereafter, and must now conclude with one remark, viz., that in Scripture "which partakes of the nature of a sacrament," words are "signum tantum," the literal sense "signum et res," and the mystical sense "res tantum."

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

(To be continued.)

HOW TO MAKE A SUNDAY SCHOOL SUCCESSFUL.

IT is generally admitted that Sunday Schools constitute a very important part of our pastoral duty as priests. They are intended to supply instruction to the children, and are as necessary to them as the sermon is to adults. Our children usually attend a Low Mass; and without catechetical instruction, such as they receive in the Sunday School, they would be deprived of the opportunity of fulfilling one important part of their Sunday obligation.

But we often hear the complaint, and it is one unhappily which is daily becoming more and more common, that Sunday Schools seldom answer our expectations; and, indeed, in very many cases they prove failures. How is this to be accounted for? With whom does the blame rest? I believe the secret of failure lies in the want of plan or method.

Some years ago, when at Milan, I made it a special object, on the Sunday I was there, to visit in the afternoon several of the parish churches, to observe the way in which the Sunday Schools were conducted. The tradition of plan

¹ Cp. *ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἀληθινῶν*, "exemplaria verorum," Heb. ix. 24, and see Dr. Richard's able article on the typical nature of the Covenant Sacrifice. (*Dublin Review*, April, 1890.)

or method established by St. Charles Borromeo still remained. The suggestions, therefore, which I now propose to make, are drawn in part from what I then observed, as also from my own personal experience.

For the success of a Sunday School, certain conditions are required. These are—order and discipline; punctuality and regularity; personal influence of the teacher; and lastly, the zealous interest of the priest. Order and discipline apply to the general conduct of the children and to the arrangement of the classes according to proficiency. The classes should be kept sufficiently apart to prevent their being a source of distraction to one another. The numbers in each class should not exceed at most ten. This number will enable the teacher the better to control the children, and to keep them under easy supervision.

Order and discipline regulate the voice of the teacher, when teaching; the conduct of the children on entering and leaving the Church; and applies to the way they make their genuflections, and to their behaviour in class, and during the instruction and Benediction. It may be well here to observe, that a hymn should be sung immediately before the Catechism and immediately after the instruction, and the children should be made to stand erect when they sing them. They should also be encouraged to provide themselves with hymn books; or, what would perhaps be better, the books might be given to them, as a reward for good conduct.

Punctuality and regularity, both on the part of the Sunday School teachers, and on that of the children, are most vital to the success of the work of a Sunday School. The teachers, above all others, must be punctual and regular in their attendance; and ought to be the first to enter the Church and the last to leave it. Indeed, they should be recommended to be present, at least a quarter of an hour before the time for Catechism, to arrange the children in their respective classes, and to preserve order. Each teacher should be provided with a book to register the attendances of their children. Punctuality and regularity on the part of the teachers, and a few words of encouragement, and a

promise of some little reward from time to time, will soon produce punctuality and regularity of attendance in the children. Should, however, these efforts fail, a kindly visit to the parents, either from the priest or from the teacher, and a few gentle and prudent words, would generally prove effectual. An entertainment at Christmas and at Midsummer, for those whose names stand well on the attendance books, would create emulation amongst the children, and would greatly help to secure punctuality and regularity.

The personal influence of the teacher is a matter of great importance. It can alone be exercised by one who has the love of God at heart, and a zeal for His glory in the salvation of souls, and whose life is marked by piety and the frequentation of the Sacraments. Children by nature are creatures of imitation, and the influence of a teacher, such as I have described, will do much to regulate and to sweeten the undeveloped character or disposition of the children. They will naturally imitate their teachers in the way they kneel, and in the way they join their hands and bow their heads at prayer and at Benediction. Good example is the best educator. A light and frivolous teacher will do little or no good, and may do much harm.

But that which is of the very utmost importance, and is indeed the very mainspring of the work, is the zealous interest and hearty co-operation of the priest. He must be the motive power of all that takes place. If he be wanting in sympathy, the teachers and children will soon begin to fall away; interest in the work, punctuality and regularity in attendance will gradually die out; and the Sunday School, in a short time, will prove a failure.

What, then, is the duty of the priest in the matter? His first duty, I should conceive, would be to choose good teachers. His knowledge of his people will enable him to do this; and with a little effort, he may easily find a certain number of male and female helpers. They should not be school-children, but adults. There are always some such persons to be found in every mission, who are willing and pleased to undertake a work of this kind. The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, the League of the Cross, the Holy

Family, and the Confraternity of the Children of Mary, would, no doubt, supply some efficient workers.

When, after a fair trial, the Sunday School teachers have given evidence of tact, and of perseverance and regularity of attendance, it will be the duty of the priest to enrol them in the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine. The ceremony of enrolment should be performed with a certain amount of solemnity. Their act of consecration might be received by the priest vested in cope, just before the Benediction, and immediately after the Catechism, so as to impress the teachers and the children with the privilege and importance of the office of teacher.

The teachers should also receive a medal at the ceremony of enrolment, which they should be privileged to wear externally, when engaged in teaching the Catechism, and also at their monthly Communion, and in processions. A notice of the ceremony of enrolment in the Confraternity, as often as they occur, and the monthly Communion, should be published on the previous Sunday, with the other parish notices, at all the services. This will tend to give influence to their position as teachers; and a Mass offered for them, from time to time, would afford them great encouragement.

The priest's next duty is to the children. Like his divine Master, he should rejoice to gather them around him, remembering that of such is the kingdom of heaven. He must move amongst them, showing a deep interest in their work, being ready to help and to encourage, and should try to make the children feel at their ease and happy in his presence. He must examine the children, when they are presented to him by the teachers for advancement to a higher class; and when a child passes to a higher class, he should show a special interest in the event, for the sake not only of the teachers, but also of the children. Both are pleased with this recognition and approbation. The time occupied in teaching the Catechism should not exceed half-an-hour.

But the most important duty of the priest, and that upon which so much depends, is the catechetical instruction. It requires preparation quite as much, and perhaps even more,

than a sermon. It is a very difficult thing to do well, and implies study. To win the attention of children is no easy task. Some priests possess this power more than others; but all may cultivate it. A ponderous and heavy style will never engage their attention. An instruction, to be attractive to children, must be in its subject-matter very clear, very much to the point, and very concise, and must be brightened with one or two short anecdotes or tales illustrative of the subject treated.

Great attention must be paid to delivery: it must be very articulate, bright, and cheerful; and with a certain amount of action, as this attracts the eye.

The instruction should not last more than twenty minutes, as children soon grow weary and tire. The instruction should be immediately followed by a hymn and short Benediction.

In addressing his clergy on the subject of catechetical instruction, the late Cardinal Wiseman once said, that a good catechist would make a good preacher. Because, by giving properly-prepared catechetical instructions, we become thoroughly masters of our subject, and acquire great clearness of ideas, which, I fear, many of our sermons greatly lack.

There remains but one other observation to make. The Sunday School should be held in the church, and the children should be taught to feel that the Sunday afternoon Catechism is specially their service, and they should be encouraged to love it. This they will surely do, if it be made for them interesting, and bright, and cheerful.

The whole service, beginning with the invocation of the Holy Spirit and a Hail Mary, and ending with Benediction, should not exceed an hour and a-quarter.

Such are the suggestions which have occurred to my mind, and which, I feel, will enable us to make our Sunday Schools successful.

The life of a priest in England, particularly when he stands alone, is so filled up with work, and its strain is so continually upon him, that it requires an almost superhuman energy to be always equally in earnest in every feature of

his pastoral duty. Even so, he must do his best; and his divine Master will not fail to help him. But where there are two or more priests, the work can be more easily and more efficiently accomplished.

C. J. CANON KEENS.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.—II.

THE COMMONEST RELATION BETWEEN THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF TRUTH: VIZ., THAT OF DOUBT, OR THE RELATION CONSISTING OF PARTIAL IGNORANCE AND OF PARTIAL KNOWLEDGE; FREEDOM FROM DOUBT OBTAINED ONLY FROM A DIVINE WITNESS; SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF A DIVINE WITNESS TO MAN.

THE last relation between the intellect and truth is one which is the most familiar, at least in phrase, to persons living in the world. It is that in which the balance trembles and oscillates hither and thither. It consists of a state of partial ignorance and of partial knowledge. In this commixture of opposites is constituted that relation of man towards divinely revealed truth which we commonly call a state of doubt.

It is a plausible, but a shallow objection against accepting the literal and verbal decisions of dogmatic truth, to affirm of theology that it is not an exact science. Yet, theology rejoices in the title of the Queen of Sciences; and under conditions, she is so. How are these apparently conflicting opinions to be reconciled? That theology is not an exact science in the same way as, and in like manner in which mathematical and geometric truths are exact, may be fully admitted. But, in other ways, and in a different manner, it is more exact than either. Theology and the science of numbers do not occupy the same plane of thought and do not move in the same sphere of action. The former is mainly a moral science, in a wide sense of the term; the

latter is purely physical. And one great difference between the two sciences consists in this, that, whilst the terminology of the numerical sciences is conventional and arbitrary, the language of theology represents facts that have been, mysteries that are, and truths which must be believed. In our time, scientific terms have been both invented and changed; but, the language of the divine science, once lawfully determined, cannot be altered even with general human approval. In this aspect, theological words and theological phrases resemble the names, titles and attributes of God—or, in a more remote degree, the declarations and commands of God—which are real, and absolute, and creative in themselves. Nay, so far as human language and human understanding permit, they at once indicate and reveal to man who God is and what God does.

A further difference between the two kinds of science depends in part upon this: that, whilst the science of numbers (speaking, of course, in general terms) looks more to the result than to the process of attaining the result, theology is equally jealous both of the means and of the end. A mistake made at the beginning of a figure calculation may possibly be rectified before the conclusion be reached; or, one mistake may by chance be counteracted by another. But, no vital error in the definitions of faith, or in a decision affecting morals, can be overlooked at any stage, or under any conditions, in the course of a religious inquiry. Obviously, the interests of the two sciences are as wide apart as their methods and conclusions are diverse, and are as different in their relative importance as time is different from eternity. Not even in worldly dignity can theology yield to mathematics. The distinction between *plus* and *minus* has never yet shaken a kingdom; but an *iota* more, or an *iota* less, has convulsed the world; and heresy and schism, with their attendant evils, have inflicted otherwise unequalled national and local troubles. Moreover, theology is not an exact science in this sense, that, whilst to secure a required result in mathematics, well-defined and foreknown means must be invariably taken; and whilst the same cause, under the like conditions, invariably produces the same result—in theology

it is, or it may be, otherwise. A common end in theology may be obtained by many different means; and the same facts and truths, the same reasons and arguments produce divers effects in minds variously constituted or trained, or in the same mental organism at various times. Theology is not only a message from God to man, on one face of its many-sided aspects in its human relations: it is a message delivered to God's image, man, which, by more or less of human agency, has to deal with and to subdue man's incalculable and unaccountable free-will, with man's immaterial and immeasurable powers of thought, with man's degrees of intellect, with man's variety of temperament. Physical science, on the other hand, is concerned with dry, hard, invariable, unchangeable facts, figures and formulas. Hence, submission of the human intellect and will may be made through endless means which fall short of humbly yielding to authority, to such an elementary doctrine, we will suppose, as a belief in the Catholic Church. But in arithmetic, there is a single way only (with its converse) to discover, let us say, the half of a miscellaneous collection of composite sums of money; namely, by adding together the several amounts and by halving the aggregate. The Queen of Sciences, therefore, may be said both to be, and not to be, an exact science. It is absolutely exact within the boundaries of its own special domain of thought and expression, in fact and dogma, in definition, in precept and in promise; and no merely physical science is or can be more rigorously and scrupulously exact. It is in-exact, or rather is non-exact, in a sphere only which is not its own.

These thoughts lead us to the consideration of a still wider difference between the religious and physical sciences, which is apposite to our present theme. In mathematical or geometric truth, there may be ignorance though, strictly speaking, there cannot be doubt. In any case, there cannot be doubt in the form in which doubt meets us in theology; namely, as a mental state of part ignorance and part knowledge. In working out a scientific physical problem, for example, a theory, or a formula, half forgotten and half remembered were worse than valueless: it would

be wholly misleading. But, in the truths of revelation, as divinely offered for acceptance by human agencies to the human mind, there may exist, not ignorance alone, but also logical, intellectual, argumentative, historical, moral doubt. Indeed, from the nature of the case, and in order of time, saving in instances of miraculous and instantaneous conversion, which need not be contemplated, there must be a period, in most men's mental history, of *bonâ fide* doubt. And, in matters of religious faith, doubt may exist in the mind of man, under three several and different conditions:—

1. As to what he believes, or Catholic doctrine in event, or mystery, or dogma; until it be accurately made known to him, and until it be *ex animo* accepted by him.

2. As to why he believes, or the grounds of Catholic doctrine; until he knows either the full evidence of the truth proposed for belief, or the teaching of authority to which he can defer.

3. As to the result of his belief, or what it is his plain positive duty to do, or to abstain from doing, in consequence of believing; until full knowledge be obtained, sufficient authority be accepted, and man's personal will be placed in conformity with both.

The statement of these three elements in analysing the moralities of doubt, viz., the object of doubt, the reasons of doubt, and the end of our doubts, will involve us in a brief argument from analogy. The relation between nature and grace is as clear, to a logical mind, in these points, as in some others. For example:—

1. It is admitted, nearly on all hands, and inspiration both teaches and illustrates the theorem, that God has revealed Himself and many of His attributes to the reason of man, in a lower but still sufficiently clear degree, by the light only of nature. Hence, God may be certainly known through these means, at least as to His existence, His Godhead, His power, His love, His goodness. Men, therefore, the Apostle assures us, are inexcusable for not knowing God; and, if they know Him, are inexcusable for not serving God by the light and by the teaching of nature alone. The certainty here exhibited, in the first place, is an infallibility; in the natural order,

2. It is not admitted on all hands, but, it is nevertheless true, that God has further revealed Himself and the truths of salvation, in like manner but in a higher degree, under the Christian dispensation. He has herein revealed Himself by an evidence sufficient to lay the reason of men under the responsibility of knowing, of believing, of acting up to God's fuller and final revelation of Himself and of His will. This God has been pleased to do, in the second place, in the Catholic Church, by a certitude of faith resting upon the infallible witness which God has given of Himself in the supernatural order.

3. Not only, however, has God given us, by varied means infallible witness, both in the natural and lower order, of His existence and attributes; not only has He given us the like witness in the higher and supernatural order, of the verities of faith and the reality of grace; but, in the third place, God has done more. He has allowed us, by a divine permission, which is equivalent to a divine command, to exercise our individual will in both orders, lower and higher, in a similar manner in either case. In both cases, a man is called upon to take action, to do something as a consequence of accepting the infallible witnesses respectively vouchsafed to him. By the light of nature, he is bound not only to acknowledge and worship God, but also to live—in somewhat indefinite relations, it is true; but still, to live—under very real and true obedience towards the precepts of un-covenanted morality. In a state of grace, man is definitely called upon to do deeds that are holier, loftier, better, more self-sacrificing, more altruistic. He is called upon to submit himself to, and to follow the lead of an infallible, though an impersonal teacher, master, lord, and guide. He is bound to be led, ordered, and taught on all points, and to act in all ways, by God's Church, accordingly to His sanctions, under the dictates either of direct inspiration, or mediately of grace. In either case, consequent action is of absolute obligation, after the human subject has been placed in contact with full knowledge of the truth, and when the human will has made entire submission of its God-given freedom to a sufficient authority.

Now, there exists but one obstacle which causes, or ought to cause, a non-fulfilment by man of submission of the intellect, or of submission of the will, in the order either of nature, or of grace, to both these infallible witnesses. That obstacle is doubt: doubt as to what we believe; doubt as to why we believe; doubt as to the final end of our belief, in our taking due and proper action upon the strength of it.

Here it is not unnecessary to remark, that doubt, according to the definition above attempted of the term, arises solely on the side of man. Doubt, in regard to the scheme of redemption, and to the revelation of its terms and conditions, of its hopes and promises to the human race, has neither co-relation nor counterpart in the mind or in the will of God. It does not ensue from any flaw in the divine plan of the Christian religion. It does not come from any defect or failure in the evidence which God has given to man. It is not born of any inadequacy in the promulgation of such plan, or in the offering of such evidence. Nor, again, does doubt arise from any difficulty touching the authority to which God has been pleased to entrust the enunciation of divine truth, or from any question relating to the ways and means of exercising such authority. To venture to gainsay this, were, in effect, to declare one or more of three propositions, which few religious-minded persons, perhaps, are prepared seriously to defend. The first proposition would affirm that the Maker and Ruler of man is powerless to perceive the amount or the kind of evidence which, in any given case, the soul of His creature and servant demands. He is powerless, also, to provide that kind and that amount of evidence, in order to produce conviction to the soul of man. The second proposition advances a step further in the downward direction. It would declare that the Creator is unable to establish, or, under any circumstances, that He has failed to establish upon earth, an authority which shall infallibly represent His sacred Majesty, and announce His divine will. God is unable, or God has practically failed, to create such an authority as His human creation is prepared to welcome, to listen to, and to obey. Or, thirdly, the gainsayer must be ready to hold this last paradox—namely, that a separate

revelation of God's truth, dogmatic or moral, and a separate authority to teach and enforce God's truth, is required to correspond to the mental idiosyncracies, or to be adapted to the wants, powers, weakness, feelings, of each individual unit of the human family. No; the fault of doubt, if it be a fault, or the cause and reason of doubt, in any case, originates, not with God, but with man. It arises in the human mind from one of two causes, or from the union of both. Doubt is caused either from ignorance of truth, in the mind and intellect of man; or from hesitancy and disinclination to receive truth, and to act in conformity with it, in the heart and in the will of man; or, from the conjunction of both human causes, of ignorance and of intention, in various degrees, and with different effects, in each several instance.

This position will meet with a tardy acceptance in some quarters. But, the next position, to be formulated in the following terms, will be denied even by a larger number of professing Christians. Both positions, however, are held by the present writer as more or less axiomatic in character; and, with the reader's leave, they will be taken for granted in this place, in order not to unduly lengthen the argument. The next contentious statement, therefore, to be made on the question of doubt is this—that where the evidence of His truth which God has given, or where the authority for teaching which God has established, are physically or morally within man's reach—then, in such cases, they are blame-worthy and culpable who permit themselves to doubt. Doubt then becomes both an intellectual and a moral fault in man, when there remains, or if there remains, deliberate ignorance in his mind, or when, if there be cultivated a wanton hesitancy in his will, in honestly accepting the divine revelation, and in heartily doing the divine command. And this fault is enhanced, in direct proportion as men's opportunities are increased, within the range of the influence of God's Holy Church, for removing their human ignorance, and for stimulating their human will. For, where doubt exists, in any religious matter, faith cannot be; and, in like manner, where faith obtains, doubt is cast away. Indeed, an old-fashioned writer, who is not yet totally discredited,

tells us, upon an authority not his own, that "the just shall live by faith;" in other terms, that if the just possess not the divine gift of faith, they are spiritually dead. But, for this escape from moral guilt, for this absence of doubtfulness, for this strength and fixity of purpose to do God's will, for this enlightenment of belief in God's word, another factor is required, which has not yet been described. A witness is necessary; and the witness that is demanded, to meet the requirements of the position, is one which has been neither originated by man, nor established by man—which shall not be dependent upon, nor be sustained by man. In a word, the witness must be one which is divine, and not human. Can it be truthfully said that such a witness may be found in the existing Reformed Protestant Church of England? If not—if the witness of the Church of England be human, and not divine—the teaching of the Established Religion, on questions of Christian dogma and Christian ethics, must partake, not of characteristics which are divine, but of those that are human. Its teaching cannot possibly rise above the level of what we have agreed to call doubt: a level which, on the intellectual and religious barometer of its disciples, registers, at one time, a certain degree of human ignorance, and, at another time, a certain degree of divine knowledge.

So far as the present inquiry on the moralities of Anglican doubt demands a reply, the question may now be asked: What are the characteristics of a witness to man which is divine? Some of them may be formulated in these terms:—

I. In the first place, the witness, be it a single teacher sent from God, or a corporate organization created and commissioned by God, will not fail to realize its own mission, whether men will hear, or whether they will forbear. It will know itself to be divine, feel itself to be divine, act as if it were divine. It will practically lay claim to infallibility, apart from any formal or reiterated assertion of this gift—like trees in spring-time lay claim to the leaves of summer—simply as a matter of course, as being incapable of argument or proof, as something lacking which its *raison*

d'être had no existence. On this hypothesis, the divine teacher will lead men into the way of truth, on the strength alone of its own God-given authority. Anything which falls short of this active, instant realization would bear on its forefront the plain evidence of an origin that was not divine. For, if a teacher of a supernatural religion is consciously doubtful and uncertain of the authority of his own commission, whether or not it be divine, it will be hard to persuade the world that his credentials are more than absolutely and unquestionably human.

II. Next: a divine witness will not only in practice claim the gift of infallibility for its message to men, but it will also dogmatically exhibit its claim before the world. It cannot consistently, and in view of the supernatural commission entrusted to its keeping, ignore or disuse such a prerogative; nor can it willingly consent to hide its Apostolic light under a State-made bushel. Neither, in the nature of things, can such a teacher assume the high dignity of infallibility at one period of its career, and affect the lowliness of fallibility at another period. This, indeed, were an affectation which could only be true, if the assumption originally made were false. For one and the same presumably divine teacher, being a corporate body—since the case of the individual prophet need not be entertained—to pretend to teach without authority at a given period of its career, would introduce an element of uncertainty where certitude alone should obtain. Such vacillation and such inconsistency of conduct in dealing with the supernatural, at once creates, and creating justifies, the element of doubt. Indeed, it necessarily involves a contradiction of terms, which logical and thoughtful men will not be slow to observe, to interpret, and to act upon in their relations with the teacher.

III. In one way pre-eminently a divine witness will exhibit its authority in the face of the world. This characteristic, to speak in general terms, may be defined thus: the divine witness, in contradistinction to one of human origin, will always teach, by the lips of its licensed and accredited agents, one and the selfsame truth. Moreover, as a teaching body, it will never deny that to which it has

once formally committed itself, as a revelation from the God of truth. To prevent misapprehension, however, this assertion requires a certain amount of qualification. In spite of this positive oneness in the essential teaching of the witness, there must of necessity reside with a divine teacher of men, the freedom of making, and a power of developing, and a discretion as to time, place and circumstance in enunciating, the accidental definitions of truth. Such discretion, power and freedom in moulding the outward aspect of a revelation—to place the qualification on the lowest level—essentially adheres in the claim of the witness in one direction to exercise divine authority. Otherwise, God's truth would be placed at a serious disadvantage in meeting the overt attacks of human error, or even silently counteracting the infection of falsehood which pervades the atmosphere of modern civilization. The divine witness must be both empowered and enabled to deal with heresy after its kind, and according to its manner, so often and to the like extent as heresy, conscious or unconscious, wilful or hereditary, becomes self-developed and self-deteriorated, in various directions.

IV. Lastly, the witness which, firstly, is conscious of its mission; which, secondly, claims infallibility; and which, thirdly, uniformly is the teacher of truth, must also be able, fourthly, and finally, to use and exercise its supernatural authority, and to use and exercise its authority freely. Hence, the fourth and last characteristic to be named of a divine witness is this, a capacity to fulfil its mission; and this capacity, under existing human relations, involves not only the power to guide and instruct the good, but, also the power to reprove and restrain the bad. That witness, it cannot be too earnestly urged with non-Catholic inquirers, were incomplete in its own inner relations and incompetent in its external organization, which is powerless to enforce, not, indeed, with the temporal sword of justice, but with spiritual weapons of censure and anathema, its authority *argumentative* divinely given.

Of course, these four characteristics touch the fringe only of a vast and complicated subject. Their bare enumeration takes for granted a wide field of contentious matter.

But, the disputable ground, on this topic, between Protestant Anglicans and Catholics, may be narrowed to a very limited area; and a discussion on these four points alone is more than sufficient to present the argument on the ethics of Anglican doubt in a logical form. For, in terms at the least, Protestant Episcopalians frankly accept large areas, so to say, of Catholic belief and Catholic duty. They admit, for instance, the miraculous and supernatural origin of the Church. They assert, clearly with mental reservation, the Church's unity, her sanctity, her universality, her apostolicity. They declare also, with what seems to Catholics a purely non-natural interpretation of facts, not less than of texts, her indefectibility in theory. It is only when Protestants translate into the language of history these great notes of the Church, or when their adversaries draw their admissions and force them to bow to legitimate conclusions, that it becomes apparent to the spectator who stands apart from both opponents, how largely Protestants differ from Catholic principles and Catholic practice as exhibited by nineteen centuries of the Church's corporate work.

How, then, do these four-fold characteristics of a divine witness of truth to man, illustrate the story of the Catholic Church, and of its humble, but sincere imitator, the English Episcopal communion? Categorically, the four notes are these: consciousness of a divine source; a continuous exhibition of supernatural claims; consistency and uniformity in dogmatic teaching; and the spiritual power of enacting coercive decrees and of exercising coercive discipline. On the part of the Catholic Church, and against its comprehensive system, all contentious argument will be confined, probably, to the penultimate term of this proposition—namely, to the characteristic of uniformity of teaching. The other three propositions will be accepted by Anglican Episcopalians almost as a matter of course.

For instance: the first-named characteristic of a divine teacher will not be seriously contended by Anglicans. It will not be denied that the Catholic Church has, at all times, and in all places, and to all persons, in one form or another, claimed and proclaimed, announced and enforced its own

inherent and essential infallibility, and all that flows by legitimate deduction from this attribute of God's instrument of salvation. The See of St. Peter, at the least, has ever realized its own singular and unapproachable position amongst the teachers of mankind, who flourished as well before as after its own divine creation. That august See has never, in half-hearted doubtfulness of its own claims, allowed itself to appeal from the present to the future on the one hand, nor to appeal to the past from the present on the other. Rome, indeed, has appealed to no witness, existent or in-existent, real or imaginary, historical or prophetic, saving only to the divinely-instituted infallibility of an ever-present, ever-living, ever-inspired entity, itself—the great I Am, if the expression may be allowed, amongst the religious teachers of the universe. To appeal from itself to a hazy, vague and uncertain past, or to a problematical, indefinite and still more uncertain future, were traitorous to itself, to its origin, and to the indwelling presence which supports as well as creates, and enlightens as well as imparts the authority of mission. To appeal, again, to a General Council not yet held, inspired though it would be and preserved from error; or to appeal to the mere records of secular history, uninspired, and hence imperfect as they must be, and, honey-combed with errors both of omission and commission as they cannot help being untrustworthy; both these alternatives were plainly to acknowledge the failure of God's promise of indefectibility, and to affirm in the completest manner the right of private judgment. Again, the See of Peter cannot be said, even by its foes, to have ever hesitated to adhere to its claim of infallibility, even at the risk of not regaining a national Church once lost to the obedience of faith; or with the certainty that its firm adhesion to principle would cause the future loss of provinces and patriarchates. Nor, once more, has the See of Peter ever failed to enact its own spiritual decrees, or to enforce its spiritual discipline. The convictions and decisions of Rome have not remained a dead letter; nor has Rome ever feared to pronounce its anathemas, be they general or particular, howsoever they might be braved or accepted, and whether the offender

against Catholic belief be a peasant or a prince, a priest or a prelate, a self-willed queen, or an emperor who could not learn to command himself.

On these three points, probably, all Anglican students of history and theology, and other reasonable beings, though they may not be reckoned amongst the learned, will be practically agreed. The only seriously contentious point is surrounded by the endless insoluble question, whether or not the See of Peter has always and ever exhibited its wonted divine authority on the third of the four above-named marks of supernatural origin; viz., by the uniformity of its teaching—and that, probably, in one specific direction only. The answer to this question involves a discussion of the theory of development, and turns on the adhesion, or the denial, of the disputant to that dogmatic principle. But, whatsoever view may be taken of the technical range and philosophic limits of this Catholic force, which is at once both an instinct and an inspiration, both a weapon in dealing with error, and a shield in guarding the truth, no argument can be raised against another of Rome's prerogatives in defence and warfare. No valid argument can be sustained against the unchangeable nature of the decrees of the Holy Roman Church, once formulated; nor against the practical teaching of her priesthood once instructed, ordained, and supplied with jurisdiction from the source of all Catholic jurisdiction. Indeed, so notorious is this fact, and so well authenticated, that it may not be amiss, in passing, to note the line of argument adopted by Ritualistic controversialists to disparage and belittle what they cannot disprove. Following the lead of a well-known apologist for their shortcomings and misbelief, they affect to condemn this world-wide unanimity of the two or three hundred thousand members of the Catholic priesthood. They seek to cast ridicule on such "cast-iron uniformity of the well-drilled soldiers of the Roman Curia." Such ridicule is natural from the lips of a body of teachers whose variations, if not whose vacillations, of doctrinal opinion are almost endless in number. But, whatsoever may be uncritically said, by those who have the opportunity of knowing better, of "new dogmas" of faith, or may be im-

piously said—for it can hardly be said in honest ignorance—by those who repeat the slander, of “the newest fashions in religion” at the centre of Christendom, Rome’s changelessness is proverbial. Her adhesion to a doctrine once lawfully promulgated is as firm, as sure, and as immovable as her own eternal hills are solid and stationary. No dogma of faith, once officially declared by the Catholic Church to be binding and irreformable has, as a matter of fact, ever been withdrawn. Nay, more may be said with truth. No such article of faith, thus announced, has in any conceivable way been tampered with or minimized, has been withdrawn or shelved, has been denied, altered by so much as a hair’s breadth, or amended, or has been silently allowed to lapse in course of time by what may be termed theological non-usage. If there be such, the Anglican or Ritualistic controversialist may be challenged to quote the discarded or changed point of faith once authoritatively taught by the Catholic Church.

But, what is the principle of teaching avowed in her formularies, and declared in her life-long practice of three centuries, by the Established Religion of England? It is difficult, in few words, to formulate the ecclesiastical position adopted by that communion at the time of the Reformation. Short of giving an exhaustive statement, however, of that position, the following facts are indisputable. For the first time in the history of sixteen centuries, the Anglican body at the epoch named originated a novel idea in the religion of the Christ. The novel idea consisted in this, that a mere provincial Church—albeit a national Communion—was at liberty, under any conditions, to dissociate itself from universal Christendom, in belief, in morals, in polity. This was the first mark of singularity. As a natural consequence, a second peculiarity followed the first. The self-severed member of the ecclesiastical body corporate was held to be capable—again apart from the concurrence of the residue of Christendom—to create anew its own articles of faith, to legalize its own code of discipline, and to arrange its own form of public prayer, by disarranging, mutilating, enlarging, and reconstructing, in turn, the ancient forms of Catholic divine worship. Nor was this all. Perhaps more anomalous

in character, if not more fatal in effect, was the tampering of the Reformers with priestly jurisdiction. The hitherto unquestioned, and, on Catholic principles, unquestionable, prerogative of the spirituality in the Anglican body was incontinently abandoned. Its inherent jurisdiction, as an integral portion of the Christian system, was exchanged, both in theory and in practice, for one that was purely human and secular in character. The Church of England repudiated the old jurisdiction of Rome, and substituted for it a new jurisdiction; namely, that of the "Supreme Head of the Church," in the person of the Crown of England.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

(*To be completed next month.*)

SHRINES OF OUR LADY IN BELGIUM.—VI.

OUR LADY OF HAUSWYCK.¹

HAUSWYCK is a suburb of Mechlin, situated to the south-west of the city. In the tenth century it was but a hamlet. At that time the chapel at Hauswyck, dedicated to SS. Lambert and Catherine, was a dependency of the collegiate church of St. Rombaut in Mechlin, the present cathedral. Tradition says, that about the year 988, a boat, laden with merchandise, going up the Dyle, was mysteriously stopped opposite the chapel of Hauswyck. The boatmen threw some of the cargo overboard, and got horses to draw the boat, but all to no purpose, for it remained fast where it had stopped. After a while, a statue of our Lady which was in the boat was recollected, and those on board thought that this unaccountable stopping of the boat might be a sign that she wished it put on shore at this place. The idea was acted on, and the statue placed in the chapel; forthwith the resistance to the motion of the boat came to

¹ *Histoire du prieuré de N. D. de Hauswyck, de la congrégation du Val-des-Écoliers, à Malines, par G. Van Caster, Membre Correspondant de la Commission Royale des Monuments de Belgique. Malines. 1888.*

an end ; in fact, the vessel began to move of its own accord. To the great joy of the inhabitants, adds the tradition, the holy statue remained in their midst. One thing is certain, that the commencement of the devotion to our Lady of Hauswyck has always been assigned to the end of the tenth century.

In 1255 the parish of Muysen was formed, and the chapelry of Hauswyck was joined to it. At this time the pilgrimage was already well established ; and ten years later we find Thomas Cautimpré, a Dominican of note, who was afterwards auxiliary to the Bishop of Cambrai, speaking of Hauswyck as “a glorious sanctuary of the Mother of God.” In 1286 a great number of the citizens of Mechlin petitioned that the church should be confided to some religious who should be specially devoted to the service of our Lady. The chapter of S. Rombaut and the parish-priest of Muysen consented, and ceded their rights to the canons regular of Leau, belonging to the Congregation of Vallis-Scolarium, subject to the consent of the Bishop of Cambrai, to whose diocese Mechlin then belonged. The Bishop deputed the Archdeacon of Antwerp to examine the question, and after considerable delay, in 1289, issued letters-patent creating Hauswyck into a parish, and confiding it to the canons of Leau.¹

¹ The congregation of Vallis-Scolarium was founded in 1201 by four Doctors in Theology of the University of Paris, who, with thirty-seven of their scholars, retired to a valley near Langres in Champagne. Acting on the words “*Do not call yourselves masters,*” the founders took the name of scholars, and the first of their monasteries, being founded in a valley, was called the *Val-des-Ecoliers* ; hence the name of the congregation. The habit of these canons consisted of a white tunic and scapular with a black cincture ; in choir a rochet, and an aumuese made of black lamb's wool were worn, and during the winter a black cappa as well. The congregation maintained a separate existence till the year 1649, when the French houses consented to a union with the congregation of St. Genevieve ; the Belgian houses preserved their autonomy, under their own general, for another thirteen years. There were six of these houses ; the abbey of Mons, Geronsart and Liège, with the priories of Leau, Houffalize, and Hauswyck. In 1662 they too were united to the Genovefans. The congregation of St. Genevieve to which the priory of Hauswyck belonged for the last hundred and twenty years of its existence was an offshoot of the no less celebrated one of St. Victor, to which the old abbey of St. Thomas, in Dublin, belonged ; in 1148 Eugenius III. replaced the

The canons built a fine church and convent at Hauswyck, which were destroyed in 1578, during the Queux troubles. The religious retired to Mechlin, and in 1580 opened a chapel within the walls; but it was closed almost immediately by the Queux, and not re-opened till 1586. In the year 1599 there were but three religious left, and the municipal authorities cast covetous looks on their belongings. A petition was sent to the Archduchess Babel requesting her to suppress the priory, to send the canons to other convents, and to transfer their revenues to the municipality as a recompense for the disbursements made by the municipal authorities, during the twelve preceding years, on behalf of destitute priests. But the pious Archduchess was unwilling to deprive the municipality of the merit of its charity; and left the religious in peace. The canons did not return to Hauswyck again, but remained in Mechlin, where they built a church, which was consecrated in 1647. Sixteen years later was commenced the present church of our Lady of Hauswyck, which is situated at the end of the town nearest the suburb from which it derives its name; the foundation-stone was laid by Mgr. Creusen, Archbishop of Mechlin; in 1678 it was opened for public worship, and the venerated statue placed within its walls; nine years later it was blessed by the Dean of Mechlin; and finally, the munificence of the townsfolk, rich and poor, having rendered it possible, the church was consecrated by Cardinal Thomas of Alsace, Archbishop of Mechlin. But the canons did not serve the new church very long. In 1783 the priory was suppressed by his Apostolic Majesty, Joseph II.; and the religious were ejected in the following year. Since that time the parish of Hauswyck has been served by secular priests. In 1799 the church was sold, at Antwerp, by public auction, on Easter Sunday; but Mass was said up to the

chapter of secular canons in the church of St. Genevieve by some canons regular from the abbey of St. Victor. The Genovefans were reformed in 1618 by F. Faure, who came with twelve other canons from the abbey of St. Vincent at Senlis; the reform spread rapidly, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century more than a hundred houses recognized the abbey of St. Genevieve as their head.

feast of our Lady's Nativity in 1800, after which it ceased for two years.

The question will arise as to whether the old statue to which Hauswyck owed its celebrity has survived, or whether it perished in one of the various outbursts of revolution with which Belgium has been afflicted. The latter seems the more probable, as in the opinion of competent archæologists the existing statue is comparatively modern, and probably replaced the older one, in the sixteenth century. At the end of 1797 this statue was hidden, and passed from one guardian to another, till at length, on July 6th, 1802, it was replaced in the church. In 1875 the venerable parish priest, Rev. Rombaut Van Hammée, petitioned his Holiness Pius IX. to attend the solemn coronation of the statue; the desired permission was granted by a Brief, dated on S. Andrew's Day in the same year. On July 30th, 1876, the late Cardinal Dechamps, Archbishop of Mechlin, and Primate of Belgium, in the name of His Holiness, crowned the statue of our Lady of Hauswyck in presence of the Nuncio and the Belgian bishops, and of a large and recollected body of the faithful. The coronation took place in a large open space near the old gate of Hauswyck; when that ceremony was over, the statue was carried in procession to the cathedral, where Mass was sung by Mgr. Anthonis, Bishop of Constantia and auxiliary of Mechlin, and from the cathedral to its own church. The crown, which was made for the occasion, is of solid gold, set with a large number of diamonds and other precious stones. This was the third occasion on which Cardinal Dechamps had had the happiness of crowning a statue of our Lady, as he himself recalled in the beautiful address he delivered before the coronation of our Lady of Hauswyck; in which address he shortly explained why different names were given to our Lady, and why her statues were crowned. The coronation of the former was in 1872, and that of the latter in 1874, as has been related in the notices of those two shrines which have appeared in this series.

Annually, on Whit Monday, the statue is borne in solemn procession through the streets. Formerly the members of

the five guilds, two of crossbowmen and one each of archers, halberdiers, and arquebusiers, accompanied the procession, and the statue was borne by those belonging to the chief guild of crossbowmen, the *grand arbelete*. Each of those who now bear the statue carries a wand with an image at the end which in olden times was the distinguishing mark of the *grand arbelete*.

In addition to the annual processions, others have frequently been made in times of public need. The first was in 1272, when Mechlin was ravaged by the plague. Between 1636 and 1713 there were twenty-one of these processions, of which some were to obtain rain, others the cessation of rain, and two on account of the plague. In 1643 there was a procession during a novena made for his Most Catholic Majesty, and twelve years later to implore the delivery of Valenciennes. On the occasion of these public processions the statue was carried to the cathedral, where it sometimes remained for days or even weeks. In 1697 we find it taken to St. Rombaut twice, once on account of a public procession, and once because Charles II. of Spain had asked that a novena should be made for his intention in all the towns of his dominions, in a church or chapel dedicated to our Lady; but the Archbishop had the novena made in the cathedral instead of in the church of our Lady of Hauswyck on account of its greater size; and so the statue was taken there, and remained for nine days. In 1738 the canons arranged a jubilee procession to make the four hundredth and fiftieth anniversary of their coming to Hauswyck, and the seven hundred and fiftieth of that of the advent of the statue. In this historical procession were commemorated—(1) the conversion of Hauswyck by St. Lambert, the martyred Bishop of Maestricht; (2) the arrival of the statue in 988; (3) the favours received from our Lady by the town and province of Mechlin; (4) the Assumption; and (5) the devotion to our Lady of Hauswyck of the Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabel, and of the whole house of Austria, the Archduchess Mary Elizabeth, who was then governing the Netherlands, being especially noticed. The jubilee processions have since been made

regularly every twenty-fifth year, with the exception of 1788, when the commemoration was confined to the church, because of the struggle which was going on against Joseph II.; but in 1790, the Imperialists having quitted Belgium, the public procession took place. For the most part the various invocations of the Litany of Loretto have furnished the subject of the procession; but in 1863 the Immaculate Conception was substituted. In 1888, the nine hundredth anniversary of the coming of the statue to Hauswyck, there was another historical procession, commemorating—(1) the arrival of the image; (2) the establishing of the Austen Canons; (3) the building of the present church; (4) the coronation of the statue; (5) various illustrious pilgrims; and (6) our Lady glorified by the religious orders, by writers, by artists, by earth and by heaven.

Frequent pilgrimages are made to the shrine. Many parishes and associations make an annual one; not a few of these present enormous and richly decorated candles during the month of May, at the end of which they are placed round the church and lighted on great feasts. It is a common practice of the Mechliners to visit the shrine on Saturday; and another practice is to make the "Way of our Lady of Hauswyck," which consists in devoutly traversing the route anciently followed by the Whitsuntide procession.¹ Some begin the "Way" as early as 3 A.M. The farmers of the neighbourhood are accustomed to make it thrice on horseback, beginning at midnight; they generally fasten a little triangular flag to their horses' heads.

As might be inferred from the devotion of the people, miracles have been of frequent occurrence at the shrine of our Lady of Hauswyck. Thomas Cautinpré, who has been already quoted, writing before 1269, said that "Many had worked many miracles in the sanctuary of Hauswyck." From a manuscript dated 1355, which belonged to the old priory, we learn that "innumerable crowds of pilgrims went to our Lady of Hauswyck, highly celebrated for miracles," and that these miracles were "so numerous that large

¹ Porte D'Hauswyck, Boulevards to Porte (nouvelle) de Bruxelles, Rue Haute, Marché au blé, Rue N. Dame to church.

volumes could be filled with them." Later writers also speak of the frequency with which miracles were worked at Hauswyck. The reports of them have perished almost entirely. Vranckx, writing in the year 1600, mentioned that a volume containing accounts of miracles had been destroyed by the Gueux "out of hatred to God, His dear Mother and the saints;" others were probably destroyed on various occasions when the convent was sacked; and others after its suppression by Joseph II. At the present time the details of but six of the old miracles are known, and even these shall be passed over for fear of wearying the reader. We will confine ourselves to two of very recent date, for the details of which we are indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Rombaut Van Hammée, P.P. of Hauswyck.

In August, 1877, Mary Schallenberg, of Bonheyden, a girl of eighteen, who was in domestic service, felt the first symptoms of a spinal disease which afterwards caused her atrocious suffering. In May, 1878, she was obliged to return home, and by the August following, her lower limbs were completely paralyzed, so that she was obliged to keep her bed. She was treated in turn by three doctors, and one after the other told her that her case was hopeless. Twice one of them found her in a condition which compelled him to send for the priest to administer the last sacraments. The girl, who had from her childhood been remarkable for her piety and for her devotion to our Lady, bore everything with great resignation, and never failed to say to those who pitied her—"May the will of God be done." For two years she cherished the idea that she would be cured if she could go to Hauswyck, and at last she spoke to the curate about it. He felt the gravity of the case, and would not take the responsibility of the decision; so he pointed out to Mary that the journey seemed tantamount to certain death, but that everything was possible to one with a firm faith in our Lady. The girl took some days for reflection, and then decided to go. This was in April, 1883. On May 1st she began a novena, and every day some of her friends said the Rosary with her. Before the novena began she dreaded the undertaking, but during it her confidence constantly

increased. She, however, got worse, and on May 8th she was so ill that she could not bear the Rosary being said in her presence; during the night she could neither sleep nor pray. At 4.45 A.M., on the 9th, she set out for Mechlin, lying on a mattress in a baker's cart. She arrived at the church about 5.30 and was placed in an arm-chair before the statue. She received Holy Communion, and Mass was said for her intention. At 6.30 there was a High Mass. After it was finished, Mary was carried three times round the statue in her chair. At her own request she was then taken from the chair, and dragged round. She gradually recovered the use of her limbs, and the ninth round she did alone—walking between her two sisters. The church was full of people, who, at the sight of this, with voices broken with emotion, cried aloud that a miracle had been worked. At this sound the parish priest ran forward, and, profoundly moved, as soon as the round was completed, fell on his knees before the statue, and, with Mary at his side, recited the Rosary, the people answering. When the Rosary was finished, the girl walked round the statue again, and then accompanied the priest to his house, where she made a good breakfast, though the night before she had been unable to take anything. At 11.30 a High Mass was sung in thanksgiving, and it was almost impossible for the girl to make her way through the crowd which the report of her cure had drawn to the church.

After the Mass she was examined by Dr. Van Battel, one of the chief doctors of Mechlin. He testified as follows:—

“Je soussigné, docteur en médecine, résidant à Malines, certifie qu'ayant examiné la nommée Schallenberg, Marie de Bonheyden, à la date du 9 Mai 1883 vers une heure de l'après-midi, je l'ai trouvée comme suit:—Agée de 23 ans, la jeune fille porte l'empreinte d'une anémie profonde: le pouls est fréquent, filiforme. La marche que j'ai observée pendant dix minutes environ est normale, régulière, non sans accuser une faiblesse musculaire profonde. La station debout, sans appui, alternativement sur la jambe gauche et la jambe droite isolément, s'exécute sans difficulté. La pression et la percussion le long de la colonne vertébrale, n'accusent aucune sensation douloureuse. En foi de quoi, j'ai délivré le présent certificat, dont j'atteste le contenu sincère et véritable. Malines, le 9 Mai 1883.

“(Signé)

DR. VAN BATTEL.”

It will be convenient to give here the certificates which were given on the day after the cure, by two out of the three doctors who had previously attended her; the third was dead. Dr. Mertens testified as follows as to her condition when under his charge:—

“Je soussigné, docteur en médecine à Duffel, déclare avoir traité la nommée Marie Schallenberg de Bonheyden, depuis le mois de Mars 1879 jusqu'en 1882 et avoir diagnostiqué chez celle-ci une myélite, déterminant la paralysie presque complète des membres inférieurs avec diminution notable de la sensibilité. La jeune fille était en outre atteinte d'une anémie profonde. Tous les traitements que j'ai institués n'ont produit que des résultats à peu près nuls. J'ai dû abandonner cette malade en 1882 considérant son état comme complètement incurable. En foi de quoi, j'ai délivré le présent certificat. Duffel, le 10 Mai 1883.

“(Signé) TH. MERTENS.”

Many remarkable things are told of hysteria and nervous disorders among women; and those who have read F. Clarke's *Lourdes and its Miracles*, will know how suspicious the physician who examines the patients at that place is; but this very candid avowal of a belief in the incurability of the disease—made after the cure had been effected—would seem to settle the question in this case. The other certificate was as follows:—

“Je soussigné déclare que Marie Schallenberg a été parlysée pendant longtemps, des deux membres inférieures. Elle a été traitée comme ayant en une maladie de la moëlle épinière. Keerborgen, le 10 Mai 1883.

“(Signé) T. ROEX, Doct.”

Mr. Roex, it should be remarked, had been called in, not to treat the principal malady, which was looked upon as incurable after the declaration made by the other medical men, but to give some relief in the fevers and headaches from which the poor girl suffered; and even more, to induce her to take some nourishment, as for long she eat hardly anything but fruit or a little salad.

When Mary Schallenberg had been examined by Dr. Van Battel she set out for Bonheyden, where she arrived at about 2.30 p.m. The whole village turned out to meet her. She went straight to the church, which she visited again in the

evening for the devotions. Next day she received Holy Communion and stayed in the church for two hours. The people of Bonheyden wished to thank our Lady for the benefit she had conferred on one of their number. So on Tuesday, June 5th, from seven to eight hundred of them went in procession to our Lady of Hauswyck, and of this number about three hundred and fifty received Holy Communion before leaving Bonheyden. On the way they spent their time in saying the Rosary with great devotion. The procession was expected to arrive at 8 o'clock, but by 7 o'clock there were so many people in the church that the doors were shut to ensure room being left for the pilgrims. The crowd in the street was so compact that the procession could hardly make its way through, and Mary probably had good reason to be grateful to the twelve stout peasants who surrounded her to keep off the crowd. As soon as the pilgrims were in the church all who could do so pressed in and crowded even in the choir and the organ-loft. The people of Bonheyden presented a large and beautifully ornamented candle, a portrait of the girl, and a marble tablet with a suitable inscription; and, when this had been done, their parish priest, an old man of seventy-eight, sung the High Mass of thanksgiving, the choir being composed of members of the Society of St. Gregory under an eminent director. At 10 o'clock the procession commenced its homeward way, and, as before, the time was spent in prayer.

The other case shall be told in as few words as possible. In November, 1879, Teresa Goevaerts, a married woman aged thirty-eight, was attacked by inflammation in the left leg. She heard Mass on Easter Sunday, 1880, for the last time for a considerable period; she was, in fact, confined to the house for four years. Several doctors were called in, one after the other, and each pronounced the bone of the foot to be diseased; the last of them told her that the only thing which could save her life would be amputation of the foot. Her husband objected to this; and she, feeling that all human help was useless, determined to appeal to our Lady of Hauswyck, being especially moved to do so by what she

had heard of Mary Schallenberg. On May 16th or 17th, 1884, she left home at 3 a.m., and after a painful journey of an hour, on crutches she had borrowed, she reached the church. With the exception of a short interval, during which she got something to eat, she remained in the church for four hours. Setting out at 8 o'clock, she only reached home at 10.30. Five days later she went again. Before the end of the month she was able to get about the house, only requiring occasional support. On Whit-Monday (June 2nd) she assisted at the procession of our Lady of Hauswyck without feeling any fatigue. In June, 1885, the doctor who had last attended her gave the following certificate:—

“ Je certifie 1° avoir traitée il y a environ une couple d'années, pendant plusieurs mois Mad. Goevaerts habitant Rue Neuve des Capucins 67, laquelle avait déjà antérieurement été traitée pour la même affection : carie des os du pied (arthrite fongueuse des articulations tarso-métatarsiennes du pied) ; 2° que cette affection, au degré que cette maladie la présentait, guérit très-rarement ; et que, en effet, les traitements voulus, soigneusement appliqués étaient restés sans aucun résultat ; 3° que depuis un an, cette personne est complètement guérie et se livre régulièrement sans inconvénient à des travaux de ménage très-fatigants. Malines, e 16 Juin 1885.

“ (Signé) D. GILLIS.”

In an account of her sufferings, written during the same month, Mrs. Goevaerts stated that since her cure she had gone daily to the church of our Lady of Hauswyck, leaving home to do so at 4 a.m. ; and also that she had given a silver foot as an *ex voto*.

In addition to the statue of our Lady of Hauswyck, the city of Mechlin possesses other venerated statues and pictures of our Lady. The chief of these is the statue of our *Lady of Dolours* in the church of *N. D. au-dela-de-la-Dyle*, where is also found the ancient statue of our *Lady of the Sun*. In the Church of St. John is a statue of our Lady, made from the celebrated Montaignu oak. Whilst in the Cathedral, dedicated to the Irish St. Rumold¹ or Rombaut, the Apostle of

¹ The relics of St. Rumold are still preserved in the Cathedral, which is built on the site of a chapel founded by him. In addition to other memorials of the Saint, there are a colossal statue over the High Altar and two sets of paintings. One of these, consisting of twenty-five

Mechlin, is a copy of the painting in the Church of *Ara Cœli* in Rome which is attributed to St. Luke. At Mechlin this is known as the *Black Madonna*, or our *Lady of Miracles*.

E. W. BECK.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

CONFRATERNITIES.

By a Confraternity is understood an association of Christians united by the bonds of charity for the performance of certain good works, and all animated by the same holy purpose. The Catholic Church may be regarded as one immense Confraternity; for all her members should be filled with mutual charity, all should strive earnestly to promote God's glory, and their own salvation, and all should unite in observing the commandments of God, as well as the particular precepts imposed upon them as members of a divinely-constituted society. And were these several conditions fully and faithfully fulfilled by each member of the Church, particular Confraternities would be unnecessary. For without such Confraternities God would then be perfectly worshipped by a loving, generous, and submissive people; the Real Presence on our altars would not be forgotten or neglected; devotion to our Blessed Lady would flourish; the whole heavenly hierarchy would receive the honour due to them—in a word, every pious purpose which so many particular Confraternities now propose to themselves, would be easily and sufficiently attained by all the faithful, were all the faithful exact in discharging the duties which the bare profession of Christianity imposes on them. Hence we do not find any mention of Confraternities in the early ages of the

pictures, was formerly in the chapel of St. Rumold, which was destroyed by the Revolutionists in 1797. The other, a series of seventeen paintings, was given in 1775, the tenth centenary of St. Rumold's martyrdom, by the bishops and abbots of Belgium, the arms of the donor being placed on each picture.

Church when faith was lively and charity ardent, and when zeal for well-doing inflamed the hearts of all Christians. Rather than prove untrue to anything required of them by their holy profession, those early Christians endured the lash, the rack, and the other indescribable and inconceivable tortures invented by the evil ingenuity of their enemies, and in tens of thousands gave testimony with their blood of their reverence for the laws of God and of Holy Church. Their love for one another was at once so tender, and in so many ways manifested, that the pagans were wont to make it a subject of reproach and ridicule.¹ But in time faith began to languish, charity to grow cold, and mutual jealousies to take the place of the fraternal charity, which at first characterized the faithful. Then did the Church give birth to Confraternities, as the most effective means of remedying these multiplying evils.

The middle of the thirteenth century² is generally given as the time at which the first Confraternity made its appearance. It took the name of *Confalon* from a standard which was carried in its processions, and St. Bonaventure is credited by some³ with its institution. The object of this Confraternity was the redemption of Christian captives taken by the Saracens.⁴ It is quite certain, however, that Confraternities existed long before the time of the *Confalon*. Towards the close of the preceding century, Odo, Bishop of Paris, appointed the Monday after Trinity Sunday for the celebration of an annual festival by the members of a Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin in his diocese.⁵ And even as early as the time of Charlemagne, Confraternities, having a definite object, and an appropriate organization, are spoken of,

¹ Thus Tertullian, addressing the pagans, says: "You find fault with us because we love, and you hate one another; because we are ready to die for one another, while you are on the point of destroying one another; because the spirit of fraternal charity leads among us to a community of goods, while among you it is precisely such earthly possessions that are the cause of your enmities." (*Apologet.*, c. 39, *Apud Alzog, Church History*, vol. i., sect. 95.)

² Various dates are given by different writers. The years 1260, 1263, and 1267, are all mentioned.

³ See Manual, *Indulgences*, part ii., art. v., 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Migne, *Dict. des Indulg.*, part ii., c. 1.

⁵ *Dict. Encycl. de la Theologie Catholique*, art. "*Confrérie.*"

⁶ *Ibid.*

These early Confraternities were merely local, and embraced but a few members. But in course of time internal as well as external development set in; their objects became more general, they received more support from the ecclesiastical authorities, the Church conferred greater and more extensive privileges on them, and the faithful in increasing numbers sought admission into them. In our times Confraternities have become so important a factor in preserving Christian discipline, and so powerful a means for the salvation of the people, that pastors who have not at least one efficient Confraternity in their parishes are justly regarded as wanting in their duty.

Arch-Confraternities are so called by reason of the more extensive privileges which they enjoy, and also because they have power to affiliate to themselves other Confraternities by bestowing on them their own title, and by giving them the right to share in the favours and privileges granted to themselves. For this latter reason they are also called Mother-Confraternities. Confraternities are said to differ from *Associations* or *Societies* inasmuch as Confraternities have for their primary object the sanctification of their own members, while the object of associations is the performance of some work of charity towards others.

THE ERECTION OF CONFRATERNITIES.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century it was found that certain abuses regarding Confraternities had grown up. In establishing them care was not taken to comply with the requisite conditions, and as a consequence the members were deprived of the indulgences and other privileges then granted to legitimately erected Confraternities. Besides, the members of the Confraternities had begun to regard themselves as exempt from the jurisdiction of their pastors, and from the parochial regulations, and as responsible to their directors alone, and as bound only by the bye-laws of their respective Confraternities. To remove these and other abuses Clement VIII., issued in the year 1604, the constitution *Quaecunq̄ue*,¹ in which he defined precisely what is necessary

¹ See Ferraris, Art. "*Confraternitas*."

for the legitimate erection of Confraternities, together with the relations that should exist between the members of Confraternities and their pastors, as well bishops as parish priests. This constitution has formed the basis of all succeeding legislation on the point. From it and from the utterances of succeeding Popes, as well as from the decisions of various congregations, the following rules for the erection of Confraternities have been gathered:—

1. *Only one Confraternity of the same name or title can be erected in the same place.* By the *same place* is here meant not only the same church and the same parish, but any other church or parish within a radius of three miles from that in which the Confraternity exists.¹ To this rule there is, however, an exception in favour of the Confraternities of the Most Holy Sacrament, of the Christian Doctrine, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. It has been decided that each of these Confraternities may be established in every parish irrespective of the distance between any two.² To these must be added Confraternities existing at the date of the constitution of Clement VIII.³

If through inadvertence to this condition more than one Confraternity of the same title have been erected within the prescribed limits, the first erected alone is legitimate; the other must be dissolved.⁴

2. *Two or more Confraternities having different titles, and different objects, may be erected in the same church or parish.*⁵ Pastors would do well, however, to bear in mind a sage remark made by a writer on this subject. "It is unquestionably better," he says, "to have only a few Confraternities

¹ Clement VIII. *Quaecunque* 2, S. C. Ind. August 28, 1842. "Cum Paroeciae non distant invicem una levea, si tamen sunt in separatis officis constitutae, poterunt erigi in ambabus confraternitates eadem?" *Resp.* "Negative si agatur de confraternitatibus in genere."

² S. C. Ind. Feb. 7, 1607; Feb. 3, 1610; Pius VII., 1805; Falise, *Decr. Auth.* S. C. Ind. Lovanii, 1862, p. 202. See also Bouvier, *Des Indulg. Manual.*, &c. The last-mentioned writer adds: "Should an application be made to the Sovereign Pontiffs, as a rule, they unhesitatingly allow exceptions of this kind for every other Confraternity."

³ S. C. Ind. Sep. 27, 1607.

⁴ *Idem.*, Mar. 31, 1640. *Rota*, June 18, 1745.

⁵ Decision of the *Rota*, June 18, 1745, *apud* Ferraris, n. 63.

carefully and zealously worked, than to have many wholly or partly neglected." "But," adds the same writer, "this restriction does not extend to pious *associations* or *societies*, such as those of the *Propagation of the Faith*, *St. Vincent de Paul*, and the *Living Rosary*." For, as these have but few public exercises, the management of them cannot embarrass the pastor, nor can membership of them weary the people.

3. *A parish priest, wishing to establish a Confraternity in his parish, must obtain the written approval of his bishop for the Confraternity of which he has made choice.*¹ In the *Manual de Confrères*, compiled about the beginning of the last century by Mgr. Tournefort, Bishop of Limoges, the above rule is thus stated: "When a parish priest proposes to himself to erect a Confraternity, he ought to inform his bishop in writing of his desire, and of the motives that determined him to choose this or that Confraternity, and should ask from him permission to erect the same."

Bishops can by virtue of their ordinary powers give canonical erection to Confraternities within their own dioceses,² but they cannot, as a general rule, without special delegation, make them partakers of the indulgences and privileges granted to particular Confraternities.³ We say *as a general rule*, for there are exceptions. In the first place, Confraternities of the Most Holy Sacrament erected by the sole authority of a bishop enjoy all the indulgences and favours and privileges granted to the Arch-Confraternity of the same name established in the Church of the Minerva in Rome.⁴ Secondly, when in any diocese one Confraternity of the Christian Doctrine has been erected by the authority of the bishop, and duly aggregated to the Arch-Confraternity in the Church of St. Martin in Rome, all other Confraternities of the Christian Doctrine afterwards erected in the same

¹ . . . *praerogative loci Ordinarii consensu, cum ejus literis testimonialibus.* Clement VIII. Const. *Quaecunque*.

² "An dici possit canonica dictae confraternitatis erectio solius Ordinarii auctoritate facta." Resp. *Affirmative*, S. C. Ind. 28 Augusti, 1752. Bouvier, *Traité des Indulg.*

³ Bouvier, *ibid.*

⁴ S. C. Ind. 15 Feb., 1608.

diocese require only the approval of the bishop to give them a right to the indulgences, &c., of the Arch-Confraternity.¹

But is affiliation to an Arch-Confraternity, or a religious order not necessary for Confraternities erected by bishops having the usual delegated powers? This question would seem to be involved in no little obscurity. Bouvier states explicitly that affiliation is not necessary, and declares that the Congregation of Indulgences replied to this effect to a question put by Mgr. de la Myre, Bishop of Mans. On the other hand, a reply of the same Congregation, issued August 22, 1842, states the very opposite.² It is quite certain that by virtue of delegated powers bishops can communicate to Confraternities erected by them the same indulgences and privileges which affiliation would give them:³ but it is doubtful whether such delegation is ordinary or extraordinary. Whatever may be true regarding the question in general, there is, happily, no difficulty as far as it concerns Ireland, or any other country subject as Ireland is to the Propaganda. For, as may be inferred from an Instruction issued by that Congregation in June, 1889,⁴ all bishops subject to it have faculties for erecting Confraternities approved of by the Holy See, and for granting to them without affiliation all the indulgences and other privileges

¹ S. C. Ind. 23 Martii, 1711, "declaravit sufficere ut aliqua Confraternitas Doctrina Christianae in una civitate Archiconfraternitati aggregata sit, ad hoc, ut cunctae aliae ab Ordinario loci in toti diocesi erectae seu erigendae aggregatae censeantur et omnium spiritualium gratiarum et indulgentiarum quibus dicta Archiconfraternitas fruitur participes sint."

² "Confraternitates ab Episcopo auctoritate a S. Sede delegata erectae fruuntur necne eadem bonorum operum et ordiorum communcione cum archiconfraternitate et iisdem privilegiis et indulgentiis ac illae quae aggregatae ordinario more fuerunt? *Resp.* Affirmative si agatur de confraternitate S.S. Corporis Christi; si vero de Doctrina Christiana quoties in una diocesi aggregata est una istiusmodo confraternitas caeterae etiam erectae aut erigendae, aggregatae censentur; *negative quoad alias confraternitates in genere.*"

³ "In the year 1802, Cardinal Caprara, Legate *a latere*, at the earnest request of the bishops of France, granted them faculties to erect all the Confraternities belonging to the different Religious Orders, and to bless beads, scapulars, &c., and also to sub-delegate this latter power to their priests, and all without its being necessary for them to apply to the superiors of these orders. (*Dict. des Indulg.*, Introd. 2 part, ch. iv.)

⁴ See I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. x., p. 850. (Sept. 1889.)

DOCUMENTS.

DECISIONS OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES.

SUMMARY.

1. How the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart is to be celebrated.
2. How the 2nd Vespers of the Feast of the Sacred Heart are to be said.
3. The Office of the Seven Founders of the Servites of Mary.
4. The use of the Crozier on Holy Thursday.
5. Does a Bishop make three or only one cross when giving the blessing after the distribution of Holy Communion, and when giving absolution?
6. When an Ordination is held on Holy Saturday, will the Litanies be those given in the Missal for that day, or as given in the Pontifical?
7. When the Office of our Lady of Good Counsel has been granted to a diocese, are the priests obliged to take the new Office and Mass approved in 1884?

MONTIS POLITIANI.

Hodiernus Redactor Kalendarii pro Clero Dioceseos Montis Politiani, de consensu sui Rñi Episcopi, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia enotare humillime proposuit, nimirum :

Dubium I. Missa votiva SSñi Cordis Iesu per Decretum diei 28 Iunii 1889 pro Ecclesiis, in quibus de mane exercitia pietatis in honorem eiusdem Divini Cordis peraguntur, concessa, celebrari debet sine *Gloria*, sine *Credo* et cum tribus orationibus, an ritu quo celebrantur Missae votivae solemniter cum *Gloria* et *Credo* et unica Oratione?

Dubium II. In eodem Decreto statuitur quod secundae Vesperae diei Octavae Corporis Christi sunt dicendae sine ulla Commemoratione. Cum non sint concordēs Redactores Kalendariorum in interpretandis his verbis, quaeritur an per eadem verba commemoratio sequentis festi, SS. Cordis excludatur, vel etiam commemoratio alicuius Sancti eo die ad modum simplicis redacti, ut accidit hoc anno pro S. Ioanne a S. Facundo?

Dubium III. Capitulum Vesperarum in festis Sanctorum septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V. et S. Catharinae Fliscae Adurnae dicendumne est etiam ad Tertiam?

Dubium IV. Quando Episcopus Feria V in Coena Domini bis

procedit ab altari ad mensam pro Sacris Oleis conficiendis, et ad altare regreditur, debetne uti baculo pastorali?

Dubium V. In benedicendo populo post Communionem extra Missam ministratam, atque in absolvendis fidelibus in Poenitentiae Sacramento debetne Episcopus unam tantum vel tres Cruces efformare?

Dubium VI. Si Sabbato Sancto fiat Sacra Ordinatio, dicendae suntne Litaniae in Missali pro tali die assignatae, vel illae consuetae quae habentur in Pontificali Romano?

Dubium VII. Dioeceses quibus concessum est Officium B. M. V. titulo Boni Consilii, tenenturne assumere novum Officium cum respondentem Missa pro eodem Festo a S. R. Congregatione anno 1884 probatum?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, omnibus mature perpensis, ita propositis Dubiis rescribendum censuit, nimirum:

Ad I. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad II. Utraque commemoratio est omittenda.

Ad III. Affirmative.

Ad IV. Affirmative.

Ad V. Servandae Rubricae Ritualis Romani.

Ad VI. Dicendae sunt in casu Litaniae in Missali assignatae, additis quae Episcopus profere debet super Ordinandos post *¶ ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis*, etc.

Ad VII. Affirmative. Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et servari mandavit die 20 Mai 1890.

✠ CAL. CARD. ALOISI MASELLA S. R. C. Praef.
VINCENTIUS NUSSI, Secretarius.

THE MANNER OF LIGHTING THE NEW FIRE USED AT THE CEREMONY OF HOLY SATURDAY.

THE MISSAL RUBRIC AND HOW IT IS TO BE CARRIED OUT IN PRACTICE.

(Taken from the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*).

PROPOSITIO.

Praesentium temporum adiunctis inspectis, urgendane est observatio Rubricae pro Sabbato Sancto in Missali posita, quae dicit: *Excutitur ignis de lapide . . . et ex eo accenduntur carbones?* Quomodo se gerendum in praxi?

SOLUTIO.

Quaestio, ut omni consideranti facile apparet, duabus constat partibus, una nempe theoretica, et altera practica.

I. Ad primam quod spectat partem, scilicet: an, inspectis praesentium temporum adiunctis, urgenda sit observatio Rubricae, praescribentis ignem Sabbato Sancto excuti de lapide et ex eo carbones accendi, citra dubium est, inobservationem huius praefatae Rubricae contradicere regulis Liturgiae certissimis et unanimi Rubricistarum doctrinae, opponi insuper Orationis textui recitandae pro novi illius ignis benedictione, et huius functionis symbolismum pessumdari. Unde conclusio logica est, ut urgeatur observatio dictae Rubricae.

(a) Quod certissimae Regulae Liturgicae hoc exigant, nescire nemo valet, si saltem agatur de officio solemniter celebrato in maioribus ecclesiis. Interrogemus siquidem Caeremoniale Episcoporum, ut sciamus quid agendum sit in Sabbato Sancto, et pro responso habebimus lib. 2, cap. 27, n. 3: "*Dicta hora sexta, excutitur e silice ignis extra ecclesiam et accenditur.*" Sed praescriptio haec ad minimum respicit ecclesias metropolitanas, cathedrales et collegiatas, ut invicte constat ex Bulla promulgationis Caeremonialis praelaudati, et ex decreto S. R. C. 16 Iulii 1605, n. 270, statuente "*omnes ecclesias metropolitanas cathedrales et collegiatas, dictum librum caeremonialem in omnibus ad unguem servare debere.*" Iam ergo urgenda est in maioribus ecclesiis observatio praefatae Rubricae, nisi Congregationem cum Caeremoniali Episcoporum in vanum locutam fuisse velis: quod repugnat.

Nunc autem, si deveniamus ad minores ecclesias, ubi tres quatuorve ministri reperiri possunt, legimus quoque in Caeremoniali Rituum pro hisce ecclesiis Benedicti XIII iussu edito: "*Extra ecclesiam excutitur novus ignis e silice, et accendantur carbones in foculo.*" Sane ex decreto peculiari Congregationis indictae 4 Dec. 1724 a Sanctitate Sua Benedicto XIII, parvum hoc Rituale solis Rectoribus Almae Urbis proponebatur observandum; sed in saeculo sequenti, die 28 Iulii 1821, n. 4583 ad 1, Sacra Rituum Congregatio declaravit "*ut locorum Ordinarii quoad parocias, in quibus haberi possunt tres quatuorve saltem clerici, sacras functiones feriis V et VI ac Sabbato maioris hebdomadae peragi studeant, servata forma parvi Ritualis S. M. Benedicti XII anno 1725 iussu editi;*" et Pius Papa VII hoc decretum "*adprobavit confirmavitque, atque ut ab omnibus servetur, typis evulgari praecepit die 31 Iulii 1821.*" Unde pariter in casu urgenda est observatio

Rubricae, cum Caeremoniale hoc, iuxta Clar. De Herdt, verit editum ut ritus ac sacrae caeremoniae . . . in minoribus ecclesiis . . . exacte ac uniformiter exercentur.

Supersunt quidem aliae ecclesiae, ubi inveniri nequeunt tres saltem ministri; sed de illis cura nobis non esse debet in solutione quaestionis. Absque enim speciali Indulto Apostolico non potest in hypotesi cereus, ignis fons baptismalis benedici, ut liquet ex decretis S. R. C. 12 Feb. 1690, n. 3202; 11 Mart. 1690, n. 3204; 13 Iul. 1697, n. 3433 ad 1; 1 Sept. 1838, n. 4837; et itaque in huiusmodi ecclesiis ignem excuti, prout placuerit, non est concludendum, sed Indulto standum est, quod certe nihil permittet contra Missalis Rubricam.

Obiciet fortasse aliquis, ecclesias vi ipsius Bullae Papae V in Missalis initio positae, et ipsius decreti 16 Iulii 1605, n. 270, supracitati, retinere posse "*quae de antiqua, immemorabili ac laudabili consuetudine, alio vel diverso modo ab eo quo in caeremoniali praescribitur, observantur;*" id est, quae ante promulgationem Missalis, iam supra ducentos annos servabantur.

Non nos latet veritas eorum, quae obiciuntur; sed nullius roboris sunt in casu, quia relate ad ignem Sabbati Sancti, ex Rubricistarum melioris notae consensu, non existit huiusmodi consuetudo, nisi forte excipias antiquum usum excutiendi ignem ex crystallo Soli obiecta, apud Durandum lib. 6, cap. 80, expresse relatum. Si autem laudabilis, remitto sapientioribus.

Verbi gratia, Durandus, Mimatensis Episcopus, vivens in decimo tertio saeculo, certiores nos facit in suo opere, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, lib. 6, cap. 80, "quod in principio officii (Sabbati Sancti) totus in ecclesia debet ignis extinguui et novus de lapide percusso cum calibe . . . debet elici et de sarmento foveri." Quin imo, si testimonio credideris eximiorum Auctorum Martene *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, cap. 8, n. 8; Thomassin, *Traité des Fêtes*, liv. 2, chap. 14, n. 7; Goar, *Rit graec.* pag. 24; Pouget apud Benedictum XIV, *de Festis D. N. I. C.*, n. 390; et Baillet, *Fêtes mobiles*, Samedi Saint, art. 3, hic modus ignem producendi non nisi vestigium est antiquitatis. A quarto enim saeculo excutiebatur quotidie ignis e silice ad accendenda ecclesiae luminaria; et benedicebatur prius quia de more apostolico erat nunquam adhibere ignem profanum seu vulgarem in sacrificiis et orationibus publicis, quae luminaria exigebant. Cessavit quidem in decimo saeculo haec quotidiana benedictio, sed retenta est pro Sabbato Sancto, ob intimam relationem inter ignem e

silice productum et Iesum Christum ex mortuis suscitatum, nec non ad agendas Deo gratias pro hierosolymitano miraculo, quod historici magni nominis hac die quotannis contigisse tradunt, nempe: Officio Sabbati Sancti incipiente, congregatis fidelibus, in ecclesia sancti Sepulchri, igne de caelo cadente, lampades quae iam a feria V ob moerorem Passionis Christi fuerant extinctae, ex eodem igne miraculose singulis annis accendebantur. Ita Hugues de Flavigny, Rodulphe Glaber apud Gretser, *de Cruce*, lib. 2, cap. 2; Martene, loco citato, n. 9; Quaresme, *Elucidat. Terrae Sanctae*, tom. 2, lib. 5, cap. 24; Lupus apud Benedictum XIV loc. citat.; et Urbanus Papa II apud Labbe, *Concil.*, tom. X, pag. 514; et Baronium, *Annales*, anno 1095. Nonne ceterum ille miraculosus ignis perfecte se exhibet ut typum prodigosae Domini resurrectionis?

Gavantus, inter Sacrorum Rituum commentatores facile princeps, ait: *excutitur ignis de lapide ignis, de Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli*, Part IV, tit. X. Et De Herdt post Cavaliere: "ignis e silice a sacrista vel alio ministro tempestive est excutiendus et carbones accendi, ut adveniente celebrante ignis reperitur accensus. Non enim ipse celebrans ignem excutere et carbones accendere debet." Part V, n. 59; et Caval., tom. IV, cap. 21, n. 8.

Si A. Carpo legeris, eandem reperies sententiam: "Carbones benedicendos accendi omnino opus est ex igne excusso de lapide." Iuxta Martinucci, lib. 2, cap. 27, n. 21, "duo clerici procedent ad portam et accendent ignem praeparatum, elicientes e petra focaria favillam."

Ut autem huic nomenclaturae Auctorum finem imponam, "ignis novus, inquit R. P. Piller hodie professor in seminario Friburgensi, ope chalybis ex silice excuti debet, ut verificetur oratio benedictionis, et significetur Christi ex sepulchro lapideo resurrectio." Unde, Auctoribus a Durando et ultra usque in hodiernam diem nihil in contrarium tollerantibus, urgenda est certissime observatio Rubricae; quia sola consuetudo, si non laudabilis, saltem antiqua, ignem producendi per crystallum aut speculum Soli obiectum, iam a longo tempore in desuetudinem abiit.

(b) Si ex altera parte attendas ad verba benedictionis eiusdem ignis, ire contra Rubricam nemo potest sine mendacio. Iusta enim A Carpo, Part 3, art. 11, n. 154, "*si secus fieret, quodammodo admiretur expressionis veritas Orationi, quae in benedictione declarat ignem illum productum e silice.*" Qua de causa necessario urgenda est quoque observatio Rubricae, ne ignis falso dicatur e

silice productus, praesertim quod *lumen Christi* non verificatur nisi quia ignis e lapide excutitur; nam iuxta Divum Paulum, *petra autem erat Christus*.

(c) Insuper, huius functionis symbolismus non minus requirit exactam Rubricae executionem, quia ex praelaudato Martinucci “hic ritus excutiendi ignem e lapide, non caret mysterio.”

“*Ignis vetus, teste Durando Mimatensi, veterem significat legem, cuius figurae in Morte Christi completae fuere, et ideo velut extinctae cessare debuerunt,*” dum ignis de lapide in memoriam revocat Christum, “*qui est lapis angularis, qui verbere crucis percussus Spiritum Sanctum nobis effudit.*”

Iam Honorius Augustodunensis, duodecimo currente saeculo, ignem docebat e lapide excuti, lib. 3, cap. 20, “*quia concipiendus est ignis charitatis de Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli,*” ut legere est apud Gavantum et A. Carpo, loc. cit.

Iuxta Quarti et alios apud Bouvry, “certum est rationes mysticas, sin minus fuerint causae institutionis, saltem intendi ab ecclesia in hac functione, in qua plura repraesentantur mysteria. Primum autem et principale est resurrectio corporis Christi e sepulchro. Sicut enim frigidus lapide rutilans ignis excutitur; ita e sepulchro lapideo corpus Christi iam mortuum et extinctum, vivum et splendidum resurrexit, et nova luce refulsit, atque nobis aeternae lucis contulit claritatem.”

Et Corsetti, in suo indice Rationali Sacrorum Rituum: “ignis excutitur e silice in Sabbato Sancto, quia ignis de lapide Christo, qui lapis est in caput anguli, accipitur; et antiquus extinguitur ad denotandum legem finem habere.” Romsée quoque docet Mystice extincto luminum significat extinctionem Christi in sepulchro; et novi ignis productio, eiusdem Christi vivificationem in die resurrectionis. Huic significationi concordare videtur mens Ecclesiae, utpote quae in festo Ascensionis, post Evangelium in quo refertur Ascensus Christi in caelum, extinguit cereum paschalem, sic ut non amplius accendatur. Quibus perfecte consonat Doct. A Carpo, dicens: “ignis e silice excitatus, Christi resurrectionem luculenter designat.”

En denique verba Patris Agnelli e societate Iesu, in suo opere, *Il Parrocchiano istruttore*, lib. 1, Part 2, instr. 14: “prima di cominciare la Messa s'estingue tutto il fuoco, che v'è; per significare che nella morte di Christo Vittima di obbedienza, ebbero fine gli olocausti e le vittime, che con il fuoco si sacrificavano da' sacerdoti dell'antica legge. Fuoco nuovo s'accende, cavato

col ferro dalla pietra focale, ch'è simbolo di Christo percosso dal ferro dei chiodi e della lancia." Unde symbolismus urget executionem Rubricae.

II. Ad secundam partem, nempè: quomodo se gerendum in praxi? Responsio deducitur ex antea dictis. Standum est Rubricae in Missali positae, ne contemni videatur mystica functionis significatio, et mendax evadat Oratio pro ignis benedictione. Quapropter eliciendus est ignis de lapide, non autem de lignis ignivomis aut sulphure imbutis; nam quod gallice vocamus *allumettes et chimiques et allumettes phosphoriques* italice vero *flammiferi et solfanelli*, non repraesentaret mysteria ab Ecclesia intenta.

Quo autem medio utendum est, ut scintilla eliciatur e petra focaria? An chalybe? an ferro an quovis alio medio? Datur unicuique libertas, dummodo ignis revera de lapide prosiliat. Rubrica enim in hac parte tacet, et praeter Durandum, Agnelli et Piller, qui de chalybe aut ferro loquuntur, caeteris omnibus silentibus, non satis constat de mente Ecclesiae, ut unam potius quam alterum medium imponatur.

Item, et propter eandem rationem, libertas relinquitur pro nutritione scintillae e petra emanatae, ut deinde carbones ex illa possint accendi. Adhiberi possunt ligna ignivoma, aut papyrus aut, quod vulgo nominatur *amadou*, italice autem *esca*, aut omne aliud inflammatum facile; et quando ignis exinde maior effectus est carbones ad normam Rubricae accenduntur.

A. FOURNERET, *Curé de Lannes.*

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES.

PRAYER OF ST. IGNATIUS.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Circulus catholicus S. Ignatii Loiolensis, in hac alma Urbe existens, ut magis magisque provehatur cultus erga sanctum suum patronum, exorat Sanctitatem Vestram, ut concedere velit aliquam indulgentiam, animabus quoque in Purgatorio detentis applicabilem, Christifidelibus qui devote recitaverint sequentem invocationem ab eodem Sancto repeti solitam: *Domine mi, fac ut amem te, et ut praemium amoris mei sit amare te magis in dies.*—
Quam gratiam. . . .

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo XIII., in audientia habita die 15 Martij 1890 ab infrascripto Secretario S. Congregationis

Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus, corde saltem contrito, ac devote praefatam jaculatoriam precem recitantibus *Indulgentiam centum dierum*, defunctis quoque applicabilem, semel tantum in die lucranda benigne concessit. Praesenti *in perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 15 Martii 1890.

C. Card. CRISTOFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✙ S.

✙ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

PRAYER TO ST. JOSEPH.

BEATISSIME PATER,

Cardinalis Cajetanus Aloisi Masella, ad Pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provolutus, humiliter expedit, ut aliquam Indulgentiam benigne concedere dignetur universis Christifidelibus qui devote recitaverint sequentem ad S. Joseph orationem, a S. Bernardino Senensi concinnatam :

“ Memento nostri, Beate Joseph ; et tuae orationis suffragio apud tuum putativum Filium intercede ; sed et Beatissimam Virginem Sponsam tuam nobis propitiam redde, quae Mater est ejus, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto vivit, et regnat, per infinita saecula saeculorum, Amen.”—Quam gratiam . . .

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., in audientia habita die 14 Decembris, 1889, ab infrascripto Secretario Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae universis Christifidelibus, corde saltem contrito ac devote recitantibus supradictam Orationem, *Indulgentiam centum dierum*, defunctis quoque applicabilem, semel in die lucranda, benigne concessit. Praesenti *in perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem Congregationis die 14 Decembris, 1889.

C. Card. CRISTOFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✙ S.

✙ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

PRAYER OF S. ALOYSIUS TO THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

“ O Domina mea, sancta Maria, me in tuam benedictam fidem ac singularem custodiam et in sinum misericordiae tuae, hodie et

quotidie, et in hora exitus mei animam meam et corpus meum tibi commendo; omnem spem meam et consolationem meam, omnes angustias et miserias meas, vitam et finem vite meae tibi committo: ut per tuam sanctissimam intercessionem, et per tua merita, omnia mea dirigantur et disponantur opera secundum tuam tuique Filii voluntatem. Amen."

SSmus. D. N. Leo P. XIII. in audientia habita die 15 Marti, 1890, ab infrascripto Secretario S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, omnibus utrisque sexus Christianis fidelibus, corde saltem contrito ac devote supradictam Orationem recitantibus. *Indulgentiam bicentum dierum*, semel in die lucranda et defunctis quoque applicabilem, benigne concessit. Praesenti in *perpetuum* valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis, die 15 Martii 1890.

C. Card. CHRISTFORI, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ A. ARCHIEP. NICOPOLIT., *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY DEPOSED BY QUEEN ELIZABETH. By Rev. T. E. Bridgett, C.S.S.R. London: Burns & Oates, 1889.

THIS book will be heartily welcomed by every earnest, truth-loving student of the so-called Reformation period. Fr. Bridgett has, with diligence worthy of all praise, dug his way through the mass of falsehood that has accumulated round the genuine history of the period, and he has set before his readers the plain unvarnished truth resting on evidence indisputable. He opens his "preface" with a striking contrast between the bishops of Henry VIII.'s time and those who lived at the accession of Elizabeth. He says: "When the violent and uncontrolled passions of Henry VIII. rose up against the unity of God's Church, only one member of the English hierarchy was found faithful to his trust." But "when the policy of Henry's illegitimate daughter, Elizabeth, led her to break again with the Holy

See . . . of the whole hierarchy only one member proved faithless. And there can be but little doubt that, if the English priests in Elizabeth's time had imitated the fidelity of their bishops, the English people would not have been robbed of their faith. On Elizabeth's accession many of the English sees were vacant. None of the bishops offered any opposition to her accession; but, as her heterodoxy was well-known, none of them was willing to perform the ceremony of her coronation. After some pressure, Dr. Agelthorpe, bishop of Carlisle, consented to perform the ceremony; and very soon his reward came in the shape of deposition and imprisonment. The Protestant tradition handed down from sire to son, originating with "artful Cecil" and Camden, still echoed by Dr. Hook and Dr. Jessop—not to speak of lesser luminaries—has it that no one was persecuted for conscience' sake under *good Queen Bess*, and that those who did suffer were traitors, not martyrs. The great, leading proof offered for this view is, that the bishops deposed by Elizabeth for not accepting the *new doctrines* were allowed to live and die in peace. Fr. Bridgett meets this by a direct, emphatic, negative. He takes up the history of each bishop, and shows by evidence that it is absolutely conclusive that they were persecuted for conscience' sake persistently, and some of them severely. It is easy enough to make a slipshod reputation for learning by dealing in second-hand quotations. Fr. Bridgett will have none of this. He goes to the original sources for his information. He sifts and weighs his evidence with ability and impartiality. His book is a most valuable addition to the real history of the age of Elizabeth, and it deals destruction to much of the cherished stock-in-trade of her apologists.

J. M.

MANUALE QUOTIDIANUM SACERDOTUM SIVE PRECES ANTE ET POST MISSAE CELEBRATIONEM CUM BREVIBUS MEDITATIONUM PUNCTIS PRO SINGULIS ANNI DIEBUS. PRECES EDIDIT, MEDITATIONUM PUNCTA COMPOSUIT, APPENDICEM ADJECIT. Jacobus Schmitt, SS. Theol. Doct. et in Eccl. Cathedr. Friburg: Canonicus. Sumptibus Herder Friburgi Brisgoviae.

THIS is the third edition of Dr. Schmitt's admirable work which priests all the world over have found so useful, and which comes with ecclesiastical approbation stronger and more widespread than ever. The collection of prayers for every day in the

year to be said before and after the celebration of Mass could not be better chosen. They are taken from Father Boppert's great work, having been selected by him from the Greek and Latin Fathers and from the Doctors and approved writers of the Church; but instead of Father Boppert's learned dissertations on ascetic theology, so greatly expanded by his Patristic knowledge, Dr. Schmitt gives us a short practical meditation admirably suited to the general wants of clerical life. The whole work is written in Latin, and is, in our opinion, all the better on that account; for the prayers have additional solemnity and grace in the ancient language of the Church; and a strain of the deep and solid faith of the ages in which they were written runs through them all. The work cannot be too highly praised. The author has laboured well for the benefit of the priesthood, and has produced a work worthy of the Holy Sacrifice which it is specially intended to honour.

J. F. H.

HISTORY OF THE PASSION: being the Gospel Narrative of the Sufferings of Christ and the Dolours of Mary. With Notes and Comments. By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London: Burns & Oates.

THE *History of the Passion*, by Father Devine, deserves a wide circulation. It is at once a most devotional book, and from an instructive point of view, very valuable and interesting.

Father Devine tells the history of the Passion for the most part in the words of the Gospel narrative, but adds such information as is necessary or useful for the elucidation of the sacred text. This information is not, however, given in the uninviting form of mere comment, but is embodied in the narrative, the extracts from the Testament being in every case plainly recognizable by the italic type in which they are printed. The result is highly satisfactory. The intelligent reader finds in the simple and full narrative so admirably put together by Father Devine the answers to the many questions which the reading of the bare text would suggest.

The book is divided into twenty chapters, of which nineteen are devoted to the history of the Passion; and the last is very appropriately set apart for an exposition of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin.

In connection with the Dolours, Father Devine explains all about the devotion of the Stations or Way of the Cross, and

priests and people will be grateful to him for the abundant information which he condenses into a few pages on this popular devotion.

We heartily commend this book, and we feel assured that it needs only to be known to establish itself as a favourite work with those who wish to cultivate a devotion to the life and passion of our Divine Lord.

The book is stamped with the Imprimatur of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.

NATURAL RELIGION. From the APOLOGIE DES CHRISTENTHUMS of Franz Hettinger, D.D. Edited with an Introduction on Certainty, by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. Burns & Oates, 1890.

THIS is the first volume of the long-promised English translation of Dr. Hettinger's celebrated *Apologie*. The fame of this great work has long since reached us; but it is only now, when the lamented author is gone to his reward, that English-speaking Catholics can judge for themselves "the mighty mind that was in him," and that vast store of varied knowledge on which he drew for the defence of truth. The purpose of the *Apologie*, the author tells us, was "to show the agreement of Christian faith with all that is true in the domain of reason; to correct erroneous theories, and to heal the wounds which error causes in souls." For forty years he has been in the forefront of the battle for truth. His position brought him into direct and immediate conflict with the whole contemptible crew of "isms," that too often pass for scholarship in Germany and elsewhere. And the *Apologie* at every page gives abundant proof of the depth and wide range of his learning, of the acuteness of his reasoning powers, and of the indomitable zeal with which he prosecuted the conflict against error. The chapters on *Materialism*, on *Pantheism*, on *the Existence of God*, and on *the Soulless Man*, are perhaps the finest specimens of reasoning we have seen against the debasing and soul-destroying errors that are poisoning the sources of German thought. His treatment of the *Evolution Theory* is a most conclusive answer to those self-satisfied scientists, who, in their innocence, fancy that priests confine their studies to theology and ecclesiastical history.

The translation is by Father Bowden of the Oratory, and this, we are satisfied, is sufficient guarantee that the work is well done. The translator gives an introductory chapter on "Certainty," which, as an argument against

AGNOSTICISM, is well worthy of a place in Dr. Hettinger's great work. The book is in every sense admirable—one which every lover of truth should read and digest carefully. It is a most opportune addition to our theological literature, and we trust sincerely that the other volumes of the work will not be long delayed.

J. M.

SERMONS FOR THE SUNDAYS AND CHIEF FESTIVALS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR, WITH TWO COURSES OF LENTEN SERMONS, AND A TRIDUUM FOR THE FORTY HOURS. Rendered from the German, by Rev. James Connolly, S. J. New York: Benziger Brothers.

It is pretty generally felt that books of set sermons are of little help to one who has to prepare a practical instruction for the people on Sundays and Festivals. Such sermons are too often unreal, or rather they were suitable and real only in the circumstances in which they were spoken. Not only in the style of the composition, but as well in the way in which the points are developed they bear the impress of the individual who composed them, influenced as he was by the character of the congregation for whom they were prepared. Very often also such sermons contain but little matter drawn out in a series of neat sentences, which cannot be borrowed unless one becomes a downright plagiarist.

A book of sermons to be of use to a hard-worked priest should, it seems to us, contain little more than a few words of an introduction, and then a division embracing two or three substantial points simply and briefly developed. It is a decided help to have the order and matter provided for one. These he can make his own without borrowing the words. When he has turned over the matter in his mind and thoroughly digested it, he will have no difficulty in finding words of his own in which to express it, clothing the old truths in a new dress.

It is because the book of *Sermons for the Sundays and Chief Festivals of the Year* is of this practical character, that we have no hesitation in recommending it. The subjects treated are practical, such as the pastor needs for his Sunday's instruction. Each sermon or instruction is briefly introduced, and then two or three clearly defined points are explained and developed.

The sermons were originally composed in German by the Rev. Jules Pottgeisser, S. J., and have been rendered into English by the Rev. James Conway, S. J.

THE ONE MEDIATOR; OR, SACRIFICE AND SACRAMENTS. By Rev. William Humphrey, S.J. Burns & Oates, 1890.

THIS book consists of a series of chapters reprinted from *The Month*, and the author has done good service to Catholic truth in publishing them in a collected form, and thereby rescuing them from the oblivion incidental to periodic literature. The book is an excellent and useful one. It is practically a theological treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass and on the Sacraments, dealing almost exclusively with the dogmatic and scholastic parts of subject matter. The volume is not at all controversial, and yet we know no book of its size that will be more really useful for the defence of Catholic truth. The author establishes his principles on a solid basis. He states Catholic doctrine clearly, concisely, and most accurately; and the result is, that without professing to answer any objection, he really anticipates them all. We cannot too strongly recommend the book. The educated, intelligent lay Catholic, will find it a high class manual of instruction, perfectly reliable; and even the professed theologian will find it extremely useful.

J. M.

THE ROMAN MISSAL FOR THE USE OF THE LAITY.

Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THE publication of a complete Roman Missal in any language is a very important undertaking. And we are pleased to be able to congratulate the publishers, and those associated with them in bringing out the edition under notice, on the manner in which they have performed their task. *The Roman Missal for the use of the Laity* is highly creditable to all who were engaged in the work. This edition is a faithful version in English, of the Latin edition of the Missal lately published by Pustet, at Ratisbon, and approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Consequently it contains all the newest Masses, arranged in their proper places, including the new Votive Masses which are wanting in former editions of the English Missal. Moreover, we find in it complete Supplements for Ireland, England, America, and Rome. The extracts from Holy Scripture, which form a large portion of the Missal, have been carefully compared with the approved Bible, and many inaccuracies which had crept into this part of former editions have been corrected.

There are improvements also in the Calendars and Indexes, so that we can safely describe this as an accurate and elegant English version of the Roman Missal.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1890.

A PLEA FOR DISCIPLINE.

I.

CATHOLICISM in England is in an anomalous and strange position. It bears the traces, now gradually being obliterated, of that severe repression which began in blood and ended in contempt. The temper of the country is not Catholic, although it is now not ungenerous, and being in a minority we gradually suffer the fate of all minorities, not sufficiently safe-guarded—a progressive absorption into, and assimilation by, the majority. This is sufficiently evinced by a consideration of the leakage question, and the various remedies proposed. The various problems which confront us here are to outsiders of a sufficiently startling character, and the various questions which from time to time are asked and answered in the I. E. RECORD lead us to think that the circumstances from which these questions arise are not very well understood. They affect principally matters of confessional practice and of discipline, and are so complicated as to puzzle very adroit casuists. Unquestionably the I. E. RECORD gives us learned solutions; but sometimes cases turn up, and it is extremely difficult to know what to do. For instance, it must be difficult for an Irish priest to be familiar with the surroundings of cases of conscience arising from “Tips” commissions, short lengths, sanding cotton, dressing silk, burning waste, charging overtime when working inferior material, false piece measurements, and last, but by no means

least, that finest of all refined roguery, the various intricacies of bankruptcy dodgery, which our friend the Jew has brought to such perfection—*his accedit* co-operation of subordinates. These things must indeed be awkward matters to be handled by outsiders, as they are awkward to us.

On another level lie all those questions which affect the due enforcement of discipline, in *foro externo*, among Catholics. Among these stand the laws relating to marriage, Christian burial, and the various forms of *Communicatio in Sacris*. Questions of theology belong, of course, to the schools; of Church polity, to the bishops, *jure divino*. The division is rough, and must not be strained, nor must the dividing line be too finely drawn. The bishops, with the advice at their command, shape the policy to be pursued in any given country under any given circumstances, and all in a subordinate sphere co-operate in its execution. The remembrance of this makes it somewhat difficult for one from the ranks to write with much freedom on matters which cannot be said to make claim on any private individual for treatment. Nevertheless, these difficulties are known and felt by personal contact, and at times constitute embarrassment from which we desire to be relieved. Affecting, as they do, and as we believe, prejudicially, the work upon which the lives of priests are spent, we fain would address ourselves to them with the view of throwing ourselves in the way of sympathy and advice. We are subject very much to the influences of those circumstances which surround us, and hence our readers will detect a local colouring in our remarks; but we believe the social and religious status of Catholics in all large English towns are the same, and hence our remarks will have a broader application than the knowledge of an individual, taken simply, would warrant.

Let me begin by mixed marriages, and the extraordinary facility with which they are, as a fixed policy, contracted—we pass by what the Popes have said from time to time about them—true, they are *connubia damnabilia et detestabilia*, &c.; but, then, these things were said in Italy. We come to our surroundings.

We have in Manchester and Salford (both forming one

continuous town) the main body of the Catholic community on the same social level belonging to the industrial class. Of course we have our *bourgeoisie* in a limited degree. Our professional class is small and reserved; our local aristocracy, landed gentry, &c., practically *nil*. We eliminate without more to do these "classes" as outside the purview of our statement. If they have a greater difficulty in finding in our ranks a social equal, they have a wider horizon, and the evils are not, as a rule, so obvious.

We descend to the "masses." In point of number they would in themselves constitute a large city—roughly about 90,000. We are considering them as within reach, for we must presume that matrimonial affairs do not recognize the municipal boundary. Our object in thus referring to the total aggregate of the rank and file of the Catholic community will be apparent when we ask:—Are we Catholics in these circumstances unable to find suitable Catholic partners with a view to marriage? Must we regard the Catholic body as unequal to the adequate supply of suitable marriageable persons to match those who want to marry? This is an important question: for if a Catholic partner is forthcoming, there is no reason whatever for a Catholic about to marry to seek a partner outside the Church.

To judge of the extent of the Catholic materials to fall back upon, and to put the matter in the clearest light before a large number of our readers, let us say that we are speaking of a body eight times the population of Kilkenny or Galway, four times the population of Waterford, one and a-half times the size of Cork, and two and a-half times the size of Limerick. These comparisons are sufficiently accurate for our purpose, and help us to realize the strength of the Catholic body in the midst of which we now write, and to see clearly the point of the question which we have put. Can such a Catholic community as this stand on its own basis, independent of outside denominations for matrimonial requirements, in properly balancing the supply and demand, and in this respect can it work *normally* without extraneous aid? Can our Catholic young men find suitable Catholic young women? We do not care to answer this question in the presence of

so many older and more experienced men; but if cornered we would answer it, and answer it emphatically, in one way only.

This much brings us onward to the point that underlies this statement. Where is the necessity *prima facie* of mixed marriages, in general, *under these circumstances*? That individual mixed marriages are in given cases the lesser evil, we all, of course, admit—though we venture to think that even these cases are altogether exaggerated. But if there is no standing necessity warranting such marriages, where is the expediency of perpetuating a standing policy of granting dispensations to all who apply? And yet all who apply get the dispensation with the greatest promptitude. After five years of active missionary life the writer never heard of a dispensation having been refused. Practically any reasons suffice, such as “keeping company,” and “I like him, Father,” and “He is such a good young man, Father,” and “So-and-So married a Protestant,” and “If *you* don’t marry me, I’ll wed in the Protestant Church,” and so on. Nay more, if application were to be made by a priest for a dispensation, and he to say that there is no reason whatever to warrant a mixed marriage, it would in all probability be granted, not by any personal official laxity, but by force of a fixed policy, the growth of years, hitherto unquestioned, and the questioning of which now may be looked upon as a youthful indiscretion.

But why not convert the Protestant? Well, we do convert them—the names are “in” at the Registrar’s Office, and you have got three weeks to make a religious impression on an average Protestant young man—at the rate, say of three nights a week, and one hour each time. The young man “does not mind” being a Catholic; but he is not near so anxious about the faith as about the girl. He wants *her*: but he is not particular about letting religion “slide.” You take him in hand, and you get him through night after night—that is, if he comes, and if you are not somewhere else—and what exhausting work it is to din a little Christianity into a young man who wants it *pro tempore* as a means to make him to marry! You have done your best, but you have not converted him—neither his head, nor his heart, nor

his stomach. The following Friday will witness him discussing his meat dinner—he has the girl, and now the faith may go to the winds. The fact is—let us say it with certain limitations—marriage converts are a failure—a conspicuous failure in our large cities. We have wasted one Catholic girl who, had she been married to a Catholic, might have constituted an element in the natural development of the Catholic population of this country, but we have not gained *one* convert. We lose the girl, and we lose the family of the mixed marriage. For the last forty years the Catholic population of this country has not progressed in the same proportion as the non-Catholic, while, owing to the proverbial fecundity of the Irish people and the superior morality of the Catholic body, we should be gradually making headway, and gain in course of time a higher percentage of the total. Why? Because family life is so muddled and contaminated with heresy, that a great Catholic sidewash is gradually seceding into the great army of indifferentists. The average product of an average mixed marriage at twenty years of age is a poor specimen of a Catholic. He is about half a Catholic—with the faith in a way, but without Catholic instinct. In his neighbourhood—an average one—there are five Protestant or Dissenting girls to the one Catholic, and five to one he marries the non-Catholic, and then the grandchildren of the original mixed marriage are practically lost, and all the natural development of numbers in that line, with an expanding and widening progression, are lost to the Church. Hence you meet with such Protestants as William George Murphy and Frederick Mc'Carthy.

So far for the material aspect of mixed marriages. Let us see how it ruins the *morale* of a Catholic community. It means a compromise in the home—and an admission that all religions are good in their way; and as you hear it now, a wonderful indication of the “many-sidedness of truth.” Surely if “things like this do not work a *fidei notabile damnum*,” what else does? We have paved the way for all that follows. We baptize children, and with a Protestant sponsor. Of course we let him “stand;” but he must not touch the child. The public effect of such a proceeding remains. We

marry our own people where both are Catholics and with a Protestant *best* man. We "Church" Protestant women, on the bland old complaisant view, that of course it is not a sacrament, and does the poor women no harm. Some priests permit Catholics to be witnesses at Protestant marriages in the Protestant Church with a distinction—*ad effectus civiles tantum*, and of course we are all familiar with the very Protestant-like way Catholics assist at Protestant funerals—kneeling, &c. . . But that is courtesy. We may say that the utmost limits of the coming to terms is reached, when we behold a Catholic woman standing sponsor at a baptism for a Protestant child. We often thought that if only a Catholic is well up in the nice distinctions, he would have one difficulty only to decide, viz, "Is there any difference between a Catholic and a Protestant?"

We may hope that stricter discipline will be put in force concerning these matters. There is no particular necessity for one in ten of our mixed marriages, if our Catholic people are only warned in time. There are no sermons with any grit in them preached against them, because there are mixed-married people in the audience, or perhaps their children are there. Besides, your words are worthless when there is such a facility of procuring a dispensation. There is very little use in pouring the terrific flood of your molten rhetoric at it, and denouncing the monstrous thing when your fellow-curate, *v g.*, legalizes it by return of post. Zeal about the children is good, but the clergy of forty years ago were as enthusiastic about children as we are now. Zeal ought to be supported by a good, wholesome, and vigorous discipline. All our evils spring from the marriages, and until we restore, as far as wise men deem practicable, the full discipline of the Church, we shall be like men who have opened the flood-gates of heaven, and then opened an umbrella, or sailors bailing out water, with the bunghole of their vessel unplugged. True, we shall have apostates; let us be tender as we can with the execution of a wholesome law; but they will be palpable, and not like the gradually gnawing away of everything that is robust and Catholic in our community. We must not minimize zeal; but we must ever remember that the *psychical*

missioner is a compound of zeal and physical strength—the strength often fails while the zeal may still burn brightly in the soul of a used-up priest. We are helpless to stem the awful corruption of home-life in our ranks, and the utter debauchery that surrounds the *thalamus ecclesiae* in our great populous centres, unless the Church once more puts forth her right arm, with discretion, but with strength, and protects the Sacrament of Matrimony from being made subservient to the unbridled lusts of the profligate, and the caprices of the Protestant Dissenter and Jew. A priest in a city mission, with from one thousand five hundred to three thousand Catholics in hand, cannot forestall mixed marriages. Let the reins of discipline be quietly and steadily drawn, and the clergy will be strengthened to oppose efficaciously the lawless movements of the lax, to encourage the good, to foster a good Catholic spirit, and to look forward to a normal and progressive increment of the Catholic population on strictly Catholic lines. But while we marry the drunkard in his drink, and the licentious man fresh from carnal sins, with what we are pleased to call a confession five minutes before the marriage ceremony begins, we shall never have the *gratia sacramentalis* which perfects the new state of life, and irradiates around the newly-founded home. We shall have, what we have got, wrecked homes, bad Catholics, a *progenies viperarum*, heartbroken and footsore priests, and a community demoralized from top to bottom.

II.

Those measures which we would advocate for the living, we would, in their own respective order, suggest as suitable for the dead. We recommend discipline all along. Nothing makes such an impression as the treatment of the dead. In the presence of death the heart-strings are loosened. What more pathetic than the appeals of the burial service to the mercy of God, with its recurring refrain, *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine!* and what more terrible than the accursed grave, where the dishonoured body of the apostate is thrown, without a drop of holy water, without a prayer, without even a hope! If Catholics know anything, they know the terror

of this; a wholesome discipline would be a comfort to the good pious soul over whose grave we shall pray, a terror—the vengeance of silence—to the public sinner. Yet this discipline, so wholesome and so efficacious, is so far forgotten that an appeal to it seems like recalling the middle ages. Our experience of the discipline of the laws of Christian burial would resemble those grim humours of Yankee journals. For a somewhat considerable period the writer was chaplain to two cemeteries—one Catholic and consecrated, the exclusive property of the diocese—the other municipal, with part reserved for Catholics. From the latter the chaplain drew a solid salary. As far as he could find out there was never so much as a thought given to the observance of the laws affecting Christian burial. We prefer to leave out of consideration funerals in the municipal cemetery, as we have a difficulty on the point. Is a chaplain bound by law to perform a funeral service for a man who dies out of the Church? Of course we are bound to perform the service for all Catholics. But does the law of the land declare who is a Catholic? or does it accept as final what the man generally professed? or does it admit the conditions of Church-membership, as laid down by the recognized ecclesiastical authorities? In other words, if a man says he is a Catholic, am I bound to give him Catholic rites in the borough cemetery, when I know that he is no longer a Catholic? This is a question of law which has not been decided here in England, as far as I am aware. In America it has been already decided by the civil courts that a family vault in a Catholic cemetery can be closed against members of the family who die outside the Church, when Church-membership as a condition of possession is in the cemetery rules. The law took effect in the exclusion of the body of an abetter of the unfortunate Dr. M'Glynn. As far as we can recall, without any reference at hand, the judge declared that every condition of membership entered into the contract, and that no claim could be established to burial in the vault as long as the conditions of Church membership were not fulfilled.

But law, or no law, one thing is certain, no credentials

are required to secure Christian burial in England. The chaplain's business, even in private Catholic cemeteries, is to bury all, ask no questions, and above all, do not hurt the feelings of the friends. Two things are necessary: obey the law of the land about the doctor's certificate; obey the law of the cemetery board about the payment of the fees: let the laws of the Church take chance. If you neglect the first, you commit an act of felony; be remiss in the second, and you perpetrate an act of stupidity; as for the third, it is mere scrupulosity to think of it. Must not a funeral be conducted with decorum? What is more conducive to decorum than to bury your forty years' concubinator, who has refused the last Sacraments on his death-bed, with all honours for the consolation of his friends, and the edification of all good Christian folk? That he was a scandal all round the neighbourhood where he lived, that he was incestuous, an adulterer, an all-round profligate, who would make no confession, but believed the priest had no more power than anybody else, and was like the rest of men—these are "winkable" things; that the priest should go five miles to bury him in consecrated ground, and burn incense over his carcase to symbolize his aromatic virtues, and sprinkle holy water on his coffin and over his grave, and with a long solemn face (or as the reporters put it, "in an impressive manner") to whine forth, "Come to his assistance, all ye saints of God;" that is the proper thing, because it shows how elastic, and gentle, and good-natured the poor Catholic Church can be with her hoary reprobates.

I have just said that it is no business of the chaplain to inquire if he is burying a Catholic, or if he is giving Christian burial to a man to whom the canons deny it. Still a few specimen cases come to your notice, and linger in your memory after the lapse of years.

A. B. lived in "tally" for thirty-seven years with another man's wife. (Tally = concubinage, or adultery, as the case may be.) His own wife crossed over to the other man. Thus there was a rectangular "tally." A. B. was frequently admonished by the priests in their district work. They spent more time and labour spurring up the worthless brute than

would have sufficed to bring half-a-dozen well meaning, innocent poor people into the Church. At length he got ill, and his sister went for the priest, who came six times, and now by entreaty, now by menace, implored him to make his confession, and prepare for death. He refused, and died shortly after. We buried him with all solemnity in consecrated ground, and the friends were comforted because, I presume, he at length "slept in the Lord."

C. D. was a former student of one of the most distinguished Catholic colleges in England—was, I am informed, a classical scholar of the senior form of no mean repute, a literary man of some attainments. He gradually drifted—took to the theatre, and then to drink. Married (?) some Dissenting woman, and preached in the local "synagogue," a kind of religious Sunday-evening spouting club, where good men congratulated themselves on their good health, whisperings of the Spirit, good digestion, and kindred religious topics. At length C. D. got a stroke, was carried home from the theatre at night, lingered on consciously for a couple of days about five minutes' walk from the presbytery, and died without the sacraments. Mrs. C. D. informed the company that C. D. was a Catholic, so there was a wonderful turn out of theatrical ladies and gentlemen at the funeral, which was excessively decorous. Some little apprehension was entertained about the burial service among a few of the better informed; but we soon set it at rest. We read it with great effect in that deep sepulchral tone which the heavy tragedymen uses, when, with furtive glance he steals across the stage muffled up in sable cloak, and calls—"Give me the dagger." The manager thanked us when all was over, and was glad things had passed off so pleasantly for the family—that is *the* point. Wreaths of lilies, &c., were piled on bearing scrolls "Safe in the arms of Jesus;" "At rest;" "Asleep in the Lord," &c. So there we left C. D., buried in honour with all rites of the Catholic Church.

8. E. F. was a notorious drunkard, well-known to the clergy, to the police, to everybody. He abandoned his wife and family, and lived a somewhat promiscuous life about town. He was debauchery and brutality to the lips. He finished up

consistently by suicide. The matter was referred to competent authority, and the coroner's court inquested him—verdict—"Drowned himself while drunk." Ecclesiastical authority decided that the man *must* have been mad—perhaps he was, but on the grounds of Segneris sinners' *Oh che sciocchezza!* and that he could be buried with the rest, so as not to wound anybody's feelings, provided that the priest read the prayers over all in common in the mortuary chapel. If in the case of suicides the "temporary insanity" plea, or the "uncontrollable impulse" theory is set up and acted upon, the sooner we have a change in the laws of Christian burial the better; for every man who commits a mortal sin is at bottom mad.

G. H. was the only instance of a man who in our chaplaincy nearly got his due. He refused the sacraments and wounded everybody's sense of propriety by blaspheming God, and threatening by his Maker to smash a certain article of bed-room furniture on the priest's head if he came any more. The priest did come, but G. H. had died in the dispositions which he had had so vigorously manifested on the occasion of the priest's last visit. The matter was so well-known, that when the neighbours saw the priest coming, they stood at their doors with the anticipation of seeing the rev. gentleman pitched through the window, or having some kind of a reception of a chilling character. He duly reported the occurrence and its notoriety to the writer, who was in charge of the funerals. As my duty was to bury everybody, I referred to my chief, who ordered me to refuse reading the burial service. I did so, but G. H. was buried in a consecrated grave all the same, and his carcass was laid down over the sacred remains of some poor pious Catholic that breathed her last sigh into the very bosom of God in all the fulness of the faith. The Church had a day, and he would have been thrown into a condemned hole on the far edge of a piece of commonage.

We must stop somewhere. It was none of our business to note these cases, but they recur in connection with the state of ecclesiastical discipline in England. In a pastoral sphere we can now bear witness to the fact that the present

race of chaplains continue this policy—bury all who pay for their graves, and whom you are paid to bury, and pay no attention to the very rubrics which confront your eyes on the first page of your Ordo Exequiarum: “*Quibus non licet dare sepulturam Ecclesiasticam.*” We know that people have received Christian burial who refused the last Sacraments from our hands. Surely the time is come when we ought to deprive of Christian burial those who are *ipso jure excludendi*. We do humbly think that the time is come to prevent the recurrence of such a spectacle as the burial of a Freemason by the chaplain who was surrounded by all the Masonic brethren at the grave-side. The deceased was loyal to the craft to the end, and requited the priest’s attentions by telling him about the Supreme Architect. The fact was, the priest wanted to convert the Freemason, and the Freemason wanted to convert the priest. Hence the dead-lock. He lived a Mason; he died a Mason; but he was buried a Catholic, and perhaps recommended to the prayers of the faithful.

These facts remind us that we have no machinery to furnish information to the chaplain except by chance, and that then it is very doubtful if the chaplains will be very visibly affected by it. Burial service is much like churching Protestant women. So much depends on what preceded it; and, not having a retrospective value, if it does no good it does no harm. We could easily remedy it by giving a certificate of death in the bosom of the Church; and then the chaplain’s way is clear if he is empowered by his superior to act according to it.

So far for what appears to us as indicating a broad field for reform. We do not ambition novel or drastic measures, but a return to those means which the Church has invariably found efficacious for the furtherance of the kingdom of God on earth. We are aware we have ventured on highly controversial grounds, and we expect little sympathy from a large number; but even under these circumstances we may not be rash in expressing the hope that the time is not far distant when we shall witness a gradual revival of Catholic discipline in this country. In large Catholic centres like

that in which we now write, where growing laxity prevails, and looser passions gain the sway, and establish an even lower standard of action; where the influence of the Church and of the priests is diminishing, and the natural man becoming more prominent every day, we ought to labour to keep the sheep of the fold from contamination, and to build up a Church with good sound Catholic materials. Shall we see this without enforcing Catholic discipline?

JOSEPH TYNAN.

HOMES FOR INEBRIATES.

THE attention which the temperance question has been attracting for some time past, must be a subject of congratulation to every friend of that good cause. Much good work has been done; but much more yet remains, and the time may yet be far distant when we may hope to say that the last word has been said about it. A point which has not, perhaps, received its due meed of attention, is the duty of the State, and the necessity of supporting our efforts by the co-operation of the law of the land. This is, however, intelligible. The State has, indeed, its duty in the matter; but the Church rightly takes the leading part in the work; and when her organizations shall have been established throughout the land, we shall be in a better position to perceive the necessity of the aid of the State, and to demand at the same time that that aid shall be forthcoming. When in every parish in Ireland religion by its organizations shall be seen striving to reclaim the drunkard, and when at the same time the State shall continue to multiply its traps in every village and hamlet, the anomaly will become apparent and the scandal unbearable. The power, and meaning of organization, are lessons too recently learned to be soon forgotten; and it may be hoped that our temperance

associations may soon find time to agitate, to make our drink laws less scandalous than they are, and to induce the Government of the country, to remember in this matter of drink legislation the words of the greatest of living English statesmen¹—"A Government should so legislate, as to make it easy to do right, and difficult to do wrong." To insist on this point, however, is not my present purpose. I had occasion of doing so elsewhere more at length—but lest in thus looking to the aid of the civil power we seem to betray some diffidence in the aids which religion affords, it will be enough to state that Father Mathew himself bitterly lamented that the State did so little to aid his efforts; and that he rejoiced with a great joy, when, towards the close of his life, there were signs of a change for the better.

Despite our best efforts, many will think that drunkards, like the poor, we shall always have among us. To the present generation, at least, it shall hardly be given to witness the utter extinction of the race; and we must therefore accept the inevitable, and make for them the best provision we can. And surely, if there be a class in the community that needs our aid, and that should secure our sympathy, it is this—the habitual helpless, I had almost added, hopeless, drunkards. They are found everywhere. No parish without one or more; and wherever they are found they are at once not alone the ruin of the family, but the scandal of the parish and the cross of the pastor as well. Sixty thousand of them—a terrible annual holocaust—are hurried year by year into early graves. Reproof of friend and priest avail not; sacraments produce results little better: the Retreat—though it may come annually—leaves no permanent cure. The League of the Cross is established, but the pledge is habitually broken, and the association demoralized by the repeated falls of the poor drink-slave. To save those thousands of yearly victims, or, if that cannot be, at least to lessen their number—that is what we have got to do; and, surely, it is a great charity and a most pressing need. The great temperance movement of our day begins,

¹ Mr. Gladstone.

and wisely, with the young and the temperate; but, surely, if it is wisdom to begin with them, it is charity to look first to those whom I may call my present *clientèle*. That there are such cases as I have been describing, no reader will doubt; nor will the description appear overdrawn or unfamiliar. The object of the present paper is to ask—What can be done for them, and to supply at least one answer.

For the class of inebriates of whom we are treating, it must be admitted that we have hitherto done very little. Our people are proverbial for their charity as well as for their faith; our towns and cities are studded with hospitals, and every ill that flesh is heir to is provided for. But what has hitherto been done for our inebriates? No priest who has had much to do with habitual drunkenness, but must have often longed for the establishment of Homes or Asylums, as the only hope for the extreme cases such as we now refer to. Such a desire was often felt by the present writer, before he was aware of the nature or even existence of such institutions; the knowledge of their existence led naturally to some inquiry, and the result may have an interest for others as well as for himself.

There are one or two points in connection with the habitual drunkard and his cure that are often overlooked, though they are well worthy of attention. It is not that a large proportion of those 60,000 annual victims are of our own kith and kin, and of the household of the faith as well—though many a priest has reason to note the largeness of the proportion. A distinguished preacher recently vindicated the character of the Catholic body in this respect: that the vindication was just the character of the learned preacher was sufficient warrant; but it must be added in truth, if regretfully, that *in parts of the country, at least*, such vindication is more than our people deserve. There are places in Ireland where the sale of intoxicating drinks is a monopoly of Catholics; where those “*de gente non sancta*,” more wise in their generation than ourselves, entirely eschew the “trade;” and where, following on this, and partly to be explained by it, excessive drinking is found among Catholics

alone. I may add here—what is also often the subject of remark—that this ghastly list of victims is made up of those who, in many respects, were most deserving members of society—the best, the most intelligent, and the most useful, in their respective spheres.

But the considerations we refer to now are of another kind, and more to our purpose. The first is, that inebriety in the cases we speak of is often a physical disease; the second, that that disease is sometimes hereditary; and—what will plainly follow from those—that physical restraint is often necessary for their thorough and permanent cure. To be just to this unhappy class, each of those facts merits recognition. They are rarely, however, considered, and never by those who treat inebriety as a moral fault only. We must insist upon them here; for once admitted, the necessity of Homes for inebriates follows. In doing so, professional or expert evidence alone is admissible, and all we can promise is, that we have sought it from those who speak with authority. It would be easy to multiply authorities here, and it may not be without interest; but one or two must suffice.

INEBRIETY A DISEASE.

“What is habitual drunkenness? Is it a vice or a disease, a misfortune or a sin? Sometimes all of these. . . . I would not for a moment seek to weaken the force of your clerical reproof, of the immorality and sin of drunkenness; but there are now and again cases coming before me, cases of confirmed inebriety, which present symptoms of disease as marked and as characteristic as I have ever seen in an attack of gout, of apoplexy, or of insanity. There is, besides, the specific symptom of drink-craving. Of the terrible import of this phrase, none but the experienced in the treatment of dipsomania can have the slightest conception. In every fibre of the being there is an unquenchable thirst. There is no organ that does not clamour unceasingly for alcohol. The whole man is burning with an inward fire, which

“The more it burneth, the more it hath desire
To consume everything that burnt will be.”

(*Treatment of Inebriates.* By Dr. Kerr.)

“Drunkenness, therefore, is a study, not for the philanthropist and reformer alone, but for the physiologist, with his microscope and its revelations; for the chemist, with his analytical

to which affiliation would confer the right. The only limitation to these faculties regards the erection of Confraternities of the Rosary. For, though bishops in missionary countries can erect such Confraternities, and grant to them the general indulgences, which can be gained by all legitimately erected Confraternities, yet, if they desire them to share in the special indulgences granted to Confraternities of the Rosary erected by the authority of the General of the Dominicans, they must have recourse to him.¹ But with regard to other Confraternities, it appears quite evident that bishops in missionary countries enjoy the fullest faculties for their erection, and endowment with all indulgences and privileges without reference to religious orders or Archconfraternities.

4. *The bishop must appoint a priest as Director of the Confraternity.* Bishops alone have the right to designate the Directors of Confraternities.² In case a bishop should neglect to name anyone for this post, neither the parish priest, nor any other priest, can validly discharge the functions of Director, unless there be but one priest in the place in which the Confraternity has been or is to be erected.³ For in these circumstances the bishop, by the mere fact of sanctioning the erection of a Confraternity, is supposed to have designated that priest as its Director.⁴

5. *The names of the members of every Confraternity must be entered in a register by the Director himself, or by some person appointed by him.*

This condition is now absolutely necessary for gaining the indulgences of any Confraternity.⁵ In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI. issued an Indult dispensing with this con-

¹ *Instruction*, mox. cit.

² *Ibid.*

³ S. C. Ind., Nov. 1, 1842.

⁴ *Idem.*, June 7, 1842.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ "Quod vero pertinet ad recensenda in albo Confraternitatum nomina fidelium iisdem adlectorum id tanquam necessaria conditio absolute requiritur, ut indulgentias Confraternitatibus adnexas lucrari fideles queant. Quapropter ab ea lege derogari nequit nisi per peculiaria Indulta quae solum determinatos casus et certa loca respiciant." (*Instr. Cong. De Prop. Fide*, June, 1889. I. E. RECORD, vol. x., p. 851.)

dition in regard to membership of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. But this Indult was revoked by Leo XIII., April 27, 1887.¹ At present, therefore, this condition is required as well for the Confraternity of Mount Carmel as for all others.

When, therefore, a Confraternity has been canonically established in a parish, enrolling in the local register alone is necessary. But where a Confraternity has not been established, it is necessary to send the names of the faithful of that place to be enrolled in the register of a similar Confraternity in some other place, or in the register kept in a house of the religious order to which the Confraternity in question pertains.²

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LEHMKUHL'S THEOLOGY.

“VERY REV. SIR,—In reply to your correspondent's inquiry (page 661, I. E. RECORD, July, 1890), I may inform him that an Appendix, in pamphlet form, to the above Theology has been published. It is entitled, *Appendix ad i. et ii. Edne. Theologiae Moralis auctore Aug. Lehmkuhl, S.J. Exhibens additiones et Mutationes in ii. et iii. Ed. factas.* The editor is Herder. Friburgi, Brisgoviae. 1886.

“There may, of course, be later editions than the third of the original work, with fresh changes, and, again, a new Appendix; but I can only speak of the above. It can be had at Burns & Oates. The price, I forget: it is very trifling, as the whole pamphlet is only sixteen pages. “J. J. S.”

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. ix., p. 1050.

² Dubitarunt aliqui num ad adgregandos fideles ejusdam loci alieni Confraternitati necessaria foret praevia ibidem ejusdem Confraternitatis canonica erectio. Verum licit id in fidelium commodum profecto cederet, ac plerumque consulendum videatur, necessarium tamen non est cum sacerdotes adsunt qui fideles in pias sodalitates adsciscendi facultatem habeant. Hoc tamen in casu sacerdotes praedicti tenentur fidelium cooperatorum nomina ad proximiorum Confraternitatem cui eos adlegerint transmittent aut ad proximiorum domum religionam respectivam, si de Confraternitatibus agatur quae regularis ejusdem ordinis auctoritate fuerint erectae.

tests and reaction ; for the psychologist, with his spiritual affinities and contradictions ; for the statesman, with his political influence and legal research ; for the minister of religion, with his theological lore, and his appeals on behalf of virtue and self-control.”—(*Inebriety*. By Dr. Parrish.)

HEREDITY OF INEBRIETY.

“The most saddening, and, perhaps, the most serious of the numerous evils inflicted by alcohol on human kind, is the hereditary transmission of the drink-crave itself, and of the pathological changes caused by indulgence in alcohol.

“The heredity of alcohol is now beyond dispute. It is no mere dream of an abstemious enthusiast, but the operation of a natural law ; no fanciful creation of a nephalian brain, but an acknowledged fact. Men and women, on whom this dread inheritance has been forced without their consent, are everywhere around us, bravely struggling to lead a pure and sober life.

“But to medical experts it is as clear as their own existence, that there are multitudes of persons of both sexes, and in all positions of life, who, though they may never have yielded to the enticements around them, are yet branded with the red-hot iron of alcoholic heredity. There is no nobler sight on earth than the triumph of such weighted ones over their lurking and implacable foe—a foe the more terrible that it lies concealed within their own bosom. The only safety for all such lies in entire and unconditional abstinence from all alcoholic drink.”—(*Heredity of Alcohol*. By Dr. Kerr.)

NECESSITY OF RESTRAINT.

From what we have seen under the two previous heads, the necessity of restraint seems to follow as a necessary conclusion ; but it will be best here also to listen to those who can speak with authority.

“There are, however, cases with which you can do nothing. These unfortunates take the pledge every week, and cannot keep it for a day. They seem to be unable to resist the fascination of alcohol. They are consumed with a constant craving for their destroyer. All power of will seems to have fled. All they live for is drink, and their entire strength is put forth

“To confirm

The very chains that bind them to their doom.

For such there is but one human hope—*seclusion in some establishment where intoxicating drinks cannot be obtained, and where appropriate medical treatment may be carried out.* . . .”

“I have never undertaken, and I will never undertake, the

treatment of such a case, unless on the express condition that on no plea of friendship, of fashion, of health, or of religion, will the only safe condition of complete abstinence be broken. In this line of treatment I am supported by Dr. Richardson, Dr. Crother, Hon. Sec. to the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates, and other experts."—(*Treatment of Inebriates*, pages 9 and 12.)

From all this we are naturally led to the subject of what are called Inebriate Homes, or Asylums. For many—at least of the cases we have been considering—they are humanly indispensable. The rather lengthened extracts which we have given, must convince us that for the poor helpless dipsomaniac, moral suasion is not an adequate remedy; and while they will make us wonder less at the fruitlessness of our efforts with him in the past, they may, perhaps, induce many of us to have more of pity and less of anger for those who may be rather children of misfortune than slaves of sin.

How does our law stand with regard to Homes for Inebriates? We do not speak of private houses of this kind—they have no legal power to detain, and therefore they can have little power to cure. In reply, it must be said that our law, in this matter, like every other branch of our drink laws, is as defective and halting as it well could be; indeed, till quite recently, it seems not to have contemplated the subject at all. Our legislators were too busy for the past three hundred years in devising means to train up and form drunkards, to give any thought to the question of their reclamation. True, there was licensing, endless licensing, during those long years and centuries; but it was licensing of public-houses, and not of asylums for the treatment and cure of the inebriates which they had made. At length, however, our legislators awoke from their lethargy. Their legislative efforts had produced their fruit; and, driven by public opinion, they must do something to undo the mischief of their own making.

In 1872 there was a Committee of the House of Commons, "to consider the best plan for the control and management of drunkards." It found, *inter alia*, "that occasional inebriation frequently becomes confirmed and habitual, and soon passes into the condition of disease, uncontrollable by the

individual ;” “that self-control is suspended or annihilated, moral obligations disregarded, and the decencies and duties of life alike set at nought.”¹ In 1879 was passed the Habitual Drunkards’ Act, and in 1888—an amendment of the same—the Inebriates’ Act. The following is a *précis* of their provisions :—

- (a) The Habitual Drunkards’ Act of 1879 was an “Act to facilitate the control and cure of habitual drunkards.”
- (b) A habitual drunkard was defined, “a person who, not being amenable to any jurisdiction in lunacy, is, notwithstanding, by reason of his habitual intemperate drinking of intoxicating drinks, at times dangerous to himself, or herself, or others ; or incapable of managing himself, or herself, and his or her affairs.”
- (c) The local authority can grant a licence to a person, or persons, to open a Retreat. There must be a resident who shall be responsible for its management ; and a qualified medical man shall be employed as medical attendant.
- (d) Any drunkard may apply for admission. He must present a declaration of two persons that he is a habitual drunkard in the meaning of the Act ; and the applicant’s signature must be attested by two justices, who shall explain to him the effect of the application, and who shall be satisfied that he is a habitual drunkard.
- (e) The patient can then be detained for a term mentioned in the application ; the term not to exceed twelve calendar months. He will not be free to leave, except in one or two special cases, before the expiration of the term.
- (f) The “Inebriates’ Act” of 1888, made the previous one—which had been passed only for ten years—perpetual, and otherwise amended it. Both are to be construed together, and cited as the “Inebriates’ Act of 1879 and 1888.”

¹ *Inebriety*, Dr. Parrish.

Under those enactments several Homes have been opened in England. There is one, and we believe only one, in the hands of Catholics—a Retreat opened some years ago, by Cardinal Manning, for ladies. The reader will naturally ask: How have they been working? The best reply we can give—and we shall conclude with it—will be found in the yearly reports of the inspectors appointed under the Act. From the Report for 1888 we take the following:—

“There has been a decided increase in the number of patients treated; the aggregate admissions in 1888 being ninety-nine, against sixty-six admitted in the previous year. The sanitary condition of all the Retreats has been very satisfactory, and the health of the patients, as a rule, exceedingly good.

“*Westgate-on-Sea.*—It is very gratifying to see that the Act is becoming daily more known, and its advantages better understood. The number admitted to this Retreat during 1888, is a large increase over previous years. Nearly all the patients admitted during the year have done well; and, with few exceptions, they conformed readily to the rules of the establishment. . . .

“I cannot, however, help wishing that more could be done in the way of legislation, as it is often impossible to induce those most in need of control to enter a Retreat. Time after time I have had to explain to distracted relatives that entering a Retreat must be a voluntary act on the part of the patient. . . . It seems to me that, in order to effect any great amount of good, it will be necessary for the law to deal with inebriates somewhat after the manner it does with lunatics; exacting, perhaps, that, in addition to certificates from two medical men, the cases should also be investigated by two magistrates, who will thus be able to certify that, in each individual instance, the relatives have good and sufficient grounds for demanding that the law should relieve them of the anxiety, worry, and annoyance of those who have lost all power of self-control.”

We have now drawn attention to the nature of the law of the land, and to the aids which it gives us in the reclamation of our drunkards; and we have seen wherein that law is defective, as well as the amendment which our reformers most earnestly demand. These were the two points which we wished to set forth. We can open Homes for inebriates—though we have not yet found time to do so since 1879—and, with the consent of the patient in the rare case in which he will be wise enough to give such consent, we may shut him up for twelve calendar months. But, why for

twelve months only, and not till such time as there shall be some assurance of a thorough cure? Is it for twelve calendar months we send our invalids to our hospitals, or lunatics to an asylum? Is the limitation a mere arbitrary one, or is it grounded on the results of experience as to the sufficiency of this term? The following extract, from a private letter of a gentleman whose experience is as wide as his zeal is earnest in the cause of temperance,¹ will be a suitable reply:—

“In extreme cases, patients have to submit to two years’ detention in such a Home, in order to allow the system to be thoroughly cleansed of the alcoholic taint. At first it was thought that a year’s detention would effect this; but experience showed that this was erroneous, and that, whilst any taint of the poison remained in the body, the chances are that the patient, though well-disposed, could not resist, if exposed to opportunities of getting drunk. In many cases, the women (ladies, many of them) would get on splendidly for many months in the Home; but then, when a paroxysm would seize them, they have been known to scale a wall that had been deemed a barrier they could not get over, and find their way eagerly to the nearest public-house.”

And why only *with the consent of the patient*? Of course, the power of arrest and compulsory detention is very open to abuse; not so open, however, that it may not be safeguarded. Liberty is a precious thing, and “the rights of man” a beautiful phrase; but sixty thousand people dying annually from drink is a ghastly fact, and their dying, when we might save them, a crying scandal. It is an age of cant; but the most contemptible and transparent cant of all, is this everlasting talk of the liberty of those who, if professional evidence means anything, are the veriest slaves among the children of men. Cautiously must we give the pledge to our youth, in order that they may have time to learn “the taste and the danger,” and to be “free” to become drunken, if they will; and when, in the exercise of this “freedom,” they have become drunkards, we must be very jealous of restriction, lest we touch on the rights of liberty!

A few months ago a letter, on the subject of Inebriate

¹ A. J. Nicolls, B.L.

Homes, was published by an Irish priest, in which he suggested that some of our vacated workhouses might be utilized for the purpose; and we would repeat the excellent suggestion. Their second purpose would be higher than their first. Men are not unanimous about the merits of our Poor Law system; but, if we shall live to see some of its establishments rescuing, year by year, thousands of valuable lives, and changing the pests of society into useful and ornamental members of it, then, with one voice, we will acknowledge that there is no nobler work, and no greater charity in the land.

JAMES HALPIN, C.C.

SEA-WEEDS.

FOR many, even of those who have a real taste for the study of plants, botany begins and ends with "the flowers of the field." For centuries, official botany scarcely knew anything else, and it is only within our own times that the great kingdom of vegetable life has become thoroughly known to us from its humblest beginnings to its highest manifestations of beauty and powers. The flowering plants, being more attractive, more useful, especially more noticeable, were naturally first studied, and already immense progress had been made in their morphology, physiology, and classification, before much was known of the flowerless plants or cryptogams, by which are meant such plants as ferns, mosses, lichens, algæ and fungi. Yet, even now, the amateur botanist is chiefly concerned with flowering plants, their study is so interesting, and so few are the things required for it. A penknife, a pocket-lens, a *Manual of the British Flora*, and plenty of drying-paper to prepare the specimens we intend to preserve in our herbarium, and that is all. As soon as we enter the realm of the cryptogams, our necessities increase, curiously enough, in proportion as the plants themselves are becoming more simple in their organization. For ferns and

mosses, a stronger pocket-lens might suffice for field-work, but an ordinary microscope is required to follow all the steps in the fascinating life-history of those plants. For lichens, algæ, and fungi, a good compound microscope is indispensable at all stages, unless we are to be satisfied with the mere external appearance of the specimens, which, in the lowest plants, amounts to very little.

But, although the study of cryptogams is undoubtedly more troublesome and difficult than that of the flowering plants, it must, nevertheless, be confessed that they in no way yield to the latter in interest, and even in beauty. Only it may truly be said of them "omnis gloria ab intus." What they present to the naked eye is as nothing compared with the marvels which microscopical examination will reveal in them. Also, it must be acknowledged, that a general idea of the cryptogamic world is absolutely necessary to anyone who wishes to form some adequate conception of the vegetable kingdom, and to understand many things in the anatomy and physiology of flowering plants intimately connected with the life and organization of the lower plants. On a former occasion we have considered, in the pages of the I. E. RECORD, some of the great problems raised by the structure and physiology of ferns. To-day we would try and condense within the short space at our disposal the most interesting and useful facts presented to us by the marine algæ, a class yet further removed from the flowering plants, but in which the very simplicity of organization enables us still more clearly to behold the marvellous processes by which, gradually, vegetable forms are built up, and enabled to discharge their vital functions.

The sea-weeds ought to present special interest to a people dwelling in an island of such size as to place the majority of its inhabitants either actually along the sea-board, or at least within an easy distance from the sea. The land flora of Ireland is not so considerable as to absorb one's whole time, unless engaged upon the study of some special question, particularly if we happen to reside at the sea-side. There the sea-weeds will open to us a much more varied and abundant field of study, and a very interesting one, too,

especially to Irish-born students; for those neglected sea-weeds, which we have, perhaps, in the days of our ignorance, treated with something of the contempt unjustly exhibited towards them by the Roman poet, those sea-weeds are an integral part of the Irish flora. They have become localized upon the rocks of the Irish coast, attracted by the peculiar conditions there offered to them; for ages they have dwelt upon these shores, and no doubt they were there long before the land flora of the country, derived mainly from foreign sources, became thoroughly constituted. Nor are the sea-weeds of purely scientific value. *Rhodymenia palmata*, one of the red sea-weeds, the *dulse* of the Scotch, has been an article of food to the Irish, time out of mind, under the name of *dillesk*. *Chondrus crispus* and *C. mamillorus*, are well known in medicine as *Carrageen* or Irish moss. The collecting, drying and burning of "wrack," furnished in former days employment to large numbers of people in Scotland and Ireland, and wrack is even now valued as manure and procured with great labour by the poor. The study of Irish sea-weeds ought, therefore, to commend itself to all those who, enjoying special opportunities for it, at least during vacation time, wish to add to their knowledge of the Irish flora, while they are materially increasing and improving their knowledge of botany itself.

Let us, then, as a preliminary step, try and understand the exact position of sea-weeds in the vegetable kingdom.

At the very earliest beginnings of vegetable life, and therefore, very low, indeed, in the scale of life itself, we find those groups of organisms which botanists include under the name of thallophytes; *i. e.*, plants whose vegetative body consists (normally) of a *thallus* showing no differentiation into root, stem and leaf, as the higher plants do. Thus, algæ, fungi, and lichens, are thallophytes. They present in their earlier stages of plant-life conditions as simple as can possibly be conceived, but even in their later and more complex developments, their tissues still possess a striking homogeneity of structure unlike anything found in other plants. Nevertheless, thallophytes are philosophically important, even more so than many orthodox writers seem to be

aware, for they place us face to face with a problem which the deductive theories and the proud assertions to which we are accustomed from certain quarters have failed to bring nearer to a solution.

Thallophytes, in other words, show us how some of the simplest and lowest of organisms, to be found upon this planet, can, at the same time, exhibit certain physiological phenomena, worthy, on account of their complexity and general features, to be compared with those peculiar to the highest plants. If we examine, for instance, the natural methods by which all plants increase and multiply, we find that the most absolute identity of principle underlies superficial differences; so that it might be shown that the mode of reproduction in certain algæ is practically carried on upon the same lines as in the higher plants, yea, and in animals also. Nine differentiations intervenes; but the process is ultimately the same. Every theory of vegetable and animal development is philosophically valueless that does not, in some way or other, account for so strange a disparity between the simplicity of the tissues and the potential qualities of the protoplasm of those same tissues.

But, to return to our subject. Among thallophytes a sharp division is laid down at once, by the fact that some of them—the fungi—are absolutely deprived of chlorophyll (the substance present in green plants), and therefore must, like animals, obtain the carbon which their tissues require from the complex products formed by green vegetables. The other thallophytes—the algæ—are, on the contrary, rich in chlorophyll, and therefore obtain their carbon directly from carbonic acid, like most of the higher plants.

Of the lichens, we will not speak now; but they are, in some respects, perhaps, the most interesting family among the thallophytes. Imagine a fungus (nearly always one of the ascomycetes) so intimately united to a green algæ, that they both constitute a thallus, behaving, to all intents and purposes, as one plant. The fungus is benefited by the algæ, whose chlorophyll is life to him; the algæ, in most cases, derives from her union with the fungus certain elements which he can produce—thanks to the algæ's co-operation—

more quickly and more abundantly than the algæ is able to do. Such a *consortium* constitutes a lichen. The reader will thus see at once that by thallophytes, we can only mean, strictly speaking, the fungi and algæ. The lichens, being compound thallophytes, must simply be studied either as algæ or as fungi. They are now usually dealt with in connection with the important order of the ascomycetes among the fungi.

Our sea-weeds, therefore, are, as we see, plants belonging to the lowest group of plants known to exist. They are thallophytes containing chlorophyll in their tissues; and, in this respect, they are superior to their near relatives, the fungi; for the possession of chlorophyll is a sure sign of advanced differentiation.

Chlorophyll does not always occur pure in algæ. It is frequently mixed up with pigments of either blue, brown-yellow, or red colour, by which the green colour of the chlorophyll itself is rendered less distinct, or altogether invisible. Thus, we have sea-weeds of green, bluish-green, brown, or bright-red colour. The distribution of algæ along the shore is strikingly affected by the presence of those various colouring pigments in their tissues. Like all plants possessing chlorophyll, the algæ must have sunlight; hence, it follows that, below a certain depth, no algæ can live in the sea. At sixty fathoms, sea-weeds become rare. Below two hundred fathoms, none are found. Light is no longer sufficient for their requirements at that depth. But, within the zone itself in which they can live, we find that our sea-weeds are curiously distributed according to their colours. The decomposition of carbonic acid being intimately connected with the absorption of the coloured rays, and that absorption being directly affected by the colour of the tissues themselves, it follows that four levels are thus determined: the highest being special to bluish algæ; the second, to green; the third, to brown; the lowest, to red algæ. Thus, sea-weeds are practically distributed into four concentric bands along the shore, which correspond to those four levels.

A few exceptions will be found, but they only confirm

the rule. We may occasionally meet with some red sea-weeds quite near the shore, where usually only bluish or green algæ are found. But this apparent anomaly is simply due to the fact that there is some rock or cave so disposed as to diminish the intensity of light in order to reduce it just to the point required.

In the British Islands depth affects the distribution of our common brown sea-weeds most markedly, dividing their habitat into two well-defined zones.

(1) The littoral zone, comprised between high and low-water mark is characterized by four species of fucus, occurring in the following order:—

Fucus canaliculetus;

Fucus vesiculosus;

Fucus nodosus;

Fucus serratus.

(2) The laminarian zone, between low-water mark and about fifteen fathoms, deriving its name from the great tangle sea-weeds (*Laminaria digitata* and *L. saccharina*) which abound in it.

It is an interesting thing for the student of sea-weeds to trace those zones, and carefully to observe any modifications introduced by local conditions into the normal delimitation of the zones.

At a depth of one hundred and fifty fathoms seldom any algæ are found except a few curious forms, which the beginner will hesitate to acknowledge as algæ at all. These are the coralines and nullipores, whose vegetable tissues are quite hidden under the thick calcareous deposit with which they are incrustated. They are found attached to stones or shells, and we can only make out their vegetable nature and their structure, after their calcareous covering has been removed by the application of an acid.

From what precedes, we see, therefore, that the nature of the pigment which gives the thallus its peculiar colour is of the greatest importance, for it determines the locality of the sea-weed and its powers of assimilation. Thus a fact, in appearance superficial, and in other living beings not even of specific value, becomes, in algæ, quite funda-

mental for their classification. They are, therefore, divided into :—

Rhodophyceæ (frequently called florideæ) or red algæ, for the most part inhabitants of the sea, and perhaps the most beautiful among the sea-weeds. *Phæophyceæ*, or brown algæ, whose species are all marine. To them belong the great tangle sea-weeds, some of which attain the greatest length in the vegetable kingdom. Many species of macrocythis attain dimensions of three hundred to seven hundred feet in length. A tree sea-weed, *Lessonia fuscescens*, from Patagonia, has a stem ten feet long and twelve inches in circumference.

To the phæophyceæ belongs also the famous gulf-weed, *Sargassum bacciferum*, which so much frightened Columbus and his companions when on their way to discover America. The Sargasso Sea is too well known to require here further mention. The elegant diatoms, so dear to the microscopist for their beauty of shape and colour, also belong to this group.

(3) *Chlorophyceæ*, the green algæ. Many of them have become inhabitants of fresh water; others live in the sea. Many are unicellular; others form filaments; a certain number live in the cavities of plants of a higher grade, not as parasites, but in a state of commensality.

(4) *Cyanophyceæ*, the lowest and simplest of all the algæ. The sea, the fresh water, and the damp earth equally present them. A number of them, by union with certain ascomycitrus fungi, constitute lichens; some live parasitically. Amongst the cyanophyceæ, we find two distinct families not always easy to distinguish from each other—one, the family of the nostocaesæ, is characterized by the presence of chlorophyll; the other, the bacteriaceæ, scarcely ever present it in their cells (*Bacterium viride*, *Bacillus vireus*, are exceptions). The bacteriaceæ are so interesting, and they play so important a part in the economy of nature, that, although they are not sea-weeds, we cannot pass them by altogether in silence.

All bacteriaceæ are composed of very small cells which may affect various shapes. For instance, they are round in micrococens, cylindrical and disconnected immediately after their formation, as in bacterium; or remaining united, as in

bacillus. They may subsist in long filaments, as in leptothrix; or present a kind of helicoid shape, as in spisillum. The physiological process occurring in the life-history of these micro-organisms are of the greatest importance to man, owing to the decompositions which they determine in many of the substances on which they feed.

First, they may bring about the formation of certain colouring principles (*Chromogenous bacteriaceæ*), as in the case of *Bacterium cyanogenum*, which produces "blue milk." Or they may determine fermentations. Thus *Bacillus amylobacter* lives without free oxygen, and it is able to decompose the most diverse ternary compounds. It is known as the butyric ferment.

Micrococcus aceti oxidizes alcohol, and, by forming acetic acid, produces vinegar.

Micrococcus lacticus plays an essential part in the fabrication of cheese.

Thirdly, certain bacteria are the source of many grave diseases (*Pathogenous bacteriaceæ*). The renowned experiments of Pasteur have all tended to increase our knowledge of the part played by those microscopic enemies, which are ever at work in our midst. We have all heard of the bacillus of cholera, of the bacillus of consumption, of the bacillus of anthrax, and we know that animals as well as men are a prey to the devastations of those minute plants. Only the other day samples of diseased bees were sent to us from various parts of Ireland, to try and identify the cause of the scourge which has been of late destroying so many Irish hives. Microscopic investigation revealed the fact that the bees were attacked by what is known to agriculturalists as "foul brood;" and the particular microbe which is responsible for this epidemic, *Bacillus alvei*, was found in nearly all the samples supplied to us.

We have saved no room, I fear, even for a brief account of fossil sea-weeds. Yet no subject touching on animals or plants can now be considered adequately treated without some reference being made to their existence and distribution in time as well as in space. A remarkable, a providential parallelism has existed, from the

beginning, between the geological phenomena which this earth has seen and the biological manifestations which have successively clothed her with a varied vegetation, and peopled her with so many different generations of animals. Thus, we wish naturally to know whether there were any sea-weeds in those early days; and, if so, what they were like. Unfortunately, algæ, on account of their weak cellular tissues, are not, as a rule, very well adapted for fossilization. Yet, they have nevertheless left sufficient traces of their existence.

As regards the cyanophyceæ, one nostoc has been identified in a miocene formation, and bactina have been found in the carboniferous; in particular, *Bacillus amylobacter*, in pascular plants of the coal. Thus we come unexpectedly upon a striking evidence of the permanence of natural phenomena. At that early period in the history of the earth this bacillus was doing just the same work it is doing to-day. Then, as now, it was the great destroyer of vegetable tissues by the butyric fermentation it is able to induce in the cellulose of plants.

The chlorophyleæ or green algæ have been found in triassic, juvonic, cretaceous, and tertiary formations.

The phosphyceæ are also represented by species of fucus in the eocene and miocene, and by innumerable diatoms, some of which, found in Newcastle coal (Carboniferous period), have remained specifically unchanged and are now found pullulating in our ponds and ditches, unconscious of any law of mutability in living nature.

The lovely florideæ have also been found in a fossil state in tertiary strata, notably in the eocene of Monte-Bolea, so well-known to geologists for its important remains.

But we must bring this little paper to a close. May it awaken the interest of those who love nature on behalf of the neglected sea-weeds, and lead them to read, in the marvels of their structure and of their life, the unfathomable wisdom of their Maker.

L. BAYNARD KLEIN.

ETHICS OF ANGLICAN DOUBT.—III.

NEW DEPARTURE IN CHRISTENDOM OF THE ANGLICAN REFORMERS : ANOMALY AND INCONSISTENCY OF THEIR PRINCIPLES : ABSENCE OF A DIVINE WITNESS IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, WITH THE RESULT THAT NO ANGLICAN CAN RISE ABOVE THE LEVEL OF DOUBT.

THE reader will have observed that, in the foregoing pages on the moralities of Anglican doubt, no opinion has been expressed either on the causes of the English Reformation, as alleged by the Reformers themselves, nor on the means adopted by the Reformers to counteract these hypothetical causes; nor on the results which actually followed the adoption of these means, as depicted by the Reformers. No opinion is offered as to whether the principle of action, and the issue of that principle, were bad or good. Suffice it to say, that the principle, as adopted by England and its rulers, was novel—which, theologically and in itself, is a fatal objection—and that the issue was unprecedented in the experience of Christianity. In the logical course of events, the immediate outcome of this abandonment of old principles, and the acceptance of new, would be that the Church of England should declare its authority—either absolutely, without external support; or conditionally, in virtue of some outward, visible manifestation, which the world could not gainsay. And the logical result of announcing its novel authority mid-way, as it were, in the career of the Christian dispensation, would be a declaration of its terms of membership and communion. The Anglican body did, indeed, announce its own terms in creed, in discipline, in worship, in jurisdiction, in polity; but, not upon its own authority, whether delegated or inherent; nor, still less, by any miraculous evidence of God-given power.

Upon what authority, and with what power, then, did the Anglican Church rest its hitherto unprecedented claims to make new terms of communion, to establish a new polity, to originate a new jurisdiction, to adopt a new form of public prayer, for Christian people in the sixteenth century?

If the principle on which the Reformers acted was singular, the authority which they claimed was nothing short of being abnormal and extraordinary. Like much else that was done legislatively for religion, or rather for the degradation of religion, under the Tudors, the claim was based upon a compromise. The Reformers could not consistently point to divine authority for their efforts. They would not frankly own to the truth—that their authority was purely secular and only human. They, therefore, attempted the impossible, by seeking to combine the two, and to divide the gross sum, with this net result—obvious to all beholders in the nineteenth century—unmitigated, hopeless, helpless failure in every department, and judged by any standard. For, after 300 years of corporate life, can the English Church enunciate its own doctrines? can it decide its own appeals? can it legalize its own worship? can it exercise its own jurisdiction; originate, alter, adapt, or promulgate its own canon law? It cannot. And the reason why it cannot is this—because it accepted a compromise at its origination, unreal in itself, and unworkable in practice. The Reformers attempted to combine the human with the divine, in their self-made communion. They adopted a new principle, and invented a new phrase to describe it. They, a human organization, appealed to the authority of a divine organization—appealed (as they said) to the primitive Church. But, apart from the vagueness of the phraseology, how was the appeal to be made? who was to make it, and who was to hear it? what authority was to decide, and what authority was to enforce the decision?—over all these momentous questions there dwelt an ominous theoretic silence. A practical answer, however, was promptly given, and was loudly enunciated. The existing Protestant Church of England of the Tudors, unsupported and alone, arrogated to itself the functions of appellant, of witness, of counsel, of judge, and of executioner; and in this sense of the term, and to its own entire satisfaction, the human organism appealed to the divine—the Reformed Church of England appealed to the doctrine, to the discipline, and to the devotion of early Christianity.

What, in brief, was the Reformers' actual method of procedure? They recklessly snapped in sunder the old divine chain of tradition with the living Church, in belief and duty, in ritual and order; and they incontinently sought to effect a new human junction with the historical cable, at a point in the ages far away out of their reach. They broke with the unity and continuity of 1,600 years; but, in its place, feebly sought to create a fresh combination across the intervening abyss with an era twelve, or ten, or eight centuries back—for themselves are undecided on the exact length of span of their new suspension-bridge. They denied to the Catholic Church, of their own day, the gift of indefectibility; but they arbitrarily ascribed that gift to the Church of certain ancient fathers, of certain weighty councils, of certain definite epochs—of their own selection. Neither was this selection of authorities always the same, nor was the period always identical, at various dates of the Reformation turmoil. They appealed to the primitive, to the sub-Apostolic, to the early Churches. They looked, indeed, for argumentative support to any Church of which the human record was slight, the human history was vague, the human remains were few. They sought communion, and secured communion, as their descendants to this day seek to secure sympathy, more or less complete, with any Church whose doctrine was doubtful, whose discipline was lax, whose opposition to Catholicity was comparable to their own, or even was antagonistic to their own, so long as it was hostile to the Church, or whose position offered, or was supposed to offer, any apology for their own. They declared, in so many words, and with an exhaustive completeness of statement, that God's Church had been drowned in idolatry for a period of 800 years; and they conceived the absolutely original idea, as applied to an ecclesiastical organism created to teach truth to the world, not of a resurrection from the dead—which had been a comparatively reasonable theory—but of a voluntary return of suspended animation, after the punishment of submersion for centuries—which was simply nonsense. And these statements were made, as the basis of Reformation procedure, apart from any suggestion even of

the miraculous. They were made without any mission, or any call, beyond the subjective impressions of their own imagination, quickened, doubtlessly, by the terror inspired by the cruelty, the lust, and the self-will of an irresponsible and all-powerful tyrant.

Moreover, as a further explanation of the action of the Reformers, it must be remembered that they forgot or overlooked much that had happened originally in the Church, even during the past eight centuries of which we hear so much, to mould or modify, to improve, to enlarge or develop the human aspect of the divine side of the Christianity, if not the divine aspect of its human side. They ignored all that had been suffered or done, all that had been ruled or legislated corporately during the same ages, or in previous periods. Or, more exactly, they accepted some of the changes and developments, whilst rejecting others; they availed themselves of much of the Christian legislation and order, whilst neglecting much. For they were neither consistent in the application of their self-made law, nor could they, as a fact, dissociate themselves, saving in word and idea, from the historical past of the religion they still inconsistently professed to follow. They were powerless wholly to cut themselves adrift from even the late past of the Christian faith—just as the mechanist, the chemist, or the man of science is powerless to improve upon the invention or the thought of his predecessors, if he ignores the results of the labour which he seeks to develop. They were inconsistent, also, in the application of their novel system—as those who abandon religious principle must needs be inconsistent. The Reformers were pure eclectics. They selected no given Church as an absolute pattern, they chose no given dates as an inclusive era to be guided by, or to follow. At the close of the mediæval period, they did not aspire to reproduce in its entirety the tradition and practice of the Apostolic Church, pure and simple. No; that had been, in the nature of things, impossible. But they theoretically took as their model the sub-Apostolic Church developed to a certain indefinite extent, though not developed to the dangerous extent of the Church of the middle age, of the great saints

of the monastic orders, of the schoolmen, of the later councils. After eight hundred years of immersion in the depths of idolatry—dogmatic, moral, liturgical, jurisdictional—the Reformers essayed to reproduce at the royal word of command of the worst of monarchs, and by the instrumentality of some of the most degraded of ecclesiastics, the Christianity of the early ages. The creatures of Henry VIII. at the certain risk of their property, and the probable risk of their lives did they hesitate, made the effort required at their hands, without a particle of superhuman or miraculous support for their crude, spasmodic departure in Catholic polity. They made it simply against time, for delay meant death; and upon *ex parte* statements, for they were paid advocates—the result of hasty researches in archæology, in antiquarianism, in history, in liturgiology. They made it by the means of men, who to say the least, were not then, and have not since been, ranked as experts in the several departments in which they presumed to criticise, to condemn, and to reconstruct God's Church. They made it by means of men whose social, moral, and religious character are to-day a bye-word to their very spiritual descendants for all that is impure, and all that is unholy. They made it at a time when access to historical documents, when literary criticism, when the ways and means of inquiry, when the printing-press and the wide and rapid interchange of knowledge gave comparatively few of the many accidental aids and adjuncts for discovery and revival so abundantly possessed by ourselves. Indeed, there is little doubt that we, in the nineteenth century of grace, could critically create a far more truthful, and perfect, and consistent reproduction of the undeveloped Church of the early fathers and first councils than could the trembling and sycophantic Reformers of Henry's cruel reign, or their more pedantic and cautious successors, under safer conditions of life, limb, and freedom, in the days of Elizabeth and James.

These criticisms, however, deal only with the outer shell of the question. They do not touch the kernel. There is a deeper, more momentous and less physical view to be taken of the action of the Reformers in England. Apart from all

minor difficulties in the way of a legitimate explanation of their course of action, stands an initial, and it is submitted on Catholic grounds, an insurmountable difficulty. It must, however, be premised, that the supporters of the Reformation in the present day, who are the beneficiaries of the Elizabethan Reformers, and their legal descendants in doctrine and discipline, hypothetically reject the Protestant view of the upheaval of religion in Henry's reign, and in terms, at least, accept certain Catholic principles. The difficulty to be explained by such verbal professors, but actual impugnors of Catholicism amounts to this. At a certain date in the world's story, in a certain place on the world's surface, under given conditions of nature, creed and circumstance, an organized body was divinely established in embryo, in order to accomplish one main and central purpose. This body was the Church. That purpose was the revelation to man of religious truth. Of course, truth was not the sole, was not the only object, of the creation of this newly-formed organism on earth. But, for the main and central purpose of its existence, this organism was the only and sole agent of revelation. Christianity, indeed, was intended, in the divine decrees, to do more than teach man the truth; and, as a fact, Christianity has effected more, infinitely more. Civilization—itsself one outcome of the supernatural creation—bears witness to this fact in ways too numerous to be more than glanced at here. It has at least effected this: it has converted kingdoms, raised them from a lower to a higher lever in humanity, and bettered the government of their peoples. It first preserved learning amongst the few, and then educated the many. It has ever provided for the care of the sick, for the support of the poor, for the relief of the distressed. It has mitigated and abolished slavery; has enfranchised and elevated woman to her normal position; and has encouraged letters, art, science, philosophy. But, over and above these accidental adjuncts of the rôle of the Church, stands the divine commission to reveal God's truth and to teach God's will to mankind. Were she to do nothing else, in doing these, the Church would thereby fulfil her Master's commission. Were she to do all else,

and neglect those, she would fail in her singular and incommunicable prerogative. To this point, then, we may confine our attention: viz., that to the Church, and only to the Church of God, has been committed the revelation of truth, infallible, invariable, irreformable, during all time, in all places, to all peoples.

If this point be conceded—and Episcopalian Protestants, at the least, cannot make any valid objection—two corollaries logically flow from its acceptance. The first may be thus stated: that so long as the Church holds her divine commission, so long is it impossible for her to teach anything but God's truth. And the second corollary takes this form: that if the Church were allowed ever to teach anything which was not God's truth, a fresh creation would be required to announce a renewed revelation; a new Church would be needed to teach men afresh in the way of salvation. These corollaries demand but a few words to make them plainer than plain to such as are imbued with only a Catholic temper, or instinct.

Apart from all questions of the origin of Christianity, of the notes of the Church, or of its relation to the human family, the position stands thus: if the divine witness to man ever were permitted to teach that which was doubtful, or that which was not wholly true, much less that which was wanting in truth, or contrary to truth, the whole credit of the witness, the whole confidence of mankind, would be shattered and prostrate. Thenceforth truth, as an entity, as a system, as a whole, had died out of the earth, until a fresh emanation from the God of truth had been vouchsafed to the human race. This, however, does not exhaust the statement. In order that a new revelation, drawn on the same lines, tending to the same end, possibly preached by the same agency, certainly issuing from the same authority, should possess a shadow of a chance of superseding the old revelation, miraculous proofs and evidences of supernatural origin and authority would be expected by men. And these, under the conditions supposed, would necessarily be of a kind and of a character which would cause those signs and wonders which were recorded at the birth, in the youth and

during the manhood of Christianity to fade away into insignificance.

But, what was the position assumed by the Anglican Reformers? Without a pretence even to the evidences of supernatural authority, they elected to refound and build afresh, to refurnish and equip anew the spiritual edifice which had existed in their midst, with the dignity of age and the completeness of development, for a thousand years. And this miracle, mightier than the first, this transformation of Christianity itself, this preaching of a practically new Gospel, was essayed with the only means within their reach, the humanest of all human materials, and the most earthly of all mundane agencies. In short, man undertook to perform what, by the very fact of man's attempt, God had visibly and utterly failed in doing. Man, by the exigencies of the case, attempted to remake the avowedly ill-made work of God. This aspect of the matter, which is the only one a logical mind can reasonably deduce from the premisses—man's remedy for his Maker's incompetence—is a proposition which has only to be stated without metaphor, to insure immediate rejection. Yet, such was the unspoken and the acted apology for the Reformation in the sixteenth century. The Reformers then failed, and their descendants to-day fail, to see that by their pretension to do what they declared required to be done—viz., to announce truth to the world after eight centuries of preached falsehood—they admit the corruption of that which presumably was divine. But, that the Church was not divine in origin; that it could by any possibility depart from the faith; that, even so, man could restore what God in His permissive will had allowed to be forfeited; that human means sufficed to establish super-human truth—these were empty, baseless vanities which never before the dawn of the Reformation had been openly taught by any, saving by avowed disbelievers. They certainly had never been acted on by those who laid claim to the rights and duties of a Christian Church. The Tudor Reformers, however, in broad daylight, and with open eyes, attempted to realize this paradox. God's promise of indefectibility having perished, they undertook to revive truth

upon earth. God's Church having proved itself unworthy of man's trust, they provided an authority against which the gates of hell would not prevail. Can human presumption, viewed from first principles, proceed further? It would seem not. And yet, the tale of Anglican inconsistency is not yet completed.

None can live in a Protestant country, nor can any live during manhood the life of a Protestant, without being conscious—in the end, without being painfully conscious—of the arguments used in support of this illogical position, that they are utterly hollow and unreal. It may be admitted that, under any other conditions saving under the actual condition of the Catholic Church, the Protestant line of argument were plausible. But, then, the Catholic religion is unique and sole and incomparable with any other entity. It is the one exception known to man, which proves the rule to which it forms the exception. Everything human is liable—perhaps is prone—to deterioration by the lapse of time and its consequences. Everything human is capable—perhaps is suggestive—of improvement, and most things of human origin are improved in the course of time, and at the hands of man. Humanity itself contains the seeds of the one, contains a capacity for the other. Deterioration and improvement are almost essentially characteristics of all that man makes, or remakes; of all that he invents; of all that he improves, or develops. But, there are unities and organisms in creation, both natural and supernatural, of which this may not be, cannot be, truthfully predicated. There are entities which are simply incapable of reformation or of amendment, at the will or by the means of those who created them not; of those who possess, indeed, a power for destruction, but not the ability of construction. Amongst these entities stands the Church of God, and its immutable truth. Man having neither part nor lot in the creation of truth, as taught by the Church, can neither renew it when it has failed, nor reform it when it has corrupted—always presupposing the impossible, that God's truth can be corrupted, or will fail. Man's attitude, indeed, towards truth admits of a choice. He may accept, or he may reject the truth. But he cannot

alter it; he may not add to it; he must not conceive of improving upon it.

These are truisms to all who have the very faintest belief in the essence and prerogatives of a living and a teaching Church, or who realize fully the actual relations of the Church towards humanity. The Tudor Reformers, however, were bent on reconstructing on their own lines a system of belief, morals, and worship, which should be obviously not identical with, or perhaps, which should be patently antagonistic to, the then spirit and temper of the Catholic Church. But, in their anxiety to approach as nearly as possible to the outward accidents of that organism, the Reformers were forgetful of two grave considerations. Themselves lacking any supernatural proof of divine mission, what authority, superior both to the agents of reformation and to the body which was to be reformed, existed, to which both might refer? What body, even, could be vivified, which was capable to judge between the faith founded on, and the faith not founded on, the miraculous? And further: looking to the future of their own creative or adaptive power, and remembering the conditions of all human organizations—which is their own argument, that they are capable of, if not prone to, deterioration—what authority superior to themselves, or to their followers, could be recognised by both? What power existent or in-existent, actual or imaginary, did the Reformers provide in order to retain their descendants within the limits they themselves at first imposed? What authority did they suggest, potent to restrain such descendants from retracing their steps along the road on which their ancestors had once advanced, with faces turned from Rome? What energizing force could they exercise in the unborn future, to prevent their successors in opinion from departing nearly as much from the Reformers, as the Reformers had once departed from the Catholic Church? What has been, in this life, may be again. If the Church of the Apostles failed her mediæval children, may not the Church of the Tudors fail their modern representatives during the Hanoverian dynasty? Or, to go again to first principles: if man has been deceived once, *ex hypothesi*, by God, who

shall prevent man from being deceived many times and oft by his fellow-man? If the spiritual descendants of the inspired founders of Christianity spake falsely, and did idolatrously from the eighth to the sixteenth century, what logical reason have we for believing that the followers of non-inspired Anglican Reformers in the nineteenth century of redemption speak truly and do rightly?

Neither does this practical dilemma exhaust the more obvious difficulties of the Protestant position. A still more momentous question has to be asked and answered by a thoughtful, pious Anglican. Apart from the living body of Christ, His spouse, the Church, with her ever-miraculous story, with her ceaseless stream of tradition, with her varied roll of saints and martyrs, with her world-wide unity and continuity—apart from all this and more, who is sufficiently bold to vouch for the purity of Christianity in the fourth century, or even of the faith of the primitive ages? If this be unanswerable, how do modern Protestants stand? May they, three centuries later, rest content with the authority of the Supreme Head, a Henry VIII., and of his creatures? Can they feel assured by the vacillating word of an Archbishop Cranmer, and of his apostate followers? Or, will they still their doubts with the ill-gotten gains of a Cromwell, the Vicar-General, and of his sacrilegious coadjutors? And these questions become all the more intricate, when a further element is weighed and utilized. As if to add fresh faggots to the flame of polemical incendiarism, and to make religious confusion worse confounded, we now find in the latter half of the nineteenth century, that the Reformers themselves, in the persons of their lineal descendants, seek to upheave the very Reformation settlement, which was made to restore truth to the world, and to give peace to men, though hardly “to men of good will.” It is the aim of a section of the Anglican body—a section supported, though not always followed, by perhaps a large portion of the whole body corporate—to reform the Reformation itself. At last, they too feel discontented with the Church of England as she exists; and are fain to put backward the shadow on the sundial of the Establishment many degrees towards the dark

ages. They seek to approach sensibly nearer and nearer to the ancient model, of which Anglicanism in the sixteenth century made a solemn, or more truly, a profane caricature; and this they seek to accomplish in ways and by means too numerous to be catalogued in this place—doctrinally, ceremonially, politically, aesthetically, morally; in the law courts, by convocation, through the press, in the pulpit, by private agencies—everywhere but in the only feasible place, the House of Commons. We are witnesses, therefore, to the reality, value, and even possibility of a pretended appeal made by the Reformers to the primitive Church. The whole energy of many of the descendants of those who made this unreal, valueless, impossible appeal, seem now directed towards modifying, or ignoring, or withdrawing this canon of justification for the Reformation.

This, or its equivalent in kind, is no unusual result of independent individual action in religion based on private judgment. The Reformers attempted to prove and to perform too much. They have succeeded in establishing in the range of thought nothing beyond their own fallibility; and in the range of action, a State-created, State-ruled, State-officered religion—a religion not sufficiently strong to retain the nation in its embrace, though probably strong enough to withstand the efforts of the neo-Reformers for disunion. They have proved that it is possible, indeed, to establish such a religion, which, under exceptionally favourable circumstances may hold, as, after a fashion, Anglicanism has held its anomalous position as a national communion, for a few short generations. But inevitable time has exerted its inexorable influence. The Establishment of to-day is little more than a shadow of its former imposing and all-embracing self. It has not with sufficient rapidity and width developed into a mere system of negation or agnosticism to satisfy the vast bulk of this Protestant nation. It was ever too Protestant first for the majority, and then for a minority of the English people. Protestant Nonconformists have streamed in countless multitudes out of her borders, into the more consistent teaching of many-sided Dissent. The Catholic Church has refounded her divine hierarchy—never entirely extinct—in

her very midst, and men are flocking by units, by families in the aggregate, in only less large numbers, towards the true fold. Between the two, the unhappy, isolated, so-named Church of England, whom no Church recognises which bears not on its title-deeds the prefix of Protestant, or is not essentially Protestant in character, stands trembling in her last agonies, as a corporate society. She only awaits the mandate of a democratic Parliament—when the English people have fully realized the portentous injustice, merely on secular grounds, that one modern sect should monopolize pious benefactions given or bequeathed for the benefit of the entire nation—to cease to pose as the Church of that nation. This mandate, in human probability, cannot be long delayed. The spirit of the time in which we live testifies loudly against the Established Religion in England—a spirit, be it Protestant, or Catholic, or Agnostic, which is opposed to unreality, incompetence, and sham, and which seeks to reach principle even at the cost of abandoning the wide-spread, life-long deceptions of policy. And this is a mighty spirit which will prevail.

These superficial remarks, on some of the causes and some of the effects, on the principle, or the want of genuine principle, which guides the Established Religion in England, are sufficient to suggest a reply to the question: What may be the characteristics of a divine witness to man of God's truth and God's will? Few words are required in order to show that, if the characteristics of a witness which is not human have been above faithfully sketched, the ecclesiastical body, whose theory and whose practice have been here indicated, can possess but little claim to the title of a divine witness to truth. In any case, to refer again for a moment to the fourfold, but by no means exhaustive test, previously named, the Anglican body fulfils not one of these conditions. It is not—(1) conscious of a divine source; it does not (2) continuously, nor even accidentally, exhibit supernatural claims; it professes (3) neither consistency nor uniformity of dogmatic teaching; and it obviously wields (4) no spiritual and coercive jurisdiction. Lacking these four necessary and elementary qualifications of a divine witness of God's truth to man, the Church of England must submit to be

appraised at its own figure, and to be estimated at its own valuation—as a witness that has no pretension to the supernatural, as a witness that is purely human. Neither, if we must do strict justice to its positive and affirmative claims, does the Establishment itself, apart from its members, pretend to possess more. As a human witness, it stands, indeed, superior in many ways, to most, if not all, of its own lineal and Protestant descendants, who have deliberately discarded more of a common Christianity than itself has uprooted. And this much may be freely allowed in the domains of dogma, as well as in those of discipline and of morality. But, after all that may be said, after all that has been said, on behalf of Anglicanism, it is essentially and avowedly inferior in authority, in practice, in ethics, to the supernatural source from whence it was originally and voluntarily self-severed: essentially, as we have seen, and might see even further; avowedly, because the Church of England appeals from itself to an earlier and (as it suicidally contends) to a purer form of Christianity than itself—to a form of whose position, relation, and polity it is necessarily and by comparison little informed.

This single contention, on behalf of the Church of England, is logically and practically fatal to any supernatural and divine claim. There cannot possibly be degrees of indefectibility. If the gift be lost to Christianity, nothing of worth has been saved. That which is not wholly inspired by the Holy Spirit of God, is entirely empty and void; or, rather, is possessed by, and is fulfilled with, the spirit which is not of God, but which is of the earth, earthly, sensual, satanic. As a witness that is not divine, Anglicanism may teach, and does teach truth, in a fragmentary, disconnected, inconsequential, arbitrary, and imperfect form; and these features are impressed, more or less clearly, on the teaching, vocal or printed, of all its clergy—even on that of its most educated and talented ministers. But Anglicanism cannot teach, and does not pretend to teach, all truth; and, in so far as it teaches a portion only, and intentionally withholds also a portion of truth, it inferentially is a *fauteur* of untruth. This position, and its logical outcome, deserves careful

criticism. That which the Established Religion teaches, on any given point of dogma or of duty, may be, perhaps is, the expression of truth. But, it is not the truth, because that State-created body so teaches; nor yet, because it forms a part of its presumably official mission to men of English blood and English birth; and further afield than this, it lays no claim to mission. Rather, such teaching is true, if it be true, because it is an integral fraction of the deposit of faith entrusted to God's Church, which was taught long before the Establishment was dreamt of, or was potentially so much as possible, and which will be taught long after the State-born creed of Henry Tudor's brain has ceased to exist as a human rival to God's Church in this land. And that which Anglicanism omits to teach is not error—as a similar omission to teach, if so grave a flaw may be conceived in the Catholic Church, would be evidence of doctrinal error—only because of such omission on the part of the Establishment to testify to the world. Indeed, it would be difficult to say what may be the message from God to man which the Anglican body conceives itself charged to deliver; where it is to be found; what its terms may be; and under what sanctions it was formulated. It would be impossible, if we except from thought the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion; the Homilies, composed for a half-educated clergy; and the Catechism for school-children—upon each of which there exists, within the Anglican body, as many different and diverse explanations, as there exist diverse and different schools of thought, or shades of opinion. In a presumably teaching organization, of which this may be justly affirmed, none can logically believe. In it they can place not even moral belief. But, in a body in which men consistently repose neither ethical nor intellectual belief, they are wont to doubt. Indeed, they would cease to be consistent if they failed to doubt. If, then, we may be permitted once more to refer to our previous definition of religious doubt, as a condition of partial knowledge and of partial ignorance of God's truth, we exactly delineate the changeful, restless, uncertain, expectant, yet disappointed, features of the Anglican inquirer. Doubt is the extremest point on the road towards belief

which the traveller, in search of a religion, can reach under the Protestant Episcopalian system.

The difference, then, between the Catholic faith and the Established Religion, on this most momentous of topics, is clear, sharp, and decided. The one being a divine witness and teacher of truth to men, its members stand in the humble relation towards the Church of God, of disciples, not of critics, still less in the position of teachers, judges and reformers. To doubt her word would be, and is, to doubt the divine Teacher of the universe. To rebel against her usage, her custom and her rite, would be, and is, to act traitorously against God. The other, being a human and earthly witness, which formally and controversially rejects the infallibility of a perpetual divine teacher, can at the most command from its disciples but a divided and unreal allegiance, half credible, half critical, wholly personal. To believe the word alone of the Church of England, unsupported by external evidence—if such abandonment of all rational principle be possible—were to believe on evidence insufficient to command faith; were to do that which not the most enthusiastic and self-effacing Anglican ever has done, or ever could do. For who, with the intellect of an infant, or with the will of a youth, and in the language of one of the offices of the Anglican communion, could say, as millions say daily of the Catholic Church—"I believe in the Reformed Protestant Church of England as by law established in this realm"? Not one single soul. The utmost obedience of faith—if this and similar terms be permissible in regard to Anglicanism—which the members of the Establishment can yield to its reflected authority and to its limited State-given commission to teach, amounts to this. An Anglican, on his own principles, is justified in believing what is taught by the Church of England, not absolutely and directly, but mediately and upon conditions. He believes so long as, and no longer than, his belief, qualified by a reference, implied if not expressed, is confirmed by some authority, external at once to the teacher and the taught, which commands the respect of both. What may be such authority, is not the topic now under discussion: but, it may be a

higher, or a lower, or even a co-ordinate authority. It may be, in set terms, a lower authority, as in the case of an Anglican accepting the Church's universal creeds, by an appeal, sufficiently characteristic, to individual judgment. It may be, theoretically, a higher authority, as when Holy Scripture is appealed to, under whatsoever form the appeal is made. And it may be a co-ordinate authority, however unreal in application, to the primitive or early Church. But, in whatsoever direction the appeal may lie, above, below, or on a level with the appellants, there exists in the Established Religion an appeal for Anglicans from Anglicanism outside the Anglican communion, which is simply impossible for faithful Catholics to realize—that is to say, an appeal from Catholic teaching and from a Church inspired by a divine teacher, itself a divine witness to truth. In other words, the system of the Protestant Church of England, is founded on the principle of doubt. Its teaching, by the lips of a human teacher, consists partly of doctrines of undoubted truth; partly of doctrines whose truth is most doubtful; and partly of doctrines, the falsehood of which is not even doubtful, but is assured. And the only position which a disciple of this human and fallible teacher can consistently take, who would be at once loyal and logical, conscientious and reasonable, is one of honest, but absolute doubt—a mental combination—composed, in proportions which vary in each individual instance, of partial divine knowledge and of partial human ignorance.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

THE LIVING ROSARY.

THE nineteenth-century priest in a country like Ireland, where religion is a practical matter, has, in common with other well-worked officials of the day, to have at hand a variety of special information, which, though far from being his highest mental equipment, is still an absolute necessity to one who hopes his influence for good to be not

merely general, but special. This is my apology for presenting in brief all that is necessary for a priest to know about the Living Rosary.

Bearing in mind the theological foundation of the old devotion of the Rosary, namely, its aptitude to bring before the mind the chief mysteries of religion, and with them the history of the origin, fall, redemption, and destiny of our race, I shall endeavour to point out how this new devotion of the "Living" Rosary is only an adaptation of the old, to meet certain circumstances and wants. I shall show how it resembles it in origin, progress, and results. I shall cite recent ecclesiastical legislation, by which it has been identified with the old Rosary of St. Dominic, as a branch is identified with the tree. And, lastly, I shall indicate the only true and solid way of inculcating this devotion.

In the beginning of this century we had a situation of affairs in the South of France very closely resembling the situation St. Dominic found there six centuries before. Faith had decayed, and piety along with it; a spirit of hostility even existed towards the ministers of God's Church, and the breach was daily widening. St. Dominic, in his day, met the difficulty by founding the Rosary of fifteen mysteries. Madame Jaricot, in hers, met it by founding the Rosary of single mysteries. She recognised, with the intuition of a true daughter of the Church, that the remedy for the evils of her day already existed and had been employed with success before, though now, for lack of a skilled prescriber and a zealous applicant, they failed to produce the effect they had wrought centuries ago. The disease was the same, but the condition of the patient had changed. Where Dominic had found the virulent fever of heresy, Marie Pauline had to cope with the dull gangrene of religious indifference. There was plenty of religion in St. Dominic's day; it had to be directed into the right channel, not coaxed into life. In Madame Jaricot's day it had to be coaxed into life.

How, then, was the problem to be approached? For false teaching and for no teaching there is the same remedy—true teaching. Agnostic and Anabaptist alike are to be

overcome by the one marvellous *corpus doctrinae*, which the one Church exhibits. And it is precisely this teaching in its entirety that is presented to the faithful in the Rosary. Marie Pauline believed that, as for the Albigensians, so for the gay *hommes et femmes mondaines* of her day, the Rosary and all it taught was the remedy. But how to get it said? That was the difficulty.

The Rosary had long been unsaid. “*Una cum caeteris, Societates Sacratissimi Rosarii perierunt; et mox cum illis recitatio coronarum Beatae Mariae Virginis paulatim sic collapsa ut tam fructuosae devotionis usus aboleri videretur.*” *Brevis de origine Rosarii Viventis notitia authentica. Romae, 1887.*

The brain of a pious Frenchwoman is not slow to act, and her plan was soon devised and perfected, by which the Rosary of St. Dominic, which so long had lain dead and withered, was now once more to send forth a living shoot and to be hedged round with all the skill required to preserve its vitality. In France it was to be no longer the dead, but the “living” Rosary.

Her plan was this. Faith being weak and devotion weary, the few who showed any inclination to piety had to be fed with milk, not meat. Each Rosarian, then, was to say one decade of the Rosary every day, so that in a circle of fifteen persons the whole fifteen mysteries would be accounted for, and the Rosary, in its integrity, would still be offered as a perfect crown of grace and glory to the Queen of heaven and earth.

So far, then, for the origin of this devotion. Its progress was secured by very much the same means that were adopted for the preservation of the early Dominican Rosary, namely, the formation of organized bodies, who would in a special manner bind themselves to the performance of this devotion. The greater Rosary has been kept alive in great measure by its confraternities, canonically erected. This lesser Rosary was organized into a sodality.¹ Its constitution was as follows:—

The members were divided into companies of fifteen,

¹ It will be noticed that a sodality differs from a confraternity in this, that it has no great register (*liber matricularis*) in which the names of all its members are inscribed, and no public exercises of devotion in common.

each company being managed by one of its number, called in French *le zélateur*, or *la zélatrice*, a title which would perhaps be but indifferently translated into English by "zealot." In order to bring to mind more vividly the complete devotion of the Rosary of fifteen mysteries, further congregations of one hundred and fifty (one hundred and fifty being the number of beads in a full Rosary) were formed and directed by a "Counsellor," who, in his or her turn, was subject to a "Diocesan Director," who was always a priest, having control over all members of the sodality within his diocese, with power to appoint, not only the *Zélateurs*, but also the "Counsellors." The Diocesan Director was appointed by two General Directors, subject to the consent of the Ordinary of the diocese. The General Directors were appointed by the Holy See; the first two being M. Jean François Bétemps, a canon of the Lyons' Cathedral; and M. Benoit Marduel, a curate of the Church of St. Roch, in Paris. The sodality was formally constituted in this manner by Pope Gregory XVI., in an Apostolic letter, dated February 2nd, 1832.

With regard to the result of this sodality, it may, beyond doubt, be pronounced a success, from the fact of its surviving and flourishing down to the present date, not only in France, but in many other countries, even in Ireland, where it would certainly seem to be less wanted than elsewhere. With us, in all parts of the country, the full Rosary is the devotion practised by the people, who, not only in the churches, but at home, recite five mysteries of the Rosary as a portion of the night prayers. But, above all, its good result is, no doubt, pointed to in the large and flourishing Rosary confraternities, to which the "Living Rosary sodalities" have only been intended to act as "novitiates" and "feeders."

So much for the Living Rosary, as to its meaning, its origin, its progress, and its results. It only remains to add a short account of its status at the present date.

Its first constitution gradually fell into disorder, owing to the deaths of many of its first-appointed officials, whose places were never authoritatively filled up. This state of

things seemed to many to throw doubt upon the validity of the indulgences gained by the members admitted to the ranks of the sodality without certain authority. At this juncture, in the year 1877, the three Dominican Provincials of France petitioned the Holy See to make over the general direction of the Living Rosary to the Master-General of the Order of Preachers, so that the direction of the separate local sodalities might fall to whatever Dominican father happened to be in charge of the local Rosary confraternity. This petition was granted by Apostolic Brief: *Quod jure haereditario*, 17th August, 1877. The control of the sodality of the Living Rosary is now, in consequence, confided entirely to the Dominican Order, which, of course, is the natural guardian of the devotion of the Rosary, and, had the Dominicans been re-introduced into France in Madame Jaricot's time, would, no doubt, have controlled the sodality from its commencement.

The Dominican authorities, on receiving this Brief, have issued, from time to time, various provisions for the well-being of the sodality. The most noticeable are those which follow:—

I. All officials appointed up to the 15th of Nov., 1877, are confirmed in their office for their lifetime.

II. The sodality is to be called by no other name than the Living Rosary, and no other method of reciting the Rosary than that now in use is to be introduced.

III. In the words of the present Dominican-General—

“There is but one Living Rosary, committed exclusively to our Order, which must not be confounded with any other sodality, such as the Rosary of the Apostolate of Prayer, or the Rosary of the Sacred Heart, or others of the like name. And that our will may be clearly known, we declare that all persons propagating the Living Rosary, in conjunction with such other sodalities, are hereby deprived of the faculties of Zelator, Zelatrice, Counsellor, President, or Director, and of all power of engaging themselves in the government and propagation of this sodality. Members, however, of other associations may freely belong to the Living Rosary, and those of the Living Rosary to such associations; always with the understanding that the obligations undertaken are distinct from one another, and are not to be mingled and confounded together.”

It now remains for me merely to draw attention to the spirit in which this devotion is to be inculcated. It must be regarded as nothing else than an inducement to the recitation of the full Dominican Rosary. This is clearly put forward as Madame Jaricot's idea in the authentic "Brief account," already cited—

"Ut personae vel occupationibus deditae, vel pietate adhuc debiles, per faciliorem viam sub tutela Reginae Rosarii pervenirent, ac tandem, complementum donantes, quando possent, usque ad perfectam totius Rosarii recitationem ascenderent."
(Page 7.)

And, finally, in the twentieth statute of the sodality, propagators of the devotion are reminded—

"Hanc devotionem Rosarii-Viventis non esse nisi tyrocinium ad completum Rosarium, in forma a Sancto Dominico prius creata, et hujusmodi sodalitates quindecim personarum nihil aliud quam aditum ad Confraternitatem Sacratissimi Rosarii proprie dictam, uberiori aedificationis fructu atque indulgentiarum et privilegiorum a Summis Pontificibus concessorum thesauro multo locupletiore dotata."

To gain the indulgences of the Living Rosary, which are very numerous, one must be legitimately admitted into the sodality, and use beads bearing the Dominican blessing. If any member of the circle of fifteen fail to say his mystery, he alone loses his indulgences, and inflicts no prejudice upon his associates. A common error is also to be noted here, viz., that every member, by saying his single decade, gains as much, in virtue of his alliance with the other fourteen associates, as he would by saying all the fifteen mysteries himself. This belief is, as far as I know, absolutely without foundation.

J. BYRNE, O.P.

ST. COLUMBA'S CHURCHES.

I SHALL not treat of the life and miracles of St. Columba, his sanctity and visions, but rather of the churches which he founded in Ireland; those attributed to him, and which bear his name. Dr. Reeves, in his valuable work, *Adamnan's Columba*, gives a list of thirty-seven churches, which claim the saint as their founder. We must receive with caution Dr. Lanigan's opinion regarding these churches. He totally rejects the authority of Colgan, and disregards the claim of Raphoe, Kells, Swords, and Tory Island, as having St. Columba for their founder. We should be slow to reject the authority of the learned Franciscan, whose zealous labours have done so much to make us familiar with the lives of the Irish saints. If we respect tradition, and the wonderful veneration still held in Tory Island for St. Columba, and in other places rejected by Lanigan, we must certainly give credence to the old lives of the saint, and the authority of O'Donnell, in the facts stated of Columba's connection with these places. Lanigan, no doubt, reasonably disregards the two Skreens as having the saint for founder; for we find in our Annals that Skreen in Meath long preserved a relic of the saint; hence the name was changed from *Aichill* to *Scrinium S. Columba*.

Again, we must remember that the Columban monks were founders of churches, some of which date immediately after the time of Columba, and it is natural to suppose that these churches were called after the saint, and dedicated to him. Derry and Durrow were the most important foundations of Columba. "The age of Christ A.D. 535, the church of *Doire Calgaich* (Derry) was founded by Columbkille, the place having been granted by his own tribe, *i.e.*, the race of Conall Gulban, son of Nial."¹ *The Annals of Ulster* give the date as 545, and Dr. Reeves accepts it as the true date. *Doire*² or *Daire* signifies an oak wood, and it is called by Adamnan *Roboretum Calgachi*. *Calgach* was a man's name,

¹ *Four Masters*.

² Joyce, *Names of Places*, vol. i., page 445.

common among the ancient Irish, and signifies "fierce warrior." Doire Calgach was the old pagan name used for ages before the time of St. Columba, and it was so called until the tenth or eleventh century, when the name was changed to Derry Columbkille. The oaks of Derry were famous trees; a great storm occurred there in 1178, which prostrated one hundred and twenty of them.¹ In *Trias Thaum*: Derry is described "Doire Chalguich priscis, nunc vulgo Doire Cholumchille et latine Doria nunc sedes Episcopalis et civitas nobilis in Tircounalia regione Ultoniae." Derry was a favourite spot with the saint:

"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."²

The original church was called Black Church, as we find stated in the ancient lines of Tighernach:

"Three years without light was Columb in his
Black Church. He passed to angels from his body,
After seven years and seventy."

Again, we find in an old document of the fourteenth century, the church called *Cella Nigra*, and it is probable that it was so called to distinguish it from the more modern church erected in 1164.³

Durrow was the best known of Columba's churches. *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* state that "Hugh MacBrenayn, king of the country of Teffia that granted Dorowe to St. Columbkille, A.D. 588." *The Four Masters* dates it 585. Dairmach (Durrow) is situated in the north of the King's County, close to the boundary of Westmeath. Durrow, at the period of its foundation comprised part of the territory of Teffia, and the chieftain Brendan, who bestowed it upon St. Columba, was ancestor of the O'Carharney clan, whose name was afterwards changed to Fox.

¹ *Four Masters.*

² [St. Columba would never permit any of the oaks of Derry to be cut down. (Montalembert, *Monks of the West.*)

³ *Trias Thaum*, page 398.

Adamnan describes Durrow thus :—" Vir Beatus in mediterranea Hiberniae parte Monasterium quod Scoticè dicitur Darmaig divino fundavit nutu."

Venerable Bede tells us, "Fecerat (Columbae) priusquam Britanniam veniret monasterium nobile in Hibernia quod a copia Roborum Dearthach lingua Scotorum hoc est campus Roborum cognominatur."¹

A sculptured cross, called St. Columbkille's Cross, stands in the churchyard, and near it is the saint's Well. The most interesting relic of the Abbey is the beautiful Evangeliarum, known as *The Book of Durrow*, a MS. now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Mr. Gilbert, the eminent historian, describes *The Book of Durrow*, in his *Facsimiles National MSS. of Ireland* :—

"*The Book of Durrow* is an ornamental copy of the Four Gospels, in Vulgate version, written across the page, mainly in single columns, and preceded by the Epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, explanation of Hebrew names, Eusebian canons and synoptical tables. . . This volume [continues Mr. Gilbert] acquired its name from having belonged to the monastery founded by St. Columba, about A.D. 553, at Durrow, or *Darmaig*, the Plain of the Oaks, in the central district of Ireland. A now partly obliterated entry in Latin prays 'remembrance of the scribe Columba, who wrote this Evangel in the space of twelve days.'"

In *The Martyrology of Donegal* it is stated that the book of Columbkille, called *The Book of Durrow*, a copy of the New Testament, in Irish, was at Durrow (circ. A.D. 1620) in the district of the Mageoghegans, with gems and silver on its cover.

In *The Annals of Clonmacnoise*, Mageoghegan states that *The Book of Durrow*, like other MSS. written by the saint, was impervious to water.²

The Book of Durrow was presented to Trinity College, by Henry Jones, who became Protestant bishop of Meath, 1661.

¹ *Hist.*, lib. iii., c. 4.

² Ussher, writing of this MS., says :—" In Regio comitatu ea est Durrough vulgo appellati; qua monasterium, habuit S. Columba nomine insigne, inter cuius κειμήσια evangelorum codex vetustissimus asservabatur quem ipsius Columbae fuisse monachi dictabant."

The Martyrology of Donegal gives the feast of a St. Cormac of Durrow for June 21st: "Corbmac Ua Liathian, Abbot of Durrow (he was an anchorite), successor to Columbkille; he was of the race Oilioll Olum." O'Curry, in his *Lectures on Ancient Irish History*, alludes to the crozier of Durrow, a fragment of which has been preserved. It is believed that the crozier belonged to St. Columba, and was presented by him to Cormac, "his dear friend and successor."

The Canons Regular of St. Augustine, in the twelfth century, founded a monastery at Durrow, under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and St. Columba. There are no traces of St. Columba's Church at Kells. It is not till about 806 that our Annals relate anything of a monastic foundation in that town. However, the saint's name is associated with Kells; for it is mentioned that it was granted to him by Diarmait, to make amendment for injuries which he had done to him; and his son, Aidh Slaine, was a consenting party.¹

We find Kells called a "fort of Diarmada, son of Kerbaill; and Columbkille marked out the city in extent as it now is, and blessed it all, and said it would become the most illustrious he should have in the land."² The most interesting relic of St. Columba at Kells is the old stone house bearing his name, which he is said to have used as an oratory. This house is nineteen feet long, by fifteen broad, and is twenty-five feet from the level of the floor to the highest part of the arched ceiling. A subterraneous passage is said to have existed, which led from it to the church. Our Annals inform us that St. Columba's Church at Kells was destroyed in the year 807.

Tory Island is situate off the north coast of Donegal, in the barony of Kilmacrenan, and diocese of Raphoe. It was formerly called *Torach*, from the Torrs, or pinnacles of rock, for which it is famous. A strange legend is still vividly preserved of St. Columba's journey to Tory Island, and of the monks who accompanied him. The legend runs as follows:—"The servant of Christ proceeded into the part of the country commonly designated *Tuatha*, territories in the

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, page 278.

² See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*.

northern plain on the sea-coast of Tirconnell. Being there admonished by an angel of the Lord to cross into Tory—an island in the open sea of those parts, stretching northward from the mainland—and, having consecrated it, to erect a magnificent church, he proceeded towards it, accompanied by several other holy men. On reaching, however, *Belach-an-Adhraidh*, 'the Way of Adoration'—a high hill that lay in his course, whence Tory is obscurely visible in the distance—there arose dissension amongst the holy men, with respect to the individual who should consecrate the island, and thereby acquire a right to it for the future, each renouncing, from humility and a love of poverty, the office of consecrator and right of territory. After discussing the question in all its several bearings, they all assented to the opinion of Columba, that such a difference was best settled by lot, and they determined on his recommendation to throw their staves in the direction of the island, with the understanding that he whose staff reached it nearest, should perform the office of consecrator, and acquire authority over Tory. Each threw his staff; but that of Columbkille, at the moment of issuing from his hand, assumed the form of a dart or missile, and reached the island by supernatural agency. The saint called before him Baedan, Toparch of the island, who refused to permit its consecration, or the erection of any building. Columba demanded then as much land as his cloak would cover. To this proposal the Toparch assented. Columba's cloak stretched over the entire island. The Toparch was so enraged at this miraculous occurrence, that he let loose a ferocious dog to attack the saint, but by the power of the Sign of the Cross, the dog was destroyed. The saint met with no further opposition; he consecrated Tory, and built a magnificent church, over which he placed St. Ernan as first Abbot.¹

Dr. Reeves observes that there are many traces of antiquity in Tory Island. The most remarkable is the round tower, fifty-one feet high, which was the nucleus of an old monastic establishment. It is worthy of notice that almost

¹ See papers on Tory Island, *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. i., pages 27-37, 106-116, 142-158, Edmund Getty.

in every place where St. Columba founded a church, there you are sure to find a round tower, or the remains of one.

Drumcliff (*Drium cliabh*) lies in the barony of Carbery, County Sligo. St. Mothoria is said to have been the first Abbot placed there, by the founder St. Columba. There still remains a portion of a round tower. The date of foundation as given by Lewis is 590. In the tenth century there ruled over this monastery St. Torannan, who afterwards was regarded as the special patron of Drumcliff. Kilmacrenan bore the ancient name Doire-Ethne,¹ and is a parish in Donegal connected with the labours of St. Columba. In the immediate neighbourhood in his birthplace, Gartan, which likewise claims a church founded by the saint. Temple Douglas is where he was baptized. The old Church of Kilmacrenan stood a little north of the village of the same name, and beside it are the remains of a small Franciscan monastery. The hereditary wardens of this Church were the O'Firghels (now Freel) whose privilege it was to inaugurate the chiefs of the O'Donnells at the rock of Doon, in this parish.

A strange legend is preserved about Temple Douglas, namely, that it was here, the saint first learnt how to walk. The remains of an old church still exist. Raphoe is mentioned by O'Donnell as having a church founded by St. Columba ; but St. Adamnan is the patron of the place. The round tower of Raphoe is mentioned by Sir James Ware as "built on a hill in which the bishops of Raphoe formerly kept their studies;" but when he wrote, the tower did not exist.²

Glencolumbkil, in the barony of Banagh, Donegal, has connected with it one of those wonderful legends so frequently to be met with in the life of our saint. This place was formerly called *Seangleann*. When St. Columba was proceeding hither, he took up his abode in this wild district, and by the direction of an angel he rid the place of its foul inhabitants. He engaged in a violent struggle with the demons, and succeeded in driving them into the sea with the help of his *Dubh-duaibseach*, or little bell. At Drum-

¹ Reeves' *Adamnan*, page 192.

Ibid., page 280.

columb, in the diocese of Elphin, Co. Sligo, St. Columba placed his disciple, St. Finbarr, in charge of the church, and gave him a bell called Glassan, and a cross.¹

Swords, in the Co. Dublin, claims St. Columba as the founder of the original church in that place: A.D. 512, is the date given. Sord was the old name for it, and afterwards *Sord-Cholum-chille*.

Colgan states that St. Finan, the Leper, was placed over this church by St. Columba.² The memory of the latter has always been held in special veneration by the people. To St. Finan, our saint presented a copy of the Gospels. The round tower surmounted by a cross marks the site of the ancient church.

It would be beyond the limit of this paper to enumerate the various other churches in Dr. Reeves' list, or to relate the antiquities connected with them; it will suffice to mention—Moore, in Kildare; Clonmore, in Louth; Lambay, in Dublin; Mornington, in Meath, as among the number of St. Columba's churches.

How wonderful was the zeal and energy of the saint, when we take into account his labours in Scotland and the churches he founded there!

Columba, though absent from Ireland, was always there in spirit; his poem discloses that intense love he had for the land of his birth:

“ Beloved are Durrrow, and Derry ;
Beloved is Raphoe in purity ;
Beloved Drumhorne of rich fruits ;
Beloved are Swords and Kells.”

Again, filled with enthusiasm for his fellow-countrymen, he tells us:

“ Melodious her clerics,
Melodious her birds,
Gentle her youths,
Wise her seniors ;
Illustrious her men, noble to behold ;
Illustrious her women, for fond espousal.”

JOHN M. THUNDER.

¹ O'Donnell, i., page 104.

² *Acta. SS.*, page 627.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

THE grave has already closed over all that is mortal of John Henry Newman. The English nation has mourned one of the greatest of her sons. The Catholic Church has paid the last duties of faith and of affection to one whom she cherished with almost unbounded love. We in Ireland should not fail to lay our wreath on the tomb of the great cardinal, and to join with our English brethren in doing honour to the memory of one who belonged to us all, whose services are our common property and our common inheritance. What memories are brought back to our minds; what hopes revived; what comforts realized; what mysteries of grace revealed and confirmed for ever, as we think of the long life, the heroic struggles, the strength, the faith, the purity of motive and of purpose of this illustrious convert! His was indeed no ordinary accession to the true fold. Combining in his person all that was noblest and best in the English nature, his unrivalled powers did battle for the Church during a period of forty years, removing difficulties, expounding what was misunderstood, breaking down prejudice and bigotry on every side. And yet he has left no bitter memories behind him. At the last scene of his extraordinary life there has scarcely been one discordant note. The gentleness of character and the sanctity of motive which shone so brightly even in the height of the cardinal's greatest intellectual conflicts disarmed all criticism, and those who would not follow the beacon-light which led him safely to the port could not at all events withhold their admiration of his marvellous gifts as a writer, of his vast learning, and the unrivalled acumen by which he made his way to the Catholic Church. There have been but few examples in ecclesiastical history of men who followed so steadily, so loyally, and so logically the ways of grace. Already the star had shone for him in 1833 when he penned the hymn that has become so popular with his countrymen:

“Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
 Lead Thou me on ;
 The night is dark, and I am far from home,
 Lead Thou me on.

Keep Thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
 The distant scene—one step enough for me.

I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
 Shouldst lead me on ;
 I loved to choose and see my path ; but now
 Lead Thou me on.

I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
 Pride ruled my will : remember not past years.

So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
 Will lead me on

O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone.

And with the morn those angel faces smile,
 Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.”

Faithfully and surely did he follow that light through the winding mazes of Protestantism. It was “in the middle of his life’s course.” Impediments almost innumerable blocked his way. He himself has told us with a power and charm that none can imitate, the incidents of his journey to that crowning day when the messenger of peace crossed his threshold at Littlemore. There is no need to retell the story. It is already a part of the religious history of England—how great a part has yet to be told, and it were fruitless now to speculate. All are agreed that it was an event of the deepest significance. In its accomplishment, Ireland, and Maynooth College in particular, had an honourable part. Writing of our former venerated president, Dr. Russell, the cardinal tells us in the *Apologia* :—

“He had, perhaps, more to do with my conversion than any-one else. He called upon me, in passing through Oxford in the summer of 1841, and I think I took him over some of the buildings of the university. He called again another summer on his way from Dublin to London. I do not recollect that he said a word on the subject of religion on either occasion. He sent me at different times several letters ; he was always gentle, mild, unobtrusive, uncontroversial. He let me alone. He also gave me one or two books. Veron’s *Rule of Faith* and some treatises of the Wallenburghs was one ; a volume of St. Liguori’s sermons was another.”

It was precisely some extracts from the works of St. Liguori and some devotional manifestations in honour of our Lady that most embarrassed Dr. Newman in regard to Catholicism. These difficulties Dr. Russell easily explained, and whilst the convert never entered fully into such manifestations, which he looked upon as matters of taste and sentiment, suitable perhaps to France and Italy though not suitable to England, he subsequently, as priest of the Oratory, wrote some exquisite verses which prove that in his own way, he was not insensible to the beauties of true devotion to the Mother of God :

“Green are the fields and sweet the flowers,
And rich the hues of May ;
We see them in the gardens round
And market panniers gay.

“And e’en among our streets and lanes
And alleys we descry,
By fitful gleams, the fair sunshine,
The blue transparent sky.

“O Mary, pure and beautiful,
Thou art the Queen of May !
Our garlands wear about thy hair,
And they will ne’er decay.”

With what wonderful power the great neophyte had grasped the wide range of Catholic teaching and tradition, can be but faintly judged even from the works that he has left us. Perhaps nowhere else can the Christian traditions of England be found crystallized in form of such exceeding beauty as in his sermon on the “Second Spring,” preached in the chapel of St. Mary’s, at Oscott, on the occasion of the Synod held there after the restoration of the hierarchy :

“Three centuries ago [he said] and the Catholic Church, that great creation of God’s power, stood in this land in pride of place. It had honours of near a thousand years upon it. It was enthroned in some twenty Sees up and down the country. It was based in the will of a faithful people. It energized through ten thousand instruments of power and influence ; and it was ennobled by a host of saints and martyrs. The churches, one by one, recounted and rejoiced in the line of glorified intercessors who were the respectful objects of their grateful homage. Canter-

bury alone numbered some sixteen, from St. Augustine to St. Dunstan and St. Ethelphege, from St. Anselm and St. Thomas down to St. Edmund. York had its St. Paulinus, St. John, St. Wilfrid and St. William; London, its St. Erconwald; Durham, its St. Cuthbert; Winton, its St. Swithin. Then there were St. Aidan of Lindisfarne, and St. Hugh of Lincoln, and St. Chad of Lichfield, and St. Thomas of Hereford, and St. Oswald and St. Wulstan of Worcester, and St. Osmund of Salisbury, and St. Birinus of Dorchester, and St. Richard of Chichester. And then, too, its religious orders, its monastic establishments, its universities, its wide relations over Europe, its high prerogatives in the temporal state, its wealth, its dependencies, its popular honours. Where was there a more glorious hierarchy? Mixed up with civil institutions, with king and nobles, with the people; found in every village, in every town, it seemed destined to stand as long as England stood, and to outlast, it might be, England's greatness. But it was the high decree of Heaven that the majesty of that presence should be blotted out. The vivifying principle of truth, the shadow of St. Peter left it," &c.

Then follows his inspiring description of the Synod, through which the lost life revives again:—

“ I listen, and I hear the sound of voices, grave and musical, renewing the old chant with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert on the Kentish Strand. It comes from a long procession, and it winds along the cloisters. Priests and religious, theologians from the schools and canons from the cathedral, walk in due precedence. And then there comes a vision of well-nigh twelve mitred heads; and last, I see a prince of the Church, in the royal dye of empire and of martyrdom—a pledge to us from Rome of Rome's unwearied love, a token that that goodly company is firm in Apostolic faith and hope.”

And here again he records in eloquent words his Catholic conviction of the intercessory power of the Blessed Virgin when at the close of that great discourse he calls on her to claim back her own:

“ Arise, Mary, and go forth in thy strength into the north country which once was thine own, and take possession of a land that knows thee not. Arise, Mother of God, and with thy thrilling voice, speak to those who labour with child, till the babe of grace leaps within them. Shine on us, dear Lady, with thy bright countenance, like the sun in his strength, *O Stella Matutina,*

O harbinger of peace, till our year is one perpetual May. From thy sweet eyes, from thy pure smile, from thy majestic brow, let ten thousand influences rain down, not to confound or overwhelm, but to persuade, to win over thine enemies. O Mary, my hope, O Mother undefiled, fulfil to us the promise of this spring. A second temple rises on the ruins of the old. Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to naught; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost. Saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and preachers call to penance and justice, as at the beginning."

It has been said by some of Dr. Newman's critics that he has left no great, permanent, written work behind him. He was, indeed, essentially a man of his time. His personal influence on others could never be measured by his books. For many years he was occupied in working his own way, and when once he had reached the term of his own troubles he was compelled by the pressure of circumstances to meet the special wants of his day, of his time, of those around him. To this the highest gifts of his genius, and the wide store of his acquirements were made to serve. Posterity may suffer in one way, but it gains in another. There is a charm, a dignity, and a simplicity, a tone of lofty earnestness and of faith about his works that will never fade. *The Apologia*, *The Grammar of Assent*, *The Idea of a University*, are works the permanent value of which not even his worst opponents can dispute. His works on *The Arians* and on *The Church of the Fathers*, entitle him to be placed amongst the first rank of scholars, as well as amongst the ablest of disputants. When we remember with what strong prejudices, what belated pride, his countrymen looked down upon the thought, the civilization, the mental achievements of the middle ages, we cannot but admire the upright critic who so completely broke through those barriers, entering with manly power and honest purpose into an independent examination of them.

Here is the result. Writing of the mediæval universities, he says:—

“Time went on, a new state of things, intellectual and social, came in. The Church was girt with temporal power. The preachers of St. Dominic were in the ascendant; now at length we may ask with curious interest, did the Church alter her ancient rule of action, and proscribe intellectual activity? Just the contrary; this is the very age of universities; it is the classical period of the schoolmen; it is the splendid and palmary instance of the wise policy and large liberality of the Church, as regards philosophical inquiry. If ever there was a time when the intellect went wild, and had a licentious revel, it was at the date I speak of. When was there ever a more curious, more meddling, bolder, keener, more penetrating, more rationalistic exercise of the reason than at that time? What class of questions did that subtle metaphysical spirit not scrutinize? What premise was allowed without examination? What principle was not traced to its first origin, and exhibited in its most naked shape? Aristotle was a somewhat more serious foe than Bacon has been since. Did the Church take a high hand with philosophy then? No, not though that philosophy was metaphysical. It was a time when she had temporal power, and could have exterminated the spirit of inquiry with fire and sword. But she determined to put it down by argument; she said: ‘Two can play at that, and my argument is the better.’ She sent her controversialists into the philosophical arena. It was the Dominican and Franciscan doctors, the greatest of them being St. Thomas, who in those mediæval universities fought the battle of revelation with the weapons of heathenism.”

Such is the estimate which is to be found in many forms in his university lectures.

Dr. Newman’s life as Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin was singularly quiet. He was wholly occupied with the work committed to his care. Modest and unobtrusive, he sought not to import into our country notions at variance with our characteristics, opposed to our judgments, or unsuited to our tastes. His superiority of mind was made manifest here as elsewhere. He worked during the too brief years of his stay amongst us for the best interests of Ireland, and he left our shores with the reverence and love of all who had relations with him here. From the outset, the religious, the Catholic, part of the University work was set before his young hearers.

“Gentlemen, I do not expect of those who, like you, are

employed in your secular callings, who are not monks, or friars, not priests, not theologians, not philosophers, to come forward as champions of the faith ; but I think that incalculable benefit may ensue to the Catholicæ cause, greater almost than that which even singularly gifted theologians or controversialists could effect, if a body of men in your station of life shall be found in the great towns of Ireland, not disputatious, contentious, loquacious, presumptuous, but gravely and solidly educated in Catholic knowledge, intelligent, acute, versed in their religion, sensitive of its beauty and majesty, alive to the arguments in its belief, and aware both of its difficulties and of the mode of treating them. And the first step in obtaining this desirable end is that you should submit yourselves to a curriculum of studies such as that which brings you with such praiseworthy diligence within these walls."

We have been able to trace here but a few of the many prominent features of so great a life. It is but fair to add that his memory and his work have been reverently dealt with even by those most opposed to the direction of his influence.

"A great leader of men [writes a Protestant critic in *The Athenæum*], an influential ecclesiastic, a man of saintly life, a spiritual force of great power, a master of English prose, has passed away with John Henry Newman. . . He had the head of a lawyer, but it should be added, he had the heart of a saint. . . The saintly life has never been more faithfully followed than by him. That the pendulum of public opinion about Roman Catholics in England has swung back from violent antipathy to sympathetic admiration is due in large measure to the saintly life of John Henry Newman."

Learning, strength, sanctity, these were his characteristics; and withal he was warm and gentle. There was probably no other man in England who had won the hearts of so many personal devoted friends. He was true to them, and rejoiced in their sincerity. Thus life with all its troubles had for him many natural consolations, not to speak of the supernatural peace and contentment which he ever enjoyed in the true Church. The patriarchal age to which he reached seemed a manifest token of the divine benevolence in his regard, a symbol, and as it were, a pledge of that life of endless bliss for which he strove so bravely. Well might he have

breathed at his last hour, like the angel in the *Dream of Gerontius* :

“ My work is done,
My task is o'er ;
And so I come
Taking it home ;
For the crown is won
For evermore.”

What Catholic is there who does not hope that others may be found with powers of mind and qualities of soul worthy to continue the work which received such an impetus from the great Cardinal that is gone, to walk in the footsteps of Milner and of Wiseman, of Faber and of Ward, of Newman and of Manning! By all those who come after, the name and the character of John Henry Newman is sure to be revered. His memory will remain with a perpetual influence for good over the surging multitudes of his countrymen, and it will be specially honoured by those who understand the Christian culture of the soul, who strive for virtue, or who work for truth.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND AND THEIR TRADITIONS.—II.

AS the history of Palestine, from the days of Christ down to the present century, is naught else in all truth than a narrative of what concerns its Christian sanctuaries, it may be truly said that the modern part of that history begins with the events which there took place immediately after the fall of the Latin kingdom established by the first Crusade. The condition of the sanctuaries, with regard at least to their possession by the Christian Church, both previous to the days of the founding of the so-called Latin kingdom by Godfrey of Boulogne, and until its fall, a century later, was ever the same. Christians professing one and the

same faith gathered around them, even from the earliest days of Christianity, in order to pray within their hallowed precincts. Both during the days of Pagan Rome's sway in those lands as well as under the sway of the conquering Saracens, they remained what they had been from the beginning, viz., Christian sanctuaries held by Christians, excepting that the peaceful condition under which they existed during the couple of centuries which followed immediately after the reign of Constantine the Great, ceased upon the downfall of Jerusalem in 637, when the followers of Islam, led on by Omar, conquered the Holy City, and so made the Christian Empire of the East yield up all Palestine and Syria as it had already yielded up to the conquering Moslem, Egypt, the land of the Pharaohs. There is no authority whatever for believing that, as far as the sanctuaries of Palestine were concerned, any of those dissensions which, from the Council of Trulle and henceforward, tended to divide the Christian Church into two great bodies, interfered in the least with the existing *status* of the sanctuaries, or caused to arise any dispute whatever regarding their possession. The Moslem conquerors, partly out of their half-Christian instincts, partly on account of their love of gain, left the sanctuaries practically in the possession of the Christians, in whose hands they found them on their coming into Palestine. Whatever effect the great schism of Photius (859-891) may have had with regard to the great mass of the faithful, both in the Eastern and Western Churches, there exist authentic documents which prove that both in the time of Photius as well as in the succeeding centuries—in fact, up to the taking of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, in 1099—the sanctuaries were exclusively in the hands of those who professed allegiance to Rome.

This is brought out in documents, of which there can be no doubt as to their authenticity, dating back to the ninth century. Charlemagne built an hospital at Jerusalem for the reception of sick pilgrims; and whatever treaties were made during these centuries between the Moslem rulers and Christendom, the possession of the sanctuaries by the Christians who remained faithful to Rome was always an acknow-

ledged fact. Bernard the Wise, who travelled in Palestine in the year 867, mentions some buildings erected in the Holy City by Charlemagne, during the caliphate of Haroun-er-Raschid, who, according to many accounts, granted numerous privileges to pilgrims coming to Palestine.

In any case, in none of the writers previous to the eleventh century is there the least hint even at any claims being laid to any of the sanctuaries except by the Christians in communion with Rome: and the disputes which these writers speak of, were such as should naturally exist between the greedy Moslems who wanted to seize the sanctuaries either to destroy them, or, as generally happened when they succeeded in wresting them from the Christians, to hold them in order to obtain sums of money from the Christians who would visit them. Providentially, however, during the long course of many centuries few sanctuaries have fallen into the hands of the Moslems; and as far as history lets one see, previous to the days of the first Crusade, except as regards the site of the temple of Solomon on Mount Moriah, and probably the cave of Ephron at Hebron, every other sanctuary escaped their greed, or was but temporarily in their possession. They had other means of satisfying their lust of Christian gold besides the retaining of the sanctuaries, as will be seen further on.

The success of the first Crusade, in wresting Jerusalem from the yoke of the Moslem, removed every grievance which Christians had to bear for nigh five centuries previous. The fall of Jerusalem into the hands of the Christian hosts was followed by the subjugation of every town and city of importance, from Gaza, in the land of the Philistines, to Aleppo in Syria; but the country remained faithful to the creed of the Prophet, and in every hamlet the followers of Islam awaited a day of vengeance. It is impossible, at present, to realize how completely the religion of Mahommed swept away every vestige of the older faith, Christianity, especially in the country towns and villages; but the fact remains that, except in Jerusalem and in a few other cities, there were few or any Christians at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Whatever may have been the spirit which aroused Europe at the fiery words of Peter the Hermit, it is quite clear that the zeal that urged the myriads of the first Christian hosts soon became degenerated. Divisions began to show themselves in the Christian camp, with the result that a kingdom which had cost perhaps millions of lives to establish was, in less than a century after its establishment, unable to resist the armies of the Sultans of Egypt and Babylon. One by one the cities which at first yielded to the Christian hosts, either shook off the yoke or opened their gates to the Moslem invader. Jerusalem became a prey to the victorious hosts led on by Saladin, Sultan of Egypt, in 1187. From that day the Latin kingdom was practically at an end. Though Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and a few other towns were ceded to the Christians in 1240, by reason of a treaty which Frederic II. made with the Moslems, in 1242 the Christians were once more driven out, and in a few years later on the banner of the Crusaders ceased to float over a single city throughout the length and breadth of Palestine.

Notwithstanding the celebrated cry that aroused Europe at the Council of Clermont, 1090—*Dieu le Veut*—it is impossible, judging by the events which followed, to regard the work of the Crusaders as a divinely inspired one. It failed in every object for which it was undertaken. Never in their whole existence were either the few native Christians who remained after the armies of the Crusaders had been driven from Palestine, or the sanctuaries of their faith, been in a more hopeless state of ever again returning to the possession of Christendom. A new crusade had already begun, and if there be less glory and less romance about it, either in its beginning or in its duration, it was, at least, to win for Christendom what the conquering hosts of Europe failed to achieve—the right of the Christian pilgrim to pray at the sanctuaries of his faith. Those who have read the life of St. Francis of Assisi—and what student of history has not read the lives of the two great reformers of the thirteenth century, Dominic Guzman and Francis of Assisi?—will remember that about the year 1219, with eleven

companions, he started off for Acre, leaving his young order under the government of the celebrated Fra Elias, and after reaching that city left for Damietta, leaving his companions at Acre. It was from the former city that, according to his biographers, he left the Christian camp, and in presence of Melealim, then Sultan of Egypt, and probably son of Saladin, who took Jerusalem from the Crusaders in 1187, professed his willingness to undergo the ordeal of fire, in proof of the truth of the faith he preached. How far this part of the story of his mission may be true, it is not given to the student of history to define; it is at least certain that his visit to Palestine, and his attempt to convert the Moslems are beyond all doubt, and are attested to by eye-witnesses of the events which then occurred in the East. Mrs. Oliphant, in her *Life of St. Francis*, seems to regard as naught but legendary lore the story of the conversion to Christianity of the Sultan of Egypt before whom St. Francis preached; yet his conversion is affirmed by such writers as St. Antoninus of Florence,¹ and Jacques de Vitry, Archbishop of Acre (fl. 1239).² It is true, Matthew Paris denies it, but his testimony cannot outweigh that of the cardinal of Acre, and in every case it removes the story very much from the sphere in which Mrs. Oliphant would place it.

St. Francis left the East towards the close of the year 1219. His mission, so far as the conversion of the Moslem world was concerned, was evidently a failure; but it appears he left all his companions there after him, with apparently no other object in view than to pray near the shrines of their faith. How soon the first convents or residences were constructed, is not known. In 1230, there is a Bull of Gregory IX., *Si Ordinis*, ordering the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch to allow the Franciscans to build regular convents in Jerusalem, Tyre, and Acre. About half a century from that, the last vestige of the Latin kingdom in Jerusalem is at an end; the Latin patriarch becomes henceforward a mere honorary title, and the sole guardians from

¹ *Opera Sti. Antonini Florentini*, tit. xix., cap. 3, as cited in Calaoarra.

² Jacques de Vitry, in *Epistola ad Rel. et fam. Lotharing.*

that day to within a few years ago, of the faith of Rome throughout Palestine, have been the Franciscans. In 1336, every sanctuary in Palestine was in their hands; but from that day to the present the possession of the sanctuaries ceased to be an object of dispute between Christian and Moslem, and there then began that bitter war which the Greek Church, shortly after that time, becoming hopelessly separated from Rome, determined to wage, and even to the present day continues to wage, over the sanctuaries of the common faith of the East and West. Indeed, it may be truly said that the Eastern Church did not entirely throw off all allegiance to Rome till after the failure of the Council of Florence (1439) to unite, on a permanent basis, the two Churches. Up to that period the patriarchs and bishops of the East, as often returned to allegiance to Rome as they rejected it. The Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, with his entire flock, rejoined the Latin Church in 1247 (*vide*, Wadding, *eo anno*); but at the beginning of the sixteenth century this was absolutely at an end. There are still existing in the archives at Jerusalem firmans from the Sultans of Egypt, who up to the sixteenth century held Syria, dating from 1220, and in which the right of the Franciscans to hold the Christian sanctuaries is acknowledged.

As a matter of fact, the first dispute between the Latin Christians and the Easterns who had thrown off allegiance to Rome, of which there is record, is in the year 1494. It appears the Georgians, a sect whose origin is unknown—though in point of dogma they agree more or less with the “orthodox” Greek Church—wished to drive the Catholics from Calvary. A firman granted by the Pascia of Jerusalem declares the rights of the Franciscans to the absolute possession of Mount Calvary to date from *time immemorial*. It is true that even earlier than that year the Greeks and other sects dwelt either in or close by the Holy Sepulchre; but not until the present century had they any right to officiate therein. De la Brocquière, who travelled in Palestine about the middle of the fifteenth century, mentions this fact; and every other writer from that time up to the beginning of the present century testifies to the exclusive right of the

Catholics of the Western Church to officiate in the Holy Sepulchre.

No writer has left a fuller account of the state of the sanctuaries as they were in his time—of the rights of the Latins, of the disputes which were then occurring, as well as of the difficulties which beset the Franciscans in their endeavours to retain possession of the sanctuaries, than Boniface Stefani da Ragusa, who was Custos or Superior of the Mission in Palestine from the year 1550 to 1559. In his well-known work, *De perenni cultu Terrae Sanctae*, the many difficulties which Catholics in the East met with in their endeavours to retain possession of the sanctuaries are graphically described.

It would, indeed, be absolutely impossible in these pages to enter into any details, as there will be given further on a complete list of the sanctuaries which are now either wholly or partially in the possession of Roman Catholics, through the medium of the Franciscans. It will be sufficient to describe the circumstances of the loss of the only sanctuary of the first order which they have lost, viz., the Cænacle or Hall, where, according to a tradition dating beyond the second century, the “Last Supper” was celebrated. The account is from Calaharra, a Spanish Franciscan of the seventeenth century, who has left a full account of the history of the sanctuaries from the time of their falling into the hands of the Franciscans up to his time.

In 1518, some fanatical Turks presented to the Chief Mufti in Jerusalem a memorial begging him to reply whether it was lawful for the Christians to hold the place they (the Turks) regarded as the Tomb of King David. The answer given was, that such conduct was in opposition to the Law of the Prophet. Forthwith the Turks proceeded to turn the church into a mosque; but the convent remained; and as the Decree of the Mufti did not concern the convent, the Christians resolved to defeat the injustice of the Mufti. For thirty years the dispute continued. Money had to be squandered, as it is only by money justice can be obtained in Turkey even at the present day. Francis I. (1515–1547) interfered, but in vain; so in 1548

the Latins saw themselves excluded for ever from a sanctuary every ornament of which was due to their toil and labour. They were driven out by force from their possession of the tomb of the Virgin in 1762. The answer given by the Pascia of Jerusalem to the French Ambassador, M. de Vergennes, who protested against the robbery, is quite a specimen in its way. I have only a copy in French of the document, the original of which is, I believe, in the Royal Library at Paris.

“Ces lieux appartiennent au Sultan [?] mon maitre : et quoiqu'ils aient été jusqu'à present entre les mains des Francs, Sa Hautesse veut que désormais ils soient aux Grecs” [!]

It would be absolutely impossible in these few pages to give anything like an account of the struggles that had to be endured in order to retain a footing in the sanctuaries. Injustice of every kind, treachery on the part of the schismatic Greeks, both combined, made the struggle tenfold more difficult than when the fight for the right to pray around the sanctuaries of Christendom existed only between Christian and Moslem. Up to 1810 the Latins alone had the right to celebrate in the sanctuary of the Sepulchre of Christ : but that year, in spite of every right, the Sultan allowed the Greeks to repair the cupola of the Basilica, and granted them the right to officiate within the sanctuary. The disgraceful scenes which occurred in Bethlehem as late as 1873 are sufficient to show the difficulties Catholics had to endure in order to retain a right to pray within the shrines of Christendom. Lest some readers of the I. E. RECORD may not be acquainted with the circumstances, perhaps it is as well to tell it briefly, especially as I have heard all the circumstances from those who were present at the time, and which agree perfectly with every account which has been published thereupon. The fact is interesting, as it is recent, and also because it shows the spirit of those with whom the Catholics of the East have to deal in defending rights which have been admitted to date from time immemorial, and it answers the superficial statements of many writers who see in the continual struggle between Catholics and schismatics a cause of scandal with regard to the Catholics, instead of feeling

just sympathy with those who have to continually struggle against Turkish greed on the one hand, and the ignorance, duplicity, and fanaticism of the Greek popes and their followers on the other.

On the 25th of April, 1873, a few lay brothers of the Franciscan Convent at Bethlehem, while praying in the grotto—as it is the custom that some should be always there, both to keep the lamps over the altar lighted, as well to prevent any unseemly conduct, &c.—were surprised by a band of three hundred Greeks headed by their popes or priests, who instantly proceeded to destroy the lamps over the altars in the grotto which belonged to the Catholics, such as the altar which, according to tradition, marks the spot where the Blessed Virgin laid her new-born Babe immediately after birth, and the other where she received the shepherds. The altar which marks the spot of the Nativity had been seized by the Greeks at the close of the last century. They then proceeded to carry away all the ornaments placed in the sanctuary by Catholics from all parts of Christendom. The lay brothers made a brave stand against this desecration, but all five were seriously wounded, as the invaders were well armed. Notwithstanding the continual protests from the French Ambassador at Constantinople, as well as from the French Consul at Jerusalem, who forced the schismatics to yield the places they had thus violently usurped, still, up to the present day, not one of the guilty parties has been punished, and many of the rich ornaments, which the piety of Europe had placed there, have been up to the present unrestored.

Such is a picture of the manner in which Greek Christians have, since the middle of the last century, endeavoured to wrest from Catholics the sanctuaries which have from the beginning been theirs exclusively. In a country like Turkey, where violence and bribery are sufficient to uphold the greatest injustice or to overthrow the most firmly established right, it is, indeed, a miracle, and at the same time a testimony to the bravery with which the successors of the Crusaders have in a country where they are surrounded by enemies, where for centuries the complaints of Europe, the protests of

European governments, were utterly ignored by the Turk—it is, indeed, a testimony to their courage and steadfastness in the past that to-day Catholic Europe has still the right to visit the chief sanctuaries of Palestine, and at the same time to have the pleasure in feeling that these same sanctuaries are still her's, as they have been from the beginning. Indeed, if a few sanctuaries have been lost to Catholicity, the wonder is but the greater that they are so few, considering the circumstances under which they have been lost; and history will not fail to number amongst the heroes of Christendom the thousands of Franciscans who, from the days of St. Francis down to the last massacre in Damascus, in 1860, have lost their lives in their resolve to guard the spots hallowed by the presence of a man-god, and entrusted to them by their founder as heirlooms of his spirit of love of the Crucified. The eloquent words of Père Leon Patrens, in a discourse read by him to the Assemblée Generale des Œuvres Catholiques, held at Paris, 1879, may be here aptly quoted:—

“Quand S. Français est arrivé, il a dressé la tente de ses enfants près des sanctuaires; mais il n'avait rien pu remettre à leur garde: on ne lui avait rien confié. Ce sont eux qui, par une patience à l'épreuve de tout, même de la mort, ont obtenu de la bienveillance de quelques Sultans, ou racheté à l'aide des deniers que leur envoyait l'Occident, les sanctuaires qu'ils gardent maintenant au nom de l'Église Catholique.”

“When St. Francis came, he pitched the tents for his children around the sanctuaries; but he had nothing to confide to their charge, for naught had been confided to him. It is they themselves who, with a patience beyond all proof, even of death, have obtained either through the kindness of some Sultans, or have bought with the alms which Europe forwarded to them, the sanctuaries which they guard even to the present moment, in the name of the Catholic Church.”

It is not, indeed, intended here to write an eulogium on the guardians of the sanctuaries of Palestine; but Christendom cannot forget that as it has entrusted to the Franciscans the duty of watching around the shrines of its faith; their glory must redound unto it. That the Catholic priest from far-away New Zealand, from Central China, from the wilds of Patagonia, as well as from any other part of the world, can offer up at the principal shrines of his faith, the sacrifice of

Calvary ; that he can do what his Master commanded him to do, on spots for ever hallowed by the presence of his Master---all that is due to the courage of those to whom Catholicity has confided the sanctuaries of the faith of almost the entire civilized world.

It would be absolutely impossible, in these pages, to give anything like a full account of the actual state of each sanctuary, or of the circumstances which led to its loss by Catholicity. It will be sufficient, therefore, to enumerate the chief, or nearly all, the sanctuaries which pilgrims to Palestine generally visit ; to tell, when possible, the year each came into the possession of its present guardians ; the condition in which it now is, as well as the number of religious—Franciscan, at least—that are in charge thereof. This will form the subject of our next and concluding paper on the shrines of the Holy Land.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

(*To be continued.*)

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE SCAPULAR OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

This Confraternity is said to have been established about the middle of the thirteenth century by St. Simon Stock, at that time General of the Carmelites.¹ About the year 1251, we are told, St. Simon was one day praying to the Blessed Virgin for the welfare of his Order, which was then meeting with great opposition from both bishops and nobles. Suddenly the Help of Christians herself appeared to him, holding in her hands a scapular of brown cloth, and presenting this to the saint she said : “ *My beloved son, receive this scapular of your Order, the sign of my Confraternity, a privilege to you and to all Carmelites. Whoever dies clothed with it shall not suffer*

¹ Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, May 16.

hell-fire. Behold the sign of salvation, a treaty of peace, and of unending alliance."¹ Simon lost no time in having the members of his Order clothed with the scapular, and at once the evidences of our Lady's protection and assistance began to appear in the increased respect shown towards the Carmelites in the West. For, from being objects of suspicion and dislike, they came in a short time to be most popular among all classes.

In 1322 our Blessed Lady vouchsafed another vision regarding the scapular. This time she appeared to the Supreme Pontiff, John XXII., and revealed to him certain new privileges which she would confer on the Carmelites and on all others who wore her scapular. These privileges the Pontiff published, and confirmed by his authority, on the 3rd of March of the same year, in a Bull beginning *Sacratissimo uti culmine*, but better known as the *Sabbatine Bull*. This latter title is derived from one of the new privileges promised by our Lady to wearers of the scapulars, to the effect that she would release from Purgatory on the Saturday² (Sabbatum) after death the souls of those who had worn the scapular during life, and had been faithful in the observance of a few easy conditions which she mentioned.

This is not the place to discuss whether the Blessed Virgin ever gave the scapular to Simon Stock, or whether the Sabbatine Bull was ever written by John XXII. Neither one or other of these two points is an article of faith, and consequently everyone is free to hold whatever opinion he pleases. Moreover, whether the vision and the Bull be regarded as genuine or fictitious, the Brown Scapular must ever be regarded as the badge of Mary's favourite children, as a pledge of her special protection, as *a sign of her confraternity*. And any wearer of the scapular, who tries to imitate the virtues of his protectress, says the prayers and observes the

¹ "Dilectissime meus recipe hoc tui Ordinis Scapulare meae confraternitatis signum tibi et cunctis Carmelitis privilegium, in quo moriens aeternum non patietur incendium. Ecce signum salutis, foedus pacis, et pacti sempiterni." (*Dict. des Confreres*, page 896.)

² "Ego mater gratiose descendam sabbato post eorum obitum et quot inveniam in purgatorio liberabo, et eos in montem sanctum vitae aeternae reducam."

fasts enjoined for gaining the privilege of the Sabbatine Bull, may have a well-founded hope that his sufferings in Purgatory will be of very short duration. These statements hold, no matter what view we take regarding the origin of the scapular, or the Sabbatine Bull. But, in point of fact, there are the strongest grounds for believing both in the reality of the vision of St. Simon Stock, and in the authenticity of the Bull. "For our own part," writes Benedict XIV., "we believe the truth of the vision, and we think that everyone should believe it."¹ The same learned Pontiff regards the Bull as almost certainly genuine, and remarks that the arguments by which its genuineness is attacked are for the most part entirely void of foundation.² Besides, the privileges contained in the Bull, in so far as they are subject to the power of the Church, have been again and again confirmed by succeeding Popes;³ and Paul V. decreed that the Carmelites should be permitted to preach as a pious belief the promise of deliverance mentioned in the Bull.⁴ The terms of this decree satisfied Launoy himself, the most violent as well as the ablest opponent of the authenticity of the Bull, and of the reality of the vision of Simon Stock.

From whatever time the institution of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel may date, its extension began to be considerable only after the year 1600. In this year Clement VIII. granted permission to the General of the Carmelites to establish Confraternities wherever he pleased; to admit members, whether seculars or regulars, either by himself or by his delegates; and to regulate the exercises of piety, to which the members should devote themselves. Since that

¹ "Visionem quidem veram credimus, veramque habendam ab omnibus arbitramur." (*De Festis*, l. 2, cap. 6.)

² *Ibid.*

³ Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Julius II., Clement VII., Paul IV., &c.

⁴ "Patribus Carmelitanis permittatur prædicare quod populus Christianus possit pie credere de adiutorio animarum fratrum et confratrum in charitate decedentium qui in vita habitum gestaverint et castitatem pro suo statu coluerint, officiumque parvum recitaverint vel si recitare nesciverint Ecclesie jejunia observaverint et feria quarta et Sabbato a carnibus abstinuerint, suis intercessionibus continuis, suisque suffragiis et meritis, et speciali protectione post eorum transitum, præcipue in die Sabbati (qui dies ab Ecclesia eidem Beatae Virgini dicatus est) adiutoram."

time the Confraternity has spread over the whole Catholic world. Children are invested in the Brown Scapular before they reach the age of reason; for the faithful believe—and are prepared to confirm their belief by many striking examples—that the scapular is a protection against corporal as well as spiritual ills. The sick will not be satisfied unless their scapular is round their neck; and those who have before neglected it, clamour to get invested, when stricken by disease or threatened with the approach of death.

MANNER OF ESTABLISHING A CONFRATERNITY OF THE SCAPULAR OF MOUNT CARMEL.

The first step to be taken for the establishment of this Confraternity, as of all others, is to obtain the written permission of the Bishop. In countries not under the care of the Propaganda a copy of the Bishop's letter of approval must be forwarded to the General of the Carmelites with a request that he will sanction the erection of the Confraternity. But in missionary countries, over which the Propaganda has charge, the permission of the Bishop alone is required. For, as has been already stated, in those countries the powers of Bishops regarding the erection of Confraternities are independent of the Religious Orders to whom the Confraternities pertain.

The Bishop next appoints a Director to whom either he or the General of the Carmelites, on application, will give the necessary faculties for blessing the scapular and investing the members. As soon as the Director has received these faculties he may at once set about establishing the Confraternity.

The faithful should be told some time previously the day on which the Confraternity is to be established, and those who purpose becoming members should be exhorted to prepare themselves to receive Communion on that morning. They should also be invited to assemble in the Church at a convenient hour in the afternoon or evening for the ceremony of reception into the Confraternity.

It would be advisable that the reception of the members should be preceded by an instruction on the nature and

advantages of the Confraternity of the Scapular, and followed by Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

After the Instruction, the Director, or another priest having the necessary faculties, vested in surplice and white stole¹ comes to the altar,² on which should be two lighted candles. At the foot of the altar he kneels and says a short prayer. The people also kneel, and remain on their knees until the conclusion of the ceremony.

The priest rises from his knees, and turning towards the people blesses the scapulars. He may bless all the scapulars at the same time, but should take care to make the necessary changes in the prayer.³ During the blessing each one may hold his scapular in his hand, or all may be laid together in a convenient place within the sanctuary. Having finished the prayer the priest sprinkles the scapulars with holy water and at once proceeds to invest the postulants. The scapular must be put over the shoulders of each one by the same priest who blessed them.⁴ If there is not a sufficient number of scapulars for all who wish to be enrolled, one will suffice for investing many. In this case the priest, after putting the scapular on the shoulders of one, immediately removes it and puts it on the next, and so on. It must, however, be borne in mind, that persons thus invested must have the first scapular which they use blessed by a priest having faculties.⁵

When a large number are to be invested at the same time the priest need not repeat the formula *Accipe, &c.*, over each one. He may first put the scapular on the shoulders of

¹ Ritual, *De Bened.*

² The altar of the Blessed Virgin, if possible. Ritual, *ibid.*

³ It is not sufficient for the blessing of scapulars merely to make the sign of the Cross over them; some form of words must be used. (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Apr. 27, 1887.) The form given afterwards is, we believe, now obligatory.

⁴ “. . . . Caeterum in impositionibus in futurum peragendis ab eodem sacerdote scapularia imponantur a quo ipsa scapularia benedicuntur.” (*S. Ind. Cong.*, 16 Junii, 1872.)

⁵ “Utrum unum idemque scapulare semel benedictum valide possit pluribus per vicem imponi? *Affirmative*: ita tamen ut primum scapulare quod deinceps adscriptus induere debet sit benedictum.” (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Augusti 18, 1868, *Acta S. Sedis*, vol. vi., page 333.)

each—*nihil dicens*, and at the end repeat the formula in the plural.¹

Having recited the remainder of the form, with the necessary changes, he sprinkles all with holy water. The members may now rise from their knees, and come forward singly to have their names entered in the Register of the Confraternity.

The Director himself should write the names, but if there are a large number to be enrolled, or if he is otherwise occupied he may depute one or more, who need not be priests, to write them in his name. He should, however, afterwards put his initials at the foot of each sheet, as a sign of authentication.²

The prayers and ceremonies for the reception of individual members are precisely the same as those for the reception of many, except that the singular instead of the plural is used where necessary, and that the gender agrees with the sex of the person receiving the scapular.

A priest having faculties for blessing and imposing the scapular can invest himself.

The following is the text of the form for investing in the Brown Scapular, which all priests who do not belong to the Carmelite Order must use:—

“*Formula benedicendi et imponendi Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo ab omnibus adhibenda sacerdotibus facultatem habentibus adscribendi Christifideles Confraternitati ejusdem Scapularis.*”

V. Ostende nobis Domine Misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuam da nobis.

V. Domine exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

¹ *S. Ind. Cong.*, Feb 5, 1841. *Recueil d'Instructions*, chap. 16, sect. 5.

² “Si quando ob ingentem fidelium adgregandorum numerum aliave ratione contingat eorum nominum in albo recensionem difficultatem sacerdoti co-optanti facessere, tunc designare is poterit unam vel plures pro opportunitate sibi visas personas, quae fidelium nomina scripto referant in catalogum quem ipse postea subsignabit.” (*Instr. S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide.* Jun., 1889.)

" OREMUS.

Domine Jesu Christi humani generis Salvator, hunc habitum, quem propter tuum, tuaeque Genitricis Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo amorem, servus tuus devote est delaturus dextera tua sanctifica ut eadem Genitrice tua intercedente ab hoste maligno defensus in tua gratia ad mortem perseveret; Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Deinde aspergat aqua benedicta habitum et postea imponat dicens :

Accipe hunc habitum benedictum precans Sanctissimam Virginem, ut ejus meritis illum perferas sine macula et te ab omni adversitate defendat atque ad vitam perducatur aeternam. Amen.

Deinde dicat :

Ego ex potestate mihi concessa recipio te ad participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium quae cooperante misericordia Jesu Christi a Religiosis de Monte Carmelo peraguntur. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Bene ✠ dicat te Conditor coeli et terrae, Deus omnipotens, qui te cooptare dignatus est in Confraternitatem B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo quam exoramus, ut in hora obitus tui conterat caput serpentis antiqui; atque palmam et coronam sempiternam haereditatis tandem consequaris. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

*Aspergat aqua benedicta.*¹

The Confraternity of the Scapular of Mount Carmel is one of those to which the rule laid down by Clement VIII. regarding distance applies. As a consequence, a second Confraternity of this title cannot be established within a radius of three miles of another of the same title already established. There is no reason, however, why the faithful

¹ This formula was issued July 24, 1888, by the Congregation of Rites, accompanied by the following decree, of the same Congregation, approving of it:—

" Decretum approbans breviorum formulam benedicendi etc. supra relatam.

" Sacra Rituum Congregatio utendo facultatibus sibi specialiter a S. D. N. Leone PP. XIII. tributis ad instantiam plurium Sacerdotum praesertim Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, suprascriptam breviorum formulam benedictionis et impositionis Scapularis Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo a sacerdotibus adhibendam, qui facultate gaudent adscribendi fideles Confraternitati ejusdem Deiparae sub enunciato titulo a Reverendissimo Assesore ipsius Sacrae Congregationis revisam approbavit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

" Die 24 Julii, 1888.

" A. Card. BIANCHI, S. R. C. Praefectus.

" LAURENTIUS SALVATI, S. R. C. Secretarius."

of a parish in which there is no Confraternity of the Scapular should be deprived of the advantages accruing from membership. One of the priests of the parish can easily obtain through his bishop, or direct from the General of the Carmelites, faculties for investing in the scapular. He has then only to invest his people in the usual way, and forward their names either to the nearest Confraternity to be entered in its Register, or to a Carmelite convent. Members thus received, share in the indulgences and other privileges of the Confraternity from the moment their names are given to the priest who invests them with the scapular though they may not be entered in the Register of the Confraternity for some time afterwards.¹

The scapular of our Lady of Mount Carmel is composed of two pieces of cloth, connected by two cords or strings. The pieces of cloth must be made of wool, and must be brown, or at least of a dark colour.² They may be of any shape, and may, or may not, have devices worked on them.³ The strings may be of any material and of any colour.⁴

The first scapular which one wears must be blessed, as has been already stated. But those which are subsequently worn do not require any form of blessing; so that a person once invested can lay aside an old scapular and assume a new one without any ceremony.⁵

It is sometimes said that a person once invested, who through either carelessness or contempt, has not worn the scapular for a long time, requires to be reinvested. This is not so. Whatever may have been the cause of laying aside the scapular, how long soever it may have been neglected, a person once invested never again requires to be

¹ *Recueil*, chap. 16, sect. 19.

² "*Quacr.* Color *Taneus* pro scapularibus benedicendis et imponendis fidelibus tam stricte necne juxta regulas praescriptus est, ut diversitas coloris admissionem in distam confraternitatem, nullam irritamque reddat?"

"*Resp.* Negative dummodo colori vulgo *Tane* subrogetur tantum alter consimilis, seu niger." (*S. Ind. Cong.*, 12 Feb., 1840.)

³ *S. Ind. Cong.*, 10 Martii, 1356.

⁴ Reply of General of Carmelites, Nov. 19, 1831. *Recueil*, *ibid.*, sect. 2.

⁵ *S. Ind. Cong.*, 10 Martii, 1856, 20.

reinvested.¹ The scapular may be resumed after a lapse of years with as few ceremonies as after the lapse of as many seconds.

The scapular should be worn so that one of the pieces of cloth of which it is composed is on the chest, the other on the back.² It may be worn either over or under the dress.³

The Brown Scapular must be conferred separately and distinct from any other scapular. Priests have sometimes received faculties permitting them to confer all the scapulars, the brown included, by the same form and the same act. Such faculties will not be granted in future, and those already granted will hold only for ten years after April 27th, 1887.⁴

Those who received the Brown Scapular before the above date, enjoy all the privileges of the Confraternity without having their names enrolled in any Register. It would, however, be advisable even for those to have their names sent to an existing Confraternity of the Brown Scapular, or to a Carmelite convent. For such is evidently the wish of His Holiness; and moreover, those whose names are in the Registers of the Confraternities partake more largely after death of the suffrages of the members.

ADVANTAGES OF THE CONFRATERNITY OF OUR LADY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

1. The members of this Confraternity enjoy the privilege of being specially adopted by the Blessed Virgin as her favourite children. She herself has called this Confraternity her own by excellence, and has designed the livery which the members should wear in her honour. "*This is the sign of my Confraternity,*" she said, when presenting the scapular to

¹ "Scapulare deponens per contemptum cessatne eo ipso gaudere privilegiis ita ut poenitens indigent novo admissione? *Negative.* Quem admodum non est iterum ordinandus qui ex contemptu deponit per tempus longius, vel brevis habitum clericalem. Poeniteat et habitum sanctum ex se resumat." (*S. Ind. Cong., ibid., n. 22.*)

² "Scapulare deferendum est more Religiosorum cum una parte supra pectus, altera supra scapulas." (*S. Ind. Cong., 10 Martii, 1856, 24.*)

³ *Ibid., 11.*

S. Ind. Cong. Decret., April 27, 1887. I. E. RECORD, vol. viii., page 658.

Simon Stock. It is true that Mary is the Mother of all the faithful; but as God, who is the Father of all, adopts some, as He adopted Solomon,¹ into closer and more special sonship, so does the Blessed Virgin adopt the wearers of the Brown Scapular into a more abundant share of her maternal affection.

2. As a consequence of this peculiar adoption by the Blessed Virgin, the members of this Confraternity enjoy her special protection. The scapular, she said to her servant Simon, is a treaty of peace, and the seal of an unending compact of alliance. It is a treaty of peace between the soul and God, by virtue of which the soul is protected from sin; or, if it falls, is more powerfully assisted to rise again. It is the seal of an eternal engagement on the part of our Blessed Lady, to vouchsafe her special assistance during life and after death to all who are clothed with it. Moreover, the angels, attracted by the livery of their Queen, will guard its wearers more carefully and more tenderly.

3. The members participate in all the prayers, mortifications, and other good works of the priests and nuns of the Carmelite Order. This is an advantage not to be despised. In the convents of this most ancient Order, spread over every part of the earth, "the Clean Oblation is offered, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof;" fervent prayers are ever ascending to the throne of God for the living and the dead; and numberless holy souls, by their labours and mortifications, are continually making atonement for the faults of their weaker brethren. Of a truth, the members of this Confraternity reap a rich harvest where they have never scattered a single seed.²

4. The advantages already mentioned, though in themselves quite sufficient to render membership of this Confraternity a thing to be desired, will appear of little account beside the two great favours promised by the Blessed Virgin, namely, exemption from eternal punishment, and a speedy release from the pains of Purgatory: "*Whoever dies invested*

¹ "I will be to him a father, and he shall be to me a son." (2 Kings, vii. 14.)

² Compare *Recueil*, chap. 7, sect. 3.

with this habit [she said to St. Simon Stock] shall not suffer hell fire." And to Pope John XXII. she said, "I, their mother, will graciously go down on the Saturday after their death, and will release all whom I shall find in Purgatory, and will bring them to the holy mountain of eternal life."

5. Finally, the Church has enriched this Confraternity with countless indulgences.

CONDITIONS FOR GAINING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE CONFRATERNITY.

To gain the indulgences of the Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, it is merely required that one should be a member, that he should wear the scapular constantly, and that he should fulfil the special conditions mentioned for gaining each of the Indulgences.

To be validly invested with the Brown Scapular, and to be found wearing it at the hour of death, are the only conditions necessary to entitle one to the favours promised by the Blessed Virgin, when giving the scapulars to St. Simon Stock—the favour, namely, of exemption from eternal doom.

To gain the privilege of the Sabbatine Bull—as the second favour promised by our Blessed Lady is usually called—besides the above general conditions, some special conditions must also be fulfilled.

(a) Members of the Confraternity who can read should recite daily either the Canonical Office of the Church, or the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin. Priests and all persons under an obligation arising from another source of reciting either of the above Offices, sufficiently satisfy this condition by fulfilling their obligation.¹ The Little Office of the Blessed Virgin must be read in Latin.²

(b) Members unable to read must observe strictly the fasts of the Church after the manner in which the local legislation of the diocese in which they live requires them to be observed. They must also abstain from flesh meat on all

¹ *Recueil*, chap. 16, sect. 28.

² Paul V., Bull *Superni*, March 11, 1571. A Nocturn with Lauds and the other hours constitutes the Little Office. (*Nocturnum diei cum Laudibus et cæteras horis ejusdem Officii.* S. Ind. Cong. Aug. 18, 1868.)

Wednesdays and Saturdays of the year, unless when Christmas Day falls on one or other of these days.

(c) Members must preserve inviolable the chastity of their state. This, of course, is an obligation of the natural law itself; but in making it a special condition for gaining her promised favour, the Blessed Virgin would have us to understand, that those who are privileged to wear her habit should be to all shining models of chastity.

Members unable to read, and at the same time unable from any reason to observe the prescribed fasts and abstinences, may get these works changed into others which they can perform. This change or commutation must be made by a priest having power to do so. And it must be borne in mind, that this power is not given as a matter of course with the power to bless and impose the scapular. Special mention of the power of commuting must be made in the diploma given to a priest, otherwise he cannot validly exercise it.¹

But members who cannot without grave inconvenience fulfil either of the two conditions above mentioned, whether the impediment be transitory or permanent, do not require any commutation. While the impediment remains they are dispensed from fulfilling the conditions, without being deprived of a right to the privilege.²

QUESTIONS REGARDING ENROLMENT IN THE CONFRATERNITY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

"SIR—In 1838 Pope Gregory XVI. issued an Indult dispensing with the condition that requires the names of the members of every Confraternity to be entered in the register of the Confraternity; and in 1887, the present Pope revoked this Indult. Now what about—(1) those people, still living, who were enrolled between the years 1837 and 1887? Is it necessary to get their names and have them entered now? (2) Those who

¹ *S. Ind. Cong.*, Jun. 22, 1842.

² "Accedente gravi impedimento non teneri Confratres neque ad jejunium, neque ad recitationem Horarum Canonicarum, aut Officii parvi B. M. V. neque ad abstinenciam diebus mercurii et sabbati. Consulendi tamen fideles ut hoc in casu se subjiciant judicio docti et prudentis Confessarii pro aliqua commutatione." (*S. Ind. Cong.*, Aug. 12, 1840.)

have been enrolled since April, 1887, and whose names are not entered?

“In many instances the revocation of April, 1887, did not become known to the priest until long after this date. Meanwhile the priest went on investing as before, without forwarding the names for insertion in register.

“An answer in next issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige.—
Yours faithfully, “B. D.”

Both questions asked by our esteemed correspondent are substantially answered in the body of the preceding article on the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. But as it is of the utmost importance that every priest should be acquainted with the correct solutions of these questions, we shall repeat what has been already stated.

In reply to our correspondent's first question, we beg to state our opinion that the revocation of the Indult of 1838 does not in any way affect those who received the Brown Scapular between the date of the Indult and of its revocation. All these, we feel certain, continue to gain the Indulgences, &c., of the Confraternity without having their names inscribed. The confusion, the uncertainty, and the difficulties to which the contrary opinion, if adopted, would give rise, affords, we think, a sufficient argument for the soundness of the opinion we have put forward.

To the second question, we must reply, that since the date¹ of the revocation of the Gregorian Indult of 1838, enrolment of the names of members has become necessary as a condition of gaining the privileges of the Confraternity of Mount Carmel. It is, no doubt, true that many priests did not become aware of the revocation of this Indult for a considerable time after it had actually taken place; but this want of knowledge on their part could not, we fear, have had the effect of nullifying the condition insisted on by a Roman Congregation, and sanctioned by His Holiness. Registration is a condition for gaining certain Indulgences and other privileges granted to this Confraternity; and, as everyone knows, in order to gain an Indulgence, *all* the conditions

¹ April 27th, 1887.

must be fulfilled. Neither ignorance of a condition, nor physical or moral inability to fulfil it, will suffice as an excuse for its non-fulfilment. The conditions must all be fulfilled, or the Indulgence must be dispensed with. Hence all persons invested with the Brown Scapular, since April 27th, 1887, must, in order to gain the advantages attached to the wearing of it, have their names entered in the Register of some Confraternity of Mount Carmel.

There are just two points regarding this enrolment to which it may be well to call special attention. The first is, that it is *not* necessary in all cases to forward the names to a Carmelite convent. We mention this, because we know that the contrary opinion is very prevalent. It is only necessary to have the names entered in the Register of a canonically established Confraternity. Such a Confraternity may be in nearly every parish, and the conditions for establishing such a Confraternity are so few and so simple, and the advantages derivable from it so many and so great, that we do not hesitate to say that such a Confraternity should be in every parish.

The second point to which it seems desirable to call attention is, that those who receive the Brown Scapular begin to partake of the advantages of the Confraternity even before their names are inscribed on the Register, provided the priest who invests them takes their names for the purpose of having them inscribed. In this case the persons invested become members of the Confraternity as soon as the priest receiving them has taken their names.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ See above, page 848.

DOCUMENT.

DISPENSATION IN THE LAW OF ABSTINENCE ON FRIDAY,
15TH OF AUGUST, 1890, THE FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION
OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

SANCTAE ROMANAE ET UNIVERSALIS INQUISITIONIS EPISTOLA AD
OMNES LOCORUM ORDINARIOS.

Cum festum gloriosae Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis hoc anno in feriam sextam incidat, Sanctissimus D. N. Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., precibus a plerisque locorum Ordinariis ei porrectis annuens, omnibus quotquot sunt in orbe Christifidelibus indulgere dignatus est, ut carnibus ea die vesci possint, firmo praecepto jejunii in ejusdem pervigilio. Optat autem Sanctitas Sua ut hanc benignitatem iidem fideles compensare studeant tertia Rosarii parte juxta ipsius mentem recitanda. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, die 25 Julii, 1890.

R. CARD. MONACO.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

STATEMENT OF THE CHIEF GRIEVANCES OF IRISH CATHOLICS
IN THE MATTER OF EDUCATION, PRIMARY, INTERMEDIATE,
AND UNIVERSITY. By the Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin:
Browne & Nolan.

NIHIL NON TETIGIT, ET NIHIL TETIGIT QUOD NON ORNAVIT may be said of the Archbishop of Dublin with quite as much truth as such general statements usually contain. But there is one subject in which he seems to have taken a peculiar interest, and on which, as a consequence, he has cast a peculiarly brilliant light. That subject is Education in Ireland. For years, aye for centuries past, the question of Irish Education has been a burning one. No statutes of the Penal Laws were more diabolical in their conception, or more oppressive in their administration than were

those regarding the education of the down-trodden "Papists." The Penal Laws, we are told, are repealed, there is no longer an "Established Church" in Ireland, and all sects and all forms of religious belief and practice are equal in the sight of the law. This, in substance, is nearly the only reply that is ever made to the demands of the Catholics of Ireland to be placed on terms of equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen in the matter of education. We know, indeed, and we freely admit, that many of the worst enactments of the Penal Laws have been blotted out of the Statute Book. But let no one say that the Penal Laws have been entirely repealed; let no one say that every form of religious worship is alike in the eyes of the law, so long as Irish Catholics have to bear with the innumerable grievances in the matter of Education, which his Grace so clearly points out in the present "Statement."

The responsibility for some of the most annoying of these grievances, especially in the matter of Primary Education, is to be charged not so much to the Ministers of the Crown who at different times governed—or mis-governed, if you like—this country, as to the Officials who had charge of that particular department. Of all the Officials of whom we have ever read, or heard, the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland seem to us to carry off the palm for incompetence, wrong-headedness, and the spirit of contradiction. To this same conclusion, we feel certain, every reasonable man must come who will carefully read the part of the Archbishop's "Statement" which he devotes to Primary Education. In this part his Grace pillories the unfortunate Commissioners, and pelts them with hard facts until their greatest admirers must feel thoroughly ashamed of them. In 1866 the Irish Bishops drew up a strong indictment of this precious "Board" and forwarded it to Sir George Grey, then Secretary of State for Home Affairs. So forcible was the statement of their case against the Board by the Bishops, that the Ministry, however reluctant, were obliged to take some action. They forwarded the Bishops' letter to the Board itself, with a request for such observations from them as would enable the Lord Lieutenant to give a suitable reply. The charges, however, were so true that the Board could make no satisfactory defence.

"But the Board managed to extricate themselves from the embarrassing position in which they now found themselves by simply *declining to comply with the request of the Government!* After an interval of over two months they replied in a letter extolling the merits of the National system, re-

greeting that any steps should be taken for its 'overthrow,' but point-blank declining to enter into any discussion of the questions raised in the Episcopal letter. Their 'function,' they said, was 'to act, and not to argue'!"¹

What a sorry figure this high and mighty Board cut on that occasion! Public Officials, they yet decline to comply with the request of the Government; they refuse to defend themselves against serious charges made by the united voices of the Bishops of the country over which they tyrannized! Their function, forsooth!—the function, bear in mind, of men supposed to be educated, of the *Commissioners of National Education*—was *not to argue!* The action of the Board with reference to the Model Schools more than justifies the hardest thing that can be said of these officials. The extracts regarding the Model Schools copied by his Grace from the Report of the Royal Commission of 1868 on Primary Education in Ireland embody such a scathing condemnation of the Board, that the wonder is that both the Board and the Model Schools still survive. Here is one extract from the Report:—

"In 1857 we find the Commissioners laying out £6,500 of public money upon a district Model School at Enniscorthy, without any support from the Established Church, in the face of a decided and well-reasoned declaration of hostility from the Roman Catholic Bishop who represented 88 per cent. of the population, and in spite of a strong remonstrance from their own Head Inspector. In such a case it would really seem as though *the squandering of National funds, and not the education of the nation,* were the object of the National Board."²

The same Report describes the official returns of the Board regarding the number of Catholics attending Model Schools as "*most fallacious,*" and even accuses the Board of "cooking" the returns made to Parliament of the annual cost of working these schools:—

"Comparison will show that the total expense of each Model School for 1857, as returned by the Board to the Royal Commission, is, *in every case,* larger than the cost reported by the Board to Parliament. In some cases the excess of expenditure is remarkable."³

Speaking of the proficiency of the pupils, the Report—which, by the way, was drawn up by two members of the Commission, themselves Inspectors of Schools in England, who had visited

¹ Page 39.² Pages 67-68.³ Page 85.

and examined every Model School in Ireland—the Report says:

“Though their attainments are *not very creditable as they stand in our printed tables*, we are quite certain that if we had time to re-examine, and had taken the precautions which would have been necessary to insure accuracy, the percentage of those who passed . . . *would have been much lower than it is now.*”¹

The discipline of these so-called “Model” Schools, and the manner in which morality was safeguarded in them, did not appear to the members of the Royal Commission as entirely “model.”

“*The children never seem to have been examined in a proper manner. . . . No warnings of the necessity of honesty in examination, or hints as to the discredit which would be brought on the school by disobedience had any effect. We formed a very unfavourable opinion of the discipline.*”²

“It was not an unusual thing to find some of the superfluous young men employed as assistants and monitors in schools, where the numbers were small, in the girl’s school, or in some of the numerous class-rooms, passing the time in conversation with the similarly circumstanced female teachers. . . . We fear that *it would be unsafe to assert that no evil consequences had ever resulted from the facility with which the young people can seek one another’s society.*”³

The annual “public examinations” and distribution of prizes in the Model Schools, of which the Board were so proud, and on which, in their yearly Reports, they lavished all the laudatory epithets in their vocabulary, found scant favour in the eyes of the practical members of the Royal Commission who visited the Model Schools. These “examinations” are described as “unreal,” and as “unworthy of a public department,” and not until a complete change should be made in the programme of these exhibitions “might a sensible man attend *without feeling that he was being made a fool of.*”⁴

Though this Report, so disgraceful and damaging to the National Board, was issued fully twenty years ago, no effort has been made by the Board to remedy a single one of the evils, or to remove a single one of the anomalies so strongly animadverted upon. Shall this contemptuous disregard for public opinion be permitted to continue? Can the Board itself afford any longer to despise the overwhelming evidence of its incompetence which his Grace has brought forward in this “Statement”? Unless the official hide be not only elephantine, but armour-plated, we must answer, no.

By the way, we had almost forgotten to say a word about the

¹ Page 78.

² Page 77.

³ Page 83.

⁴ Page 81.

form of the book under review, or of the scope which the illustrious author proposed to himself. Our only excuse for this departure from the reviewer's beaten path is the indignation excited in our mind against the National Board by the perusal of the first part of his Grace's work. And, as a parting shot at that effete institution, we may inform our readers that the chapter on the Training Colleges in the present work reveals a state of things if possible more humiliating and more disgraceful to the Board than anything that has gone before. It is with reluctance we refrain from giving some of the innumerable facts in this connection which his Grace has collected. A good deal, however, is epitomized in the fact that the English educational authorities *refuse to recognise* the training given in the Marlborough-street College.¹

The "Statement," then, naturally divides itself into three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to Primary, Intermediate, and University Education. Under each head, his Grace, with that grasp of details and clearness of exposition which characterizes his work, sets forth the grievances which Catholics have to suffer; shows who is primarily responsible for these gross injustices, and again and again calls attention to the lines on which the legitimate aspirations of the Irish Catholics in each of these branches of education may be and must be satisfied. We have dwelt at such length on the part dealing with primary education, not because the subject itself is more important than either of the others; nor because our grievances in this department are more numerous or more pressing; nor even because less regard to the prejudices and feelings of Irish Catholics has been paid in the conception and administration of the system of primary education than of the others. No; but the evils of the primary system are much older; their redress has been again and again called for, and now at length it seems to us a determined and persistent effort should be made to have them removed, and to have the Board which has been, and is, mainly responsible for them, either entirely dissolved, or at least thoroughly purified. Hence we deemed it our duty to call particular attention to this part of his Grace's "Statement." The other parts, however, are no less interesting, and should be carefully perused by everyone interested in the higher education of our people. The appendixes, too, of which there are several, are replete with useful information on the education question.

¹ See page 99, note 2.

THE PENITENT CHRISTIAN, IN SEVENTY-SIX SERMONS. By the Rev. Francis Hunolt, S.J. Translated from the German, by the Rev. J. Allen, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1889.

THE seventy-six sermons, of which *The Penitent Christian* is made up, are contained in two goodly volumes, brought out in the Messrs. Benziger's best style. These two volumes are the fifth and sixth of the complete collection of Father Hunolt's sermons, but are quite complete in themselves. The title *Penitent Christian* indicates the subject of the sermons. Penance in all its details, both as a virtue and as a sacrament, is considered. Its necessity is proved; the motives urging to it are explained, and everything necessary for making a good confession and for afterwards persevering in virtue is clearly and forcibly, and withal simply, expounded. We are not much in favour of the use of sermon-books. They may be, and no doubt are, used with profit by many. But by many others we fear they are abused. Keys and translations may be useful; but so rarely are they really useful to students, that in every good school both are strictly banned. Now to us it appears that sermon-books are, in the hands of the elders, what keys are in the hands of the juniors. They are made to supply the place of intellectual efforts, and in this respect, so far from doing good, they do a world of harm.

If, however, we were purchasing a sermon-book, we know of none that we should prefer to these volumes of Father Hunolt. The sermons are clear, they are full of excellent matter, and are frequently relieved by apposite illustrations and anecdotes. There may be, here and there, an unwarrantable digression; but, notwithstanding, the harmony of the discourse is seldom injured. Father Hunolt, we may observe, died about the middle of the last century. He was one of the most distinguished preachers of the Jesuit Order in his own, or, indeed, in any other day. The bulk of his sermons were preached in the Cathedral of Treves. Dr. Allen's translation displays both great painstaking and great abilities.

D. O'L.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1890.

CARDINAL NEWMAN :

A RETROSPECT OF FIFTY YEARS, BY ONE OF HIS OLDEST
LIVING DISCIPLES.

I AM glad to be allowed to say a word in loving veneration of one to whom under God I owe my soul. Through having been providentially brought under his influence at Oxford, fifty years ago, I was guided to escape the quicksands of Rationalism, and to find the secure haven of the Catholic Church.

I went to Oxford in 1838, when Newman's influence was at its highest point. His great name drew me to his sermons, which he preached every Sunday evening at the parish service at St. Mary's, after the University Sermon was over. These sermons were attended by great numbers of undergraduates, bachelors, and masters of arts, the flower of young Oxford. They were wonderful, not because of any studied rhetoric or arts of eloquence, but because of their quiet earnestness. They spoke of God, as no man, I think, could speak unless God were with him; unless he were a Seer, like the prophets of old, and saw God.

For aboriginal Catholics, it is not easy to understand many of the characteristics of the life and influence of John Henry Newman; especially the long course of years it took him, and many others who are now Catholics, to find their way through the tangled mazes of religious error in which they had been brought up, and reach, at last, the City of God,

which to Catholics seems so manifestly "the City set upon a hill which cannot be hid." The Catholic who has received the Faith in his baptism, and has adhered from the earliest opening of his reason to the *motivum credendi*, i.e., God speaking by his infallible Church, cannot easily place himself in the position of a convert, who has climbed up to the high mountain, whence by the intuition of faith he sees God and the things of God, and holds them no longer as *opinions*, but as *verities*. To the Catholic, all seems so clear, because he has seen all from the first, glowing in the light of faith.

If ever he examines the *motiva credibilitatis*, or formal evidences of religion, wishing to have a well-ordered, reflected view of the reasons why he believes, it is never tentatively, i.e., taking the things of faith hypothetically; this would be for him an act against faith. But the convert has had to take all the articles of faith, in the first instance, hypothetically; he has had to weigh their probabilities *pro* and *contra*, and it was only through finding a multitude of probabilities all converging in one point, that he felt at last compelled by the exigence of duty towards truth and the God of truth, to give assent to the truth of revelation as a whole and in its parts—and to make his Act of Faith in the Catholic Church. But it may, perhaps, seem curious to Catholics, and a thing unexpected, that converts generally come to the Church, through being satisfied on *details*. They *e.g.* find, first of all—perhaps by reading some Catholic exposition or catechism—that the Church does *not* teach the errors they had supposed, that it is not idolatrous or anti-Christian; that, on the contrary, it holds all the doctrines of Christianity that Protestants themselves hold as essential. So that if ever they became Catholics, they would have to give up nothing that they had always believed, but would only have to add to their faith some matters which Catholics assert to be necessary logical consequences of the other doctrines which are not in dispute—and which are taught in the writings of the early centuries of Christianity—such, as these are, *e.g.*, the doctrines of the Real Presence, the Sacrifice of the Mass, Prayers for the Dead, Purgatory, and the Infallibility of the Church and of its Head,

When the mind of one who seeks truth has come to this point, he has also become convinced that the Church which has its centre at Rome forms by far the largest portion of Christendom, and the burden of proof is shifted; he is bound to defend his position, to show good reason for his protest, and for his remaining outside the great communion of united Christendom. Such, more or less, has been the course by which we have had to pass. The Oxford movement was most important, because it was the first large and important exodus of Protestants, and of their return to the communion of the Mother Church. Newman was leader of a band of pioneers who cut their way, with great expenditure of time and labour, through the tangled forest that had grown up during three hundred years, between the insular Christianity of England and Catholic Christendom.

Another point which comes to some Catholics as a surprise is, when, in persons who are outside the visible Church, and involved in many erroneous opinions on religion, they find the most evident marks of Christian sanctity. John Henry Newman was an instance of this. No one who knew him could doubt that he was one in whom "wisdom had built herself a house;" as the Incarnate Wisdom says of the man who loves God: "My Father will love him, and We will come to him, and make Our abode with him." Of course, "out of the Church there is no salvation," and "without faith, it is impossible to please God;" but it is also true that those who are in invincible ignorance of the truth, considered as a whole, may yet hold what they do hold, by divine faith, through the grace of their baptism. These are no heretics, if they have never knowingly and wilfully rejected the truth. They are in a salvable condition, are implicit Catholics, *i. e.*, Catholics as God knows them. They belong to "the soul of the Church," as St. Augustine says, though they form no visible part of the Church's body.

Again, it must be remembered that men in Newman's position, who come into the Catholic Church, chiefly through the elaborate study of the Fathers and of ecclesiastical history, find many difficulties that have to be reconciled, knotty points of history that have to be disentangled;

especially, since many of the most telling arguments of Protestants against the Church are drawn from an elaborate, if one-sided, study of Ecclesiastical History, of documents of Fathers and of Popes.

Then, among historical difficulties, are to be noted the many scandals in the lives of Bishops and Popes, at particular periods; and all these are far greater difficulties to those without the Church, than they are to us who are within, and not looking out for the Church, but who know it, and possess it. We remember, always, the words of our Lord, that the kingdom of heaven on earth, was to be like to "a net cast into the sea, gathering into it good fish and bad;" and again it was to be like "cockle, growing in the midst of the good seed, until the harvest." A real survey of the almost boundless field of history is a gigantic work; and it is this which detained Newman so long upon the road. But it is not the road for ordinary wayfarers. It had to be done once for all, and John Henry Newman has done it, and has made a high-road for all time, by which men of good-will can easily find their way, even through the mazes of history, from the City of Confusion to the City of Truth.

I have a vivid remembrance of my first seeing John Henry Newman, when I was quite a youth at Oxford. He was pointed out to me in the High-street. I should not have noticed him if his name had not been mentioned by my companion. He was walking fast, with a very peculiar gait, which was his own. It was like a man walking fast in slippers, and not lifting his heel. It was not dignified; but you saw at a glance that he was a man intent on some thought, and earnest in pursuing some purpose, but who never gave a thought as to what impression he was making, or what people thought about him. When one came to know and study him, it was plain that his mind was so *objective* that his own subjectivity was well-nigh forgotten. Hence his simplicity, meekness, and humility. God, not self, was the centre of all his thoughts.

Newman's sermons had the most wonderful effect on us young men. It was to many of us as if God had spoken to us for the first time. I could never have believed before-

hand, that it was possible that a few words, read very quietly from a manuscript, without any rhetorical effort, could have so penetrated our souls. I do not see how this could have been, unless he who spoke was himself a *seer*, who saw God, and the things of God, and spoke that which he had seen, in the keen, bright, intuition of faith. We felt God speaking to us; turning our souls, as it were, "inside out," cutting clean through the traditions of human society, which are able so completely to corrupt and distort the spiritual insight of the soul.

The great defect of Protestant training is, that no one (I speak of fifty years since) ever spoke clearly of the essential immorality of all impurity. Certain things which injured life, health, or reputation, were reprobated; nothing else was ever hinted at. There was, of course, no training of the Confessional, by which, alone, with Catholics, this evil is generally nipped in the bud. For the Catholic child knows by the instinct of faith, and through the few modest words said to him by teachers or parents when he is preparing to make his examination of conscience before confession, that *immodest thoughts* even, if deliberately indulged in, would be mortal sin. This is the great defence of Catholic morality; it is "a fortification with a strong outwork"—*murus et ante-murale*. The absence of this training left English Protestant society in a very corrupted state. It was, indeed, considered *bad form*, among gentlemen, to talk of impurity; the grossness of language and the drunken orgies of a previous generation had passed away. But there was a kind of tacit understanding among middle-aged men, fathers of families, clergymen, &c., that it would not do to be too hard on the young; that we must keep our blind eye on the doings of our young sons, that "youths must sow their wild oats." They would learn prudence and wisdom by experience, as their elders had done, and they would turn out as well as these old squires, and "grave and reverend seniors," felt, complacently, they had done. While I say this, let me bear testimony to the extraordinary purity, in those days, among the women of the upper and middle classes; the classes from which the clergy of the Church of England

of that time chiefly came. Especially, I remember, that the daughters of the families of the clergy were models of English gentlewomen, brought up under home influences; while the sons, educated at public schools, were far below their sisters in education, refinement, and Christian morals and piety. The public, and still more the private schools, were such, that it was rare, indeed, if any innocent youth passed through them without being stained; too often he was utterly corrupted.

It was of such materials that the youth of Oxford were chiefly composed; and on such as these Newman's sermons came down like a new revelation. He had the wondrous, the supernatural power of raising the mind to God, and of rooting deeply in us a personal conviction of God, a sense of His presence. He compelled us to an intuitive perception of moral obligation—of that Natural Law of right, which is written in the mind by the Word and Wisdom of God, and which St. Augustine and St. Thomas say is the "Reason of the Divine Wisdom, imparted to man by the light of Human Reason."

It was not at first sight that Newman's personal appearance struck me. It was only when I came to hear him and study his countenance that I understood its majesty, and saw in him a something different from any human being I had ever known. Everything about him was unstudied, self-forgetting. To see him come into St. Mary's, in his long white surplice, was like nothing one had seen before. He seemed to glide in swiftly like a spirit incarnate; for with him it was the spirit that had the power of impressing you. When he reached the lectern, in the middle aisle, he would drop down on his knees, and remain fixed in mental prayer for a few moments; then he rose in the same strange unearthly way, and began the evening service. His reading of the lessons from the Old and New Testament, as I have heard him many a time at Oxford and at Littlemore, was the most marvellous expression of soul. It showed how imperfect a medium of ideas are words in themselves; it is only soul can speak to soul; and some men, but very few like Newman in this, have the power of using words, as some extraordinary

violinists are said to have used their instruments, so as to draw forth sounds that would have seemed beyond the reach of earthly music.

Newman had the power of so impressing your soul as to efface himself, and you thought only of that majestic soul that saw God. You felt that it was God speaking to you, as He speaks in all the wonderful handwriting of the book of nature, but in a deeper way, by the articulate voice of man made to the *image*, raised to the *likeness* of God; conveying, through intelligence, and sense, and imagination, and the voice of words, which are the most efficacious signs of ideas, a *transcript*, as it were, of the architypal thoughts of God.

Never shall I forget hearing him read the first chapter of the Book of Genesis: "In the beginning God created. . . and the Spirit of God moved over the face of the waters:" and that wonderful chapter in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "God, who at sundry times and in diverse manners spake in times past to our fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His Son. . . But to the Son He saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever." The faith in the One God, and in the One Lord Jesus Christ, God of God, came home to many of us, in his reading, as it had never before come home when we had heard the Creed read, or repeated these dogmas of the faith in our catechism.

What struck me as the characteristic of his whole teaching and influence was, that he made us think, reflect, know that we knew, or that we did not know; thus he led us to seek for the last reasons of things, and so on to the Last Reason of all things—the First Cause of all—God the Creator. This was the first thing he did for us young men; he rooted in us a personal faith and knowledge of God, a sense of His presence, and of the exigency of our duty to Him in all things, in and for Him. As we had thus learned practically to know God, we felt the urgent need of further knowledge of God than nature could give us. We accepted Christianity as being, in fact, beyond the shadow of doubt, God's last revelation of Himself to man. If God was present in man, by the light of nature and of grace, and if the voice of conscience is the voice of God, what more probable than that He should have

sent his final message to man by a Man, who was Personally "God manifest in the flesh." Christianity, we doubted not; and the Christianity of the Church of England we doubted not, was that which was taught by Christ and His Apostles. We had some notion that all Protestant sects were substantially one in doctrine, differing chiefly on matters of Church government. We believed, however, that there were certain corrupted forms of Christianity that had to be avoided as a pestilence; especially that of Roman Catholics, who had lapsed into idolatry, worshipped the Virgin Mary in place of God, and belonged to an apostate church, the anti-Christian apostacy foretold in prophecy. We, therefore, set to work to try our best to be good Church of England Christians, to repent of our sins and to amend our lives, to pray earnestly, and to frequent the Communion as it was celebrated every Sunday by Newman in the chancel of St. Mary's.

Just at this time a series of sermons preached and published by Dr. Pusey on *Baptismal Regeneration*, and *Post-Baptismal Sin* were making a great impression. We were convinced that these doctrines were clearly those of the Church of England, of the Scripture, and of the early Fathers of the Christian Church. It was clear that by baptism we had been made temples of God, as St. Paul also teaches. But then had we not banished God's Spirit, and made our soul a temple of devils?

The Church of England had nothing to tell us, as to how post-baptismal sin was to be remitted. Providentially for me, a Roman Catholic book had come into my hands—Milner's *End of Controversy*. I had taken it away from a great friend of mine, who had received it from a Catholic priest in London. My friend became a Catholic shortly after. He is Ignatius Grant, S. J. In this book I read a full exposition of what Catholics believe. I found that I had been completely misled, and that they really held all Christian doctrines which Protestants consider essential. I also saw clearly that there had always been in the Christian Church the belief and the practice of the sacrament of penance, confession, and absolution, by which the sins committed after baptism could

be remitted. Milner also showed me that in the Church of England Prayer-Book, the whole doctrine of the power of absolution conferred by Christ on the priesthood was plainly laid down in the *Ordination Service*; and the practice of auricular confession, in order to obtain absolution, was set forth in the *Office for the Visitation of the Sick*. The reading of this book effected a revolution in my mind. It was difficult to believe in a Church which, while laying down the doctrine of absolution and of confession as necessary for all who needed it by reason of grievous sin, had so utterly neglected it in practice, that I, educated among religious people, had never heard of it until I read about it in a Catholic book. I saw, moreover, that if the Roman Catholic Church was not an apostate church, it was by far the largest portion of the Church, and I could not see how the Church of England could be justified in separating from the Pope, and from the greater part of the Church, at the bidding of the Tudor sovereigns.

During all this time we had all been following the line taken by the *Tracts for the Times*. The main argument of these publications was, that the Church of England, in the Creeds, and in her Articles, Canons, and Homelies, professes to follow the doctrines taught by the Fathers of the first four or five centuries. We had read enough of these authorities, to see that they clearly taught nearly every doctrine held by the Roman Catholic Church; and it seemed to us evident that the Bishop of Rome had always held a primacy of jurisdiction, or supremacy over the whole Church. Many of us were, therefore, disposed to become Catholics at once.

Newman had not as yet come to see that separation from Rome involved separation from the visible Church, and as long as he did not see this, he thought himself bound to remain where he was, and to use his influence to retain others in the Church of England. It was with this view that he published the famous *Tract 90*, the object of which was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England were not irreconcilable with the decrees of the Council of Trent; that the Articles were intended to include Roman

Catholics, if they were willing to give up the Roman obedience, which he thought concerned rather the temporal accidents of spiritual things.

Tract 90 produced an immense sensation throughout the country. But after a time the heads of the University and the bishops raised a universal protest against it, and against all attempts to minimize the differences between the Church of England and the Catholic Church. Newman felt that his *Eirenicon* had failed.

On us young men *Tract 90* had the effect of strengthening greatly our growing convictions that Rome was right, and the Church of England wrong. But we were immensely influenced by our respect for Newman's learning and conscientiousness, and were willing to try all we could to be contented in the Church of England, if it were possible to show that it was a portion of the visible Church. Several of us, with this view, put ourselves under Newman, at Littlemore, near Oxford. This was a kind of monastic life of prayer, fasting, and study. We rose at midnight to say the Divine Office. We fasted always till 12 o'clock, except on Sundays and great festivals; till 5 o'clock during Advent and Lent. The rest of the time we passed in study.

I soon found that Newman himself was seriously shaken as to the position of the Church of England. This confirmed all my previous doubts and convictions, and made me feel that it was my duty to make my act of submission to the Church, Catholic and Roman. Two years later, Newman and his companions at Littlemore were received into the Church.

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THE POPES, INTERNATIONAL PEACE-MAKERS.

MR. STEAD introduces a late number of *The Review of Reviews* with a reference to the report that the dispute between the United States and England over the Seal Fisheries of Behring's Straits is likely to be submitted to the arbitration of the Pope. He calls it "the most startling and suggestive of all the facts and rumours current since the month began." He says, also, that "it is not incredible, and that, even it should have been invented, is a remarkable and suggestive illustration of the trend of modern thought."

Whether the report be true or not, an appeal to Papa intervention in such a case would be nothing wonderful or nothing new. It is in the memory of all what success attended the arbitration of Leo XIII. on the question of the Caroline Islands a few years ago. All praised his impartiality and wisdom, and the parties concerned were satisfied and grateful. But, that the great chancellor and patron of the *Kulturkampf* should have gone to Canossa, at all, came with surprise upon everyone; it came with despair upon those who say that the influence of the papacy is a thing of the past. And, as to the present rumour, "that even it should have been invented," though it may not be true, shows how rightly Macaulay recognised its vitality when he said, just half a century ago, that "the papacy remains, not in decay, not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour." The Germans of three hundred years ago cast off papal authority as an iniquitous thing; their descendants to-day, though they deny its true origin, admit that it is quite other than iniquitous. England disowned it also; yet, according to Mr. Stead, if the rumoured proposal were made by Mr. Blaine it is not improbable that Lord Salisbury would accept it. Quite recently, also, the German Emperor, when calling a conference on the labour question, sent a special communication to the Holy Father, expressing his recognition of the necessity that his Holiness should use his influence in solving the social difficulty.

It is instructive to reflect how that power, whose influence Catholic England and Catholic Germany sought to destroy, and whose impending doom they prophesied, is acknowledged to-day as living and strong by Protestant England and Protestant Germany after three centuries of separation and defiance. Twenty years ago the Piedmontese took Rome, and have kept the Pope a prisoner; and recent events in Italy are likely to bring them to their senses, and may be the prelude to another Canossa. It is an evidence of the Church's vitality and power, and of the world's weakness and defeat. It is an evidence that the papacy lives, "full of life and youthful vigour," in spite of the boast of those who would wish it dead. It is an acknowledgment also, albeit an unconscious one, of its origin and of its mission.

Our divine Lord came as the Prince of Peace to found His kingdom in a world which peace had quitted. He came as "the Way, the Truth, and the Life," to cast out error, and to bring life once more into "the land of darkness and of the shadow of death." He came as the Liberator; for He said, "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free." He founded the Church to continue His mission. He said to His Apostles; "My peace I leave you, My peace I give you;" and He sent the "Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, to teach them all truth, and to abide with them for ever." That mission of truth, and liberty, and peace, which the Church received from its divine Founder, was not meant merely for man as an individual. As his fall necessarily involved the ruin of the family and of society, so the mission of the Church, in the work of his regeneration, should not rest with the individual, but should embrace also the family and the State.

Before Roman society came to be informed by Christian polity, Roman juriconsults had written, and wise laws were made. Nevertheless, the fact was that force was the active principle of its Constitutional Law. Throughout it, as through all paganism, the *jus gladii* was the *jus publicum*. That was the natural outcome of human history; for, when men became wilful and rebellious, nothing

remained but to rule one another by force; and the weak became the slaves of the strong. It was the mission of the Church to change all this; to establish truth, and liberty, and peace, instead of error, and slavery, and discord. It did not, nor does it, condemn the use of the sword. It may well happen that war would be the only means left to a nation to maintain its rights, to defend its liberty. But Christian civilization got the world to recognise a *jus gentium*, to which appeal should before all be made for the settlement of international disputes. The process of civilization was, of course, gradual. To eliminate the spirit of force that penetrated society, was slow work; and in the meantime, war was the general tendency and the first arbiter usually invoked. It therefore became necessary, then as now, to have, in the words of Mr. Stead, "in all international disputes an appeal to some authority sufficiently high above the disputants to take an impartial view of the whole case, and sufficiently honest to decide the question on its merits without being 'nobbled' by either party in the quarrel." But the Church was not merely such. It held its commission from Him who is the origin of civil society, and the spring of all authority that rules it. It was, therefore, the lieutenant of the Prince of Peace, the guardian of national liberty, the avenger of national wrongs. In the new civilization which it had created its authority was acknowledged, its sanctions were feared, and its decisions were respected by rulers and people. It was committed in its patronage to no particular form of government; nor is it to-day. Whilst it remained independent and above them all, it consecrated and protected all. The feudal system came out of the social confusion that followed the irruption of the barbarians; it helped to reorganize society, and the Church blessed it therefore. But when feudal lords began to engage with one another in frequent and needless quarrels, the Church was again ready with a remedy in the *Truce of God*. It blessed alike the Celtic clan-system, the Norman monarchy, and the Communes of Italy; and it is notorious that the American republic, palpitating with modern life, is regarded by Leo XIII. with pride and hope.

We shall now see in detail how the Church has succeeded in its mission of peace.

St. Leo the Great is the first Pope who appears in history as a mediator in the cause of international peace. Indeed, it was only in his time that the first occasion presented itself. Until the early part of the fourth century the Church had to struggle for its existence. It preached its gospel of peace in secret, but it could not yet carry its influence into the reality of public affairs. During those three centuries it was not a question of *how* the Church was to live, but as to *whether* it should live at all. It had not yet come into relation with the State, for the State considered it as juridically not existing. But, with peace and freedom came at once the manifestation of its missionary activity, and the world began to see that Rome was the centre of a new life which was putting forth a mysterious influence over society—over tyrant and slave. In the middle of the fifth century, the Huns, weary of repose and eager for plunder, set out under Attila, from the forests of Pannonia, crossed the Rhine, and penetrated into Gaul, as far as Orleans. They retreated again towards the Rhine, and pouring into Northern Italy spread devastation through the rich plains of Lombardy, and along the valley of the Po. Weak and dissolute, the Emperor Valentinian III. was powerless in the presence of such a force. Attila was making his way direct towards Rome, and it seemed hopeless to oppose him. In their despair the Emperor and his subjects asked the Pope to interfere in their behalf, and to try what he could do to turn the Huns from their purpose. It was an embassy of universal importance, and of enduring results. If Rome and Italy became a prey to the wild power of the barbarians, there was no place else that could at the time be made the centre of Christian civilisation. The Vandals were already in possession of Africa: the Goths ruled in Spain and Gaul; the provinces of the East had become the hunting-ground of heresiarchs. It was one of those great crises in history in which national traditions are threatened and national hopes are blasted; one of those eventful opportunities in which heroic resolution and usefulness immortalize

a great man. The Pope, accompanied by a few illustrious personages of Rome, went to the north and confronted Attila at the present Governolo where the Mincio flows into the Po. The result of the interview was that Attila desisted from his purpose, and led back his warriors beyond the Danube. When the Pope returned to Rome, he was hailed by the people as the saviour of his country. The circuses and the theatres were deserted, the people thronged to the churches and to the shrines of the martyrs to thank Providence for having averted their doom. But when the first gush of gratitude was over, their devotion vanished, and the cause of their joy was forgotten. The churches were again forsaken for the circuses, and the misguided people attributed their good fortune to the influence of the stars—of course, as a justification of their guilt. The Pope rebuked them for their ingratitude, and his words of reproof were prophetic. Only a few years had passed when they had to appeal to his mediation again. The appearance of Genseric before their gates made them turn from the circuses and the stars to that Providence which a few years before they had no sooner thanked than forgotten. Again the Pope was equal to the occasion, and Rome was saved.¹

In the year 568, the Lombards, under Alboin, invaded Italy, and established a kingdom there. Their rule extended over a great part of the country, in the north, the centre, and the south. Their capital was Pavia. The provinces which remained independent of them and subject to the Empire were ruled by representatives of the Emperor—by an exarch at Ravenna, and by dukes at Pentapoli, Rome and Naples, &c. The first exarch was appointed in 568 to defend the Italian provinces against the Lombards. But, through external attacks and internal discords the power of the Empire was waning, and its Italian provinces looked in vain to Constantinople or to Ravenna for protection against the barbarians. Even the Emperor was not always able to keep

See *Roma ed i Papi: Studi storici, filosofici, &c.*, by Conte Tullio Dandolo, vol. i., chap. 13. Jungmann, *Dissertationes in Hist. Eccl.*, tom iii., Dissert 14, No. 9.

his own exarch and dukes in the best of order. Moreover, religious and social differences kept the Italians and Lombards apart, and even when the latter became all civilised and Christian, the two races did not unite more closely than before. The Lombards abolished Roman law in the conquered provinces, and excluded the Italians from all civil and military offices. They treated them, in fact, as a subject and inferior race, whilst the Italians regarded them as intruders, and helplessly resented the domination of barbarian upstarts. In the midst of such confusion the influence of the Popes in civil affairs became very great. They alone had an unselfish interest in the people, and sufficient power to protect them; and their neutral and independent position gave them an influence for good in the quarrels between the Lombards and the exarchs, and between the latter and their imperial masters. But let us see some of the results of their influence.

Pope Gregory the Great induced Agilulph, the husband of the famous Queen Theodolinda, to raise the siege of Rome after he had been besieging it for some time, and when it was on the point of falling into his hands. A few years later Italy was spared the ravages of another war by the intervention of St. Gregory. He got Agilulph and the exarch to come to terms of peace, each party promising to repair any wrongs done to the other side before or during the war. But, during these negotiations, the claims of the rival parties were not his only or his greatest difficulty. The greatest obstacles were thrown in his way by public officials at Rome and Ravenna, for whom peace would mean loss, and war would mean gain, and who cared more for private interest than for the public welfare which they were trusted to promote. They even went so far as to put up a placard in Ravenna denouncing the Pope, and charging him with unworthy motives in trying to restore peace; but the Pope excommunicated those who did it, for not either withdrawing or proving the charges. At length, in the year 599, after four years of negotiation, he succeeded in bringing the exarch and the king to terms of peace, and for the observance of it he continued to use his

influence on both sides.¹ Hence we can understand what feelings moved him when, in writing to John, the Patriarch of Constantinople, he used the words:—"Hoc in loco (i. e. Rome) quisquis Pastor dicitur, curis exterioribus graviter occupatur, ita ut saepe incertum fiat, utrum Pastoris officium aut terreni proceris agat."²

In the year 741 Luitprand invaded the Roman province. He took four cities, besides several patrimonies, and many prisoners, amongst them some of consular rank. The Romans appealed to Pope Zachary, who had just then ascended the pontifical throne, and at his bidding Luitprand restored the captured cities and patrimonies, and the prisoners he had taken. But no sooner had he made peace with Rome than he made preparations to attack Ravenna. The Pope, in answer to the prayers of the exarch and his subjects, sent envoys to Pavia to treat with the king. Luitprand being inexorable, the Pope himself went to meet him, and got him not only to desist from his enterprise, but also to restore the cities which he had already taken.³

During the pontificate of Stephen II., the successor of St. Zachary, Astulph, king of the Lombards, invaded the Roman provinces, and imposed a heavy tribute on the people. The Pope wrote to Constantine Copronymus, telling him of the condition of his Italian subjects, and asking him to protect them. But that emperor was more occupied with image-breaking than with the cares of his provinces, and the Pope prayed his protection in vain. The Pope then, having on his way interviewed Astulph at Pavia, went to Pepin, king of the Franks, whose aid he sought and obtained. A few years later, in 756, Astulph was killed whilst hunting,

¹ Thomassin, *Vetus et Nova Disciplina*, vol. ii., book 3. Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. viii., liv. 35.

² *Epistolae S. Greg.*, lib. i., Ep. 24. In reading his letters—in which he often bitterly regrets having to mix so much in civil affairs so foreign to his actual calling and past life—one is pained to think that such men as Gibbon and Hallam should accuse him of ambition. However, he is well defended by several Protestant writers more trustworthy than those when dealing with the character of Popes.

³ Those two facts are mentioned by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, *Vita Zachariae*. See also "*Commentarii Storico-critici di S. Zaccaria Papa, &c.*" By the late Cardinal Bartolini. *Commentario* ii.

and the Duke of Tuscany tried to become king. The brother of Astulph opposed him, and the country would be plunged into a civil war had not Pope Stephen interfered, and brought about a reconciliation. In these events is to be found the formal beginning of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes.

The Popes henceforth ruled as temporal sovereigns over the people whom the emperor had neglected and whom they had saved. We have already followed their footsteps, upholding in Italy the authority of the powers that were, and at all times the successful promoters of peace. As their influence spread, and new kingdoms arose over Europe, their mission of mediation became wider and wider. In tracing political history through all the middle ages, and on to the present day, we shall see that "all their paths are peace," as was the case during the period we have gone over.

M. O'RIORDAN.

PLAIN-CHANT, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

ONE of the most remarkable and marvellous characteristics of that most remarkable and marvellous institution, called by those who are without her pale, the Church of Rome, but by "those who are of the household of the faith," the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, is the wondrous facility with which she adapts herself to the manners and customs, needs and necessities, of all men, of all nations and every period, while at the same time she ever maintains and preserves her innate conservatism. And perhaps the conservatism of the Catholic Church is nowhere more clearly marked than in the songs and anthems which she puts into the mouths of her children, that is to say in her official chant, that system of music which goes by the name of Gregorian or Plain-Chant. For, although in the present day, the plain-chant passages which it is of obligation to sing at the solemn celebration of the Holy Mysteries, are but fragmentary and

disconnected, nevertheless the Church has carefully preserved and handed down intact her old choral books, and has taken care from time to time to have new editions of them printed.

There is an old world flavour about these ancient melodies which carries one back to the time when Fulc the Good chanted with the canons in the choir of Tours; or to the chamber of Alwinna, where Dunstan is designing a stole which she is to embroider, when his harp, hanging against the wall, suddenly, without touch of mortal hand sounds forth the anthem "Gaudent in coelis animae Sanctorum qui Christi vestigia sunt secuti; et quia pro Ejus amore sanguinem suum fuderunt, ideo cum Christo regnabunt in aeternum;" or to that far-off Sunday morning, when the same saint, clad in his sacred vestments, and waiting near the altar to say Mass till King Edgar should return from hunting, is "of a sudden overcome by sleep, and rapt to heaven, and associated with blessed choirs of angels, hears them singing with alternate voices to the Most High Trinity, and saying, "Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison," and awakening, dictates to his attendants the heavenly melody to which he has been listening, and which, according to Capgrane, was identified in his days with the celebrated trope "Kyrie Rex splendens." Or again, we are carried back in thought by those quaint melodies to the age of chivalry, and behold with the mind's eye St. Louis and his knightly train kneel down on the sea-shore, and in fancy hear them break out singing Charlemagne's "Veni Creator," to implore God's blessing on the crusade on which they are about to embark.

Now, notwithstanding that the time-honoured chants of St. Gregory are still to be found intact in the old choral books of the Western Church, and that various more or less faithful editions of these same choral books have, during the last few years, from time to time, appeared, nevertheless a very large proportion of the melodies is seldom heard, and the few that are sung are little known and less loved.

That this kind of music, however, was at one time popular there can be no doubt, and we know that these same melodies were wont to delight the ears and move the hearts

of our forefathers. What was it that brought tears to the eyes of St. Augustin, and stirred up devotion within his soul, but "the hymns and songs, O my God, and the sweet chant of Thy Church"?

Who does not know the story of King Cnut? How, one evening when the royal Dane was being rowed over the fens which then surrounded the Abbey of Ely, the sound of music wafted by the evening breeze over the water met his ears. It was the monks chanting their Vesper Office. The king bids the boatmen rest on their oars, in order that he may fill his ears with the sacred melody. He listens, and as he listens composes a song. "Merrily sung the monks of Ely when Cnut King rowed by. Row, boatmen, near the land, and hear we these monks sing," runs the couplet, which, rude as it is, evidently records to posterity the fact that King Cnut loved plain-chant.

How is it, then, that church song has fallen into such disrepute? Is it that modern ears are incapable of appreciating the music of the past, or that the old Gregorian melodies are nowadays so altered and mutilated in their execution, that St. Gregory himself would never recognise his own handiwork in the mangled, distorted, ragged thing which to-day passes for plain-chant?

The above questions will best be answered by taking a short survey of the history of church music, and for this purpose we can have no better guides than Dom Pothier of Solesme, the editor of the *Liber Gradualis*, which contains an exact reproduction of the Gregorian melodies used at Mass, as they existed in the time of St. Gregory, written in the beautiful notation of the fourteenth century, and Dom Kiente of Beuron, author of *Plain-Chant in Theory and in Practice*.

But, first of all, perhaps it would be well, in order to clear the ground, to point out in what respects the "cantus planus," differs from the "cantus figuratus;" in other words, the difference between plain-chant and her daughter modern music.

To begin with, plain-chant is purely diatonic; that is to say, has no accidentals, with the single exception of B flat, which is used instead of B natural, if a B happens to come

before or after an F, in order to avoid the augmented fourth.

Secondly, modern music is capable of measurement; each note has a fixed and determined time-value. For example, two quavers equal one crochet; two crochets make one minim; two minims, one semibreve, and so forth. Again, each composition is divided into bars containing an equal number of notes, or their equivalent, six quavers, four crochets, &c.

On the other hand, plain-chant, being purely vocal, knows nothing of time in its modern sense; the length of the notes, the pauses, &c., are determined entirely by the text. It is true, however, that so far as regards metrical compositions, where the same accents occur at regular intervals, the effect is practically the same as that which modern music obtains by what is termed time.

Then, as to modes: whereas modern music possesses but two—the major mode and the minor mode, plain-chant is enriched by no less than eight; and of these eight, the fifth and the first are practically identical with the major and minor modes of modern music. Each mode or tone has its dominant, around which the melody, as it were, hovers continually, and its final, on which note the voice naturally seeks repose at the termination of each of the principal divisions of the melody. The dominants and finals vary in the different tones, and a melody written in any particular tone, is restricted within the limits of the octave of that tone. This last observation, however, must not be taken too literally.

The following table gives the dominants, finals, and octaves of the various tones:—

NUMBER OF TONE	OCTAVE	DOMINANT	FINAL
1.....	D.....	A }	D
2.....	A.....	F }	
3.....	E.....	C {	E
4.....	B.....	A }	
5.....	F.....	C {	F
6.....	C.....	A }	
7.....	G.....	D }	G
8.....	D.....	C {	

The first, third, fifth and seventh tones are termed

authentic, or primitive; the second, fourth, sixth and eighth plagal, or derivative.

Now it will be seen from the above Table that each authentic mode has the same final as its corresponding plagal, and that the notes that are in the fifth above this final are common to both.

Adam of Fulda thus quaintly describes the various characters of the eight tones:—

“Omnibus est primus, sed alter est tristibus aptus;
Tertius iratus, quartus dicitur fieri blandus;
Quintum da laetis, sextum pietate probatis;
Septimus est juvenum, sed postremus sapientum.”

Fourthly, and lastly, there is a vast difference between the two styles of music in the manner in which they are written.

In modern music the note indicates not only the elevation but the duration of the sound; in plain-chant, on the contrary, the note serves exclusively to direct the modulation of the voice, and does not exercise the slightest influence on the length or brevity, the strength or weakness, of the syllable to which it is applied. It is the text, and the text alone, which assigns its especial value to each note. In plain-chant, as a certain Spanish author aptly puts it, “La letra es la reyna, y su esclava la musica.”

It is not possible within the limits of a short article to give more than a rough sketch or outline, as it were, of the principles of plain-chant; the above remarks, however, will suffice to indicate to the reader some of the chief differences which exist between plain-chant and figured music.

The history of church song from the earliest times to our own day may be divided into four great periods:—

1. The period of formation, anterior to the time of St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 600.
2. The period of splendour, from A.D. 600 to 1300.
3. The period of decadence, from A.D. 1300 to 1800, when plain-chant may be said practically to have died.
4. The period of restoration, from 1845 up to the present date.

A short *coup d'œil* over the first three of these four periods

will, I think, be sufficient to enable us to answer the inquiries with which we set out at the beginning of this essay.

In the early days of Christianity, when men had to meet together stealthily, for fear of their persecutors, in caves and secret chambers hewn out in the very bowels of the earth the Holy Sacrifice had of necessity to be offered with as much simplicity as possible; but no sooner had the Church emerged from the catacombs (A.D. 313) than she began to display a magnificence and splendour in her services far more becoming the nature of the august mysteries she had to celebrate. Thus it was that the primitive and universal liturgy established by the Apostles had, per force, to undergo some modifications and alterations in order to adapt it to the new exigencies of the times.

It was to one of the Popes of the fourth century that Rome owed her liturgy. St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were the authors of the Greek liturgies, while the Church of Milan claims St. Ambrose as the founder of her ancient rite.

In these early days the whole of the sacred offices were chanted; the melodies employed, which were very simple, and probably resembled our less ornate antiphons and recitatives, were responsorial and antiphonal, and the whole body of the faithful joined their voices to those of the clergy. It may be of interest to note that the introduction of this antiphonal singing is attributed to the Apostolic Father, St. Ignatius of Antioch.

The singing of metrical hymns was probably first introduced in the Western Church, by St. Ambrose at Milan, towards the close of the fifth century. Be this as it may, the custom having once taken root rapidly spread throughout the whole of Christendom, and St. Ambrose certainly rendered great service to church music by the introduction of what are known as the Ambrosian chants, which chants are still to this day sung at Milan and throughout the diocese.

But more than to any other the Western Church is indebted for the dignity and sweetness of her song to the man who by his prudent counsels saved Italy in the time of her deep degradation and shame, who was the author and

founder of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, who clothed the liturgy of the Church of Rome with a splendour and majesty which it had never known before—the glorious Benedictine saint and pontiff, Gregory the Great. He it was who, amid the cares and troubles of state, and notwithstanding his “daily instance, the solicitude of all the churches,” found time to collect together all the liturgical melodies which then existed, and to unite them in an antiphonarium which he caused to be chained to the high altar of St. Peter’s, and not only to found at Rome a school of church song, but to himself initiate the young scholars in the mysteries of plain-chant.

To this school was entrusted the task of faithfully conserving and handing down intact the sacred melodies, and of disseminating them to newly-converted peoples; and in such high estimation was it held by all, that during the lifetime of St. Gregory, and for two hundred years after his demise, the Roman *schola* was regarded as the centre and focus, the very *sanctum sanctorum* of liturgical song. According to the portrait which tradition has painted of this venerable pontiff, Gregory was himself a marvellous singer, and a composer of such genius as is seldom met with in the course of long centuries. Even in the eyes of his contemporaries, so mighty and puissant did he appear that, in their opinion, none of his predecessors had ever attained to the height of his genius; and in the middle ages, men did not hesitate to say that his chants and melodies were composed under the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

The antiphony which St. Gregory had drawn up was, of course, regarded as a sacred and inviolable monument. It was, indeed, held in such veneration that although several of his successors introduced various modifications into the sacred liturgy, nevertheless the antiphony remained intact.

As an example of this, the case of Gregory II. may be cited, who, when he introduced special Masses for the Thursdays of Lent, did not venture to place new compositions beside the old Gregorian melodies, but gleaned throughout the whole liturgical year the chants with

which the music for these seven Masses was composed. Not but that in after years the category of church music was enriched by new and not unworthy compositions: Fulbert of Chartres (1029), for example, set to music the beautiful responses which had been written by King Robert of France; Letaldus of Micy (997) composed a magnificent Office in honour of St. Julianus of Mans; St. Leo IX., in addition to his celebrated *Gloria* and various other compositions, wrote a very beautiful Office in honour of St. Gregory; while St. Hildegarde, Abbess of Mont St. Rupert, who tradition says was supernaturally initiated in the principles of plain-chant, wrote no less than seventy compositions, which, for sublimity of style and richness of jubilation, come very near to, if they do not equal, the choicest of the ancient Gregorian melodies.

Adopted, at length, throughout the whole of western Christendom, the "cantus firmus" played a rôle in the world's drama which sacred song had never played before, and which, perhaps, she is never destined to play again. From the time of St. Gregory until the close of the middle ages—that is, for a period of more than a thousand years—the sweet melodies of the great musician pontiff, chanted by thousands of voices, resounded night and day throughout the echoing vaults of thousands of cathedrals and monastic churches, in one long and uninterrupted harmony of praise.

Nor is this an exaggeration, for it must be borne in mind that during this period the whole of the Divine Office was sung daily, not merely recited, as it is nowadays, and that by a numerous choir of men; for by far the larger number of monasteries counted over a hundred monks, who regarded the chanting of the Divine Office as a sacred obligation and the principal end of their life.

In this nineteenth century, and especially in this land of a thousand-and-one rival Christian sects, where every form of heretical worship rides rampant, from the vulgar buffoonery of the Salvationist to the pinchbeck sacerdotalism of the Protestant minister who masquerades in Rome's left-off garments, it is difficult to picture to oneself the unity, dignity,

and splendour of Christian worship throughout the ages of Faith. Kings and statesmen, the highest and mightiest in the land, considered it an honour and a privilege, not only to be present at, but to take an active part in, the Divine Office. Strange that their sole representative in modern times—I speak under correction—should be without the pale of the Catholic Church!

Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, Louis the Fat, Robert Capet, Fulc the Count-canon of Anjou, deemed it their duty to assist daily at the Canonical Hours; while many of the nobles carried in their train, more perhaps on account of vanity than devotion (nevertheless the fact remains the same), a numerous suite of chaplains, cantors and choristers, with coffers filled with precious stuffs, rich vestments and ecclesiastical ornaments, and in some cases also even portable organs, in order that the service of God might be celebrated wherever they went with becoming dignity and splendour.

It was about the year 1140 that an event occurred the consequences of which had an unprecedented influence not only on the future of plain-chant, but on that of every other system of music.

Guido of Arezzo about this time invented, or at all events perfected, the stave, thereby rendering it possible to indicate in writing the precise elevation of the sound intended to be conveyed by each note. But little has been known hitherto of the life and history of the great singer of Arezzo. Several documents, however, have lately been discovered which throw a considerable amount of light on his obscure and chequered career.¹ As the *Revue de l'Art Chrétien* is possibly not very widely circulated in England, a short biographical sketch, according to these latest discoveries, might not be without interest to my readers.

Born at the beginning of the eleventh, or towards the close of the tenth century, Guy seems to have been a native

¹ See Dom Morin's interesting article "Guy d'Arezzo, ou de Saint Maur des Fossés d'après plusieurs textes inédits," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, July, 1888.

of France; but, however this may be, he was certainly brought up and educated from his earliest childhood at the great Abbey of St. Maur des Fossés, near Paris, and there he afterwards became musical preceptor to the choir children of the Abbey Church.

“ Praesentes atque posterī preces pro eo pariter,
Deo fundant, ac pueri, quos docet specialiter.”

It was probably in allusion to this period of his life, that years after, when time and sorrow had blanched his hair, we find him writing to his friend and patron, Theobald, Bishop of Arezzo, “*Coepti inter alia studia musicam tradere pueris.*”

But the poor monk-musician does not seem to have been suffered to continue for long the peaceful rôle of choir master. His superior genius stirred up envy and hatred in the hearts of some of his associates, and petty jealousies and cruel persecutions drove him into exile. He fled to Italy, and took refuge in probably one of the monasteries subject to the jurisdiction of the great Abbot Guy of Pomposa. Here again misfortune tracked his heel: new enemies rose up against him, among them one Leo Dean of Pavia, and strong in the support of the Abbot of Pomposa, then little *au courant* with the facts, forced him again to flight. This time he went further afield, and sought and found shelter at Arezzo, where Bishop Theobald took him under his protection. But Guy had grown old in the course of his long and weary perigrinations, and now began to think that he would devote the few remaining years of his life to the service of God in some quiet monastery, perhaps in the neighbouring solitude of Camaldoli. This, however, was not to be. Theobald who had some title to his gratitude, and prevailed on him not only to write his celebrated micrology, the most practical of all the manuals on plain-chant written during the middle ages, but also again to undertake the duties of choir master, this time at the Cathedral Church of Arezzo. It was not long before his school of choristers gained such renown that its fame reached the Eternal City, and at length came to the ears of Pope John XIX., who brought our

musician to Rome, and treated him with the greatest honour and distinction.

It may be added that the last retreat of this great master of plain-song was probably "the venerable monastery of St. Mary at Pomposa," which at that time was still under the jurisdiction of the holy Abbot Guy, before mentioned, between whom and our hero a complete understanding seems to have been ere this established. Indeed, from a certain letter of his to one Michael, a brother monk, it may be inferred that they were on terms of the greatest cordiality and affection, for in this letter Guy speaks of the Abbot as his "father, and the other half of his soul."

One word as to personal appearance. Guy seems to have been a man of small, if not diminutive stature, but, in compensation, to have been endowed with a stupendous intellect, if the following quaint verses are any criterion:—

“ Ut reor ingenio polleres pythagoreo,
 Si quis te tenero docuisset doctus ab aevo.
 Nempe, nisi fallor, mens est tibi corpore major :
 Corpus habes modicum, sed cordis acumen acutum,
 Parvus et astutus melior quam longus ineptus.
 Est ysopo malva procerior atque cicuta.
 Quae tamen est malva preciosior atque cicuta
 Mirmica vel ape minimis animantibus esse
 Invenies usquam non ingeniosius unquam,
 Sed cor iners asini nil habet ingenii,
 Mirmica vel ape cum sit sat grandior ipse.”

It is impossible fully to appreciate the importance of the innovation brought about by Guy of Arezzo, without having some knowledge of the way in which music was previously written.

Now the earliest form of notation employed for plain-chant, and the form most generally in vogue anterior to the introduction of the stave, was that which is usually termed neumatic, from the Greek word *νεῦμα*, a sign, or possibly from *πνεῦμα*, breath.

The neumata or neumes, as Dom Pothier calls them, were in their original form nothing more or less than the ordinary accents employed by grammarians to indicate that the sound of the voice on such or such a syllable should be relatively grave or acute.

Now with grammarians the *acute* accent indicates that the syllable over which it is placed should be pronounced with a certain elevation of voice ; as a musical sign, therefore, it was used to point out that the accentuated syllable should be sung to a relatively high note.

When the *grave* accent, on the other hand, is placed over a syllable, it signifies that the voice should be lowered in pronouncing that syllable ; in music, therefore, it is the sign of a relatively low note.

The *circumflex* accent, as its form indicates, is a union of the acute accent and the grave accent, and the ancients seem to have used it as an indication that, in the pronunciation of the syllable over which it was placed, the voice should be first raised and then lowered ; in musical notation, then, it signified a high note followed immediately by a low note.

Employed as musical notes, these signs of accentuation assumed new names and new forms. The grave accent, for example, when it was not combined with the acute accent, was very early reduced to a simple point or dot, and was termed a *punctum*. The acute accent retained as a musical note, at all events until the invention of the stave, its ancient accentual form, but took the name of *virga*. The circumflex retained with some authors the name of *flexa*, but was called by others *clivis* or *clinis*, for *inclivis*, or *inclinis* ; while the anti-circumflex doubtless on account of its foot-like form (┘), became the *pes* or *podatus*.

A multitude of other combinations were employed, a detailed description of all of which would be out of place in a magazine article. Let it suffice then, for the present, to remark, in the first place, that, as to their shape, the tendency was to round off the angular points where the accents joined, and that when it happened that several grave accents followed one another, either in ascending or descending, they were always represented by simple dots ; and, in the second place, that should any of my readers desire further information on this most interesting subject, they will be able to obtain it in Dom Pothier's excellent work on plain-chant, entitled *Les Melodies Gregoriennes* (Desclée & Co., Tournay).

From the above observations it will be clear that the

neumes in their original form were simply signs or notes whereby indeed a melody might be recalled, but which in no way determined the precise elevation of the sound intended to be conveyed. The importance, therefore, of Guido's invention will at once be apparent, for by it he not only rendered it a much less difficult task to preserve the ancient Gregorian melodies free from corruption; but, as it were, prepared the soil for a more elaborate and harmonized form of music, the writing of which would have been practically impossible under the old system of notation.

The long period of prosperity which plain-chant enjoyed during the earlier part of the middle ages may be divided into two epochs. The first, which extended from the year A.D. 600 to the year A.D. 1000, was the golden age of plain-chant. Then it was that church song reached its apogee. The second extended from the year A.D. 1000 to the year A.D. 1300. The Gregorian melodies were during this period still maintained intact, but the various new compositions with which the liturgy was enriched—for this was an age of great musical fecundity—no longer breathed that pure Gregorian spirit with which the preceding period had been so deeply imbued. This was the age, *par excellence*, of hymns, sequences, and tropes, comparatively few Mass chants, properly so called, being composed. The new compositions were, indeed, still good, but they lacked the grandeur, the freshness, the originality, the spontaneity of the old Gregorian melodies. The period of decadence may also be divided into two parts, the first of which—that is the period from the year A.D. 1300 to the year A.D. 1600—saw, as it were, the beginning of the end. The vigour and life which church song had never ceased to maintain for seven hundred years, now, at length, began to be exhausted. Death had laid his hand upon her, and gradually, and at first almost imperceptibly, there crept in that decay and feebleness which was destined to be the ultimate cause of her dissolution.

There is a wonderful similarity in the life, decline, and death of those twin sisters, Christian art and Christian song. Hand in hand they went together from the cradle to the grave, and hand in hand they rose again from the dead. If we look at

the monuments of the last Gothic period, what do we find? Gorgeous and magnificent, as they certainly are, they have strangely swerved from those just principles which animated artists and designers during the earlier periods of Gothic art. The architects of this last epoch have ceased to look to nature as their guide. Instead of each component part of a building being in itself beautiful and ornamental, ornament is everywhere constructed, and applied without rhyme or reason. Their very skill in engineering was one cause of their fall; not content with surmounting the obstacles which they met with in the just exercise of their profession, they seem, as it were, to have constructed difficulties, in order to show their skill in overcoming them.

Architecture, too, became a tyrant who crushed all the other arts beneath his iron heel; or, rather, they one and all became his sycophants and toadies. The goldsmith, the carver in wood, the embroiderer, the window painter, each in their own material—gold, silver, oak, chestnut, velvet, silks, stained glass, and so forth—sought to imitate the bastard ornament with which the architects of the period were in the habit of encumbering their buildings. Thus it was that an enfeebled and moribund Christian art at length yielded and died before the onsets of the pagan renaissance.

Not dissimilar was the end of Christian song. From the commencement of the fourteenth century the taste and zeal for plain-chant began to wane.

The introduction of measured music which took place about this time dealt her a rude blow—a blow from which she still staggered when she breathed her last, towards the close of the eighteenth century. The composition of motets, the calculation of perfect and imperfect time, now began to absorb all the leisure and all the attention of the musicians of the period. Counter-point and measured music at length began to invade the sanctuary itself. Plain-chant was no longer mistress; nay, men began even to neglect her; and later on, at the time of the renaissance, when it became the fashion to despise everything mediæval, she was relegated still further to the background.

The numerous excrescences with which the liturgy had

syllable, it is obviously apparent that there must be certain pauses, certain relaxations of speed, that some of the notes must be more closely bound together than others, if there is to be anything rhythmical, anything harmonious, anything pleasing to the ear about the passage.

Now in order to indicate to the singer the manner in which these notes were to be grouped together, the musicians of the first and second periods made use of certain signs or neumes, which had for their elements, as I pointed out on another page, the grave and acute accents of the grammarian.

In addition to those neumes which I have already described, various other combinations were employed. Dom Pothier enumerates, in the preface to his *Liber Gradualis*, no less than twenty, exclusive of the *virga* and *punctum*. Let it suffice here to point out a few of the most simple. The *torculus*, for example, a combination of three notes, of which the centre one is tonically higher than either of the others; its inverse, the *porrectus*, a combination of three notes, with the centre note lower than either of its fellows; then there is the *scandicus* and *climacus*, the first three ascending, the second three descending notes; the *torculus resupinus* and the *climacus resupinus*, each of these combinations of four notes, being, in fact, made up respectively of the ordinary *torculus*, and the ordinary *climacus*, with a fourth note higher than the third note added to each respectively, and so forth.

Now with the introduction of the stave, no really new system of notation was introduced. All that was done was to put the old neumes on the lines and between the spaces of the stave. In the case of the *punctum*, and of those portions of the various neumes of which one or more *puncta* formed a part, it was easy for the copyist to indicate the elevation of the note he intended to be sung; all he had to do was to place the *punctum* on the line, or in the space required. But with the *virga*, and with those neumes made up of inclined lines, the case was different; it then was not so easy to decipher at once what line or space was intended to be indicated. To obviate this difficulty, the top of the *virga*

was marked with a square head, and this square head was written on the required line or space, while in order that the other lined neumes might be the more conveniently read when they were placed on the stave, those parts of them which were intended to indicate the required elevation of the notes were likewise marked with square heads, or became larger and thicker, according as the exigencies of the case might demand. This was practically the only change in notation effected by the Guidonian system.

Until the beginning of the fourteenth century the traditional grouping of the notes was faithfully maintained; but from this period, and during the two succeeding centuries, the manner of grouping them became more and more arbitrary.

The writers of those marvellously illuminated fourteenth-century manuscripts did not trouble their heads much about the correctness of their neumes; they mutilated them and cut them up without mercy, and reconstructed them according to their own sweet will, and thought nothing of detaching a note from one group in order to add it to another group. Thus, for example, if the scribe found himself, towards the end of a line, with a neume which was too long to go into the space which remained, he did not scruple to break up the series of notes which composed the group, and to take of them as many as he required to finish his line, and to carry the remainder on to the following line. The confusion which ensued was lamentable.

But this was not all; things went from bad to worse. At first the scribes were content to substitute one group for another, still maintaining the old traditional series of notes. Thus, for example, in the place of a torculus occurring three times consecutively, they would, perhaps, substitute a pes subpunctis, a climacus, and a clivis; but, time progressing, unaccustomed and hitherto unheard-of neumes appeared in their manuscripts; little by little the old neumes became disorganised, and as it were crumbled away, until at length they were entirely superseded by the little square disconnected notes of modern Gregorian music; and, as a natural consequence, the soft harmonious rippling melodies of the great musician-pontiff, had to give place to that heavy,

broken, rhythmless spelling, that solemn monotonous nasalization which nowadays, too often, masquerades in the tattered garments of St. Gregory.

The task which we imposed on ourselves is accomplished, and the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions without further comment from me.

But, perhaps, someone may say, what of the restoration alluded to more than once in these pages? Is plain-chant anywhere sung as it should be nowadays; and, if so, is it really a kind of music likely to charm the modern ear? Will it ever again become popular? Is this little grain of mustard-seed, supposing it to exist, destined to grow up, and be greater than all herbs, and to become a tree, so that the birds of the air may come and dwell in the branches thereof? And to such an one I would say, go to Maredsous, or to Solesme, or, if you do not like to cross the sea, make a pilgrimage to Stanbroke in Warwickshire, and judge for yourself.

F. E. GILLIAT SMITH.

IMPRESSIONS OF OBER-AMMERGAU, AND ITS PASSION PLAY IN 1890.

SO much has been said and written concerning the Passion Play within the past twenty years, during which time it has grown into a thing of such importance in the eyes of the world, that it seems almost impertinent to treat of a subject already done justice to by the press of to-day. The Very Rev. Dr. Molloy's work, which appeared first in 1871, that of Canon McColl, and lastly, Mr. Stead's marvellous shilling's worth of one hundred and thirty pages, giving full text, German and English, with sixty illustrations, would seem to leave nothing more to be said on the matter. And yet the writer, with due deference, ventures to offer his own personal impressions, and especially to those readers of the I. E. RECORD who, living in distant parts of the globe, may care to hear about so interesting a topic from a priest

who was present at two representations, July 27th and July 28th.

The fact of having read so many vivid descriptions of it in the Protestant papers, and of having heard so many glowing accounts from eye-witnesses, both in 1871 and 1880, could not but make one unconsciously critical and expectant beyond measure. How few things in this world come up to our ideas of perfection! But here was to be a pleasing contradiction to the rule, as our visit to this delightful Bavarian village was one chain of surprises. The approach of six miles up a steep wild road from the station of Oberau, the first sight of Ober-Ammergau in its rock-bound glen, the simple and polite peasantry, together with their play and the theatre—all surpassed what each of us had expected. Such a place one might have dreamed about, but here it was in existence, an ideal colony of seventeen hundred devout Bavarian Catholics! It has often been said that an English cottage and garden were a thing unknown outside the kingdom, but here was a village of unconnected cottages, each with its garden, teeming with flowers and vegetables, with many a rustic portico, balcony and arbour, overgrown by roses and wild-hops. The only apology for a street was a crooked sort of road, which extended from the entrance of the village near the church, and on to the north end, where in a spacious field stood the large and half-open wooden theatre. The Ammer, a clear stream of greenish tint, ran along the left side of the road, crossed by rude bridges, consisting often of a single plank. In the distance, on the mountain side, about half a mile away, stood the gigantic stone "Calvary," erected by the King of Bavaria, and given to the people as a souvenir of the Royal visit in 1871. Many of the cottages had a hut at the back, in which were stored those logs of wood which, by busy carving, were destined to become those beautiful crucifixes, and pious objects of every size which stand for sale in the cottage windows. Over many a door was painted a bright fresco of some sacred subject, and a well-carved cross adorned the gable. Clearly, the "Passion of Christ" was an old and cherished story with one and all; and besides the portrayal of

it each tenth year, the "the subtle brains and lissom fingers" of these good peasants were ever busy, working out the same great story in those unique carvings which, for delicacy of execution, are the delight of the world. As our car slowly climbed the steep road from Oberau, the beautiful way-side "Calvaries" began to appear at frequent intervals, which for detail and colouring might have come from Munich. Here are paintings, also, on the beetling cliff at our right hand, whilst on a post to the left, by the river side, is a small picture of a sad accident, viz., the crushing of a labourer under a cart which was conveying the stone images, above alluded to, as given by the king.

The Ammergauers are an ideal peasantry, sturdy, well-clad, and of simple rustic manners. The smiling courtesy with which they one and all salute a stranger—their bow and "Gottgrüss!"—captivate you at first sight. The children, with their brown faces and long hair, though often bare-headed and bare-footed, were always scrupulously clean and neat. Not a dirty or ragged child did we see anywhere, though we strolled about, and were getting lost continually amid that pleasing entanglement of cottages and gardens, that we must certainly have found any, had they existed. What a peaceful Catholic republic was this in the Bavarian Highlands, whose wants were so few, whose habits were so frugal and temperate! While their spiritual wants are well looked after by the parish priest and his curate, their Burgomeister (chosen by themselves), Herr Lang, is chief guardian of the small community, whose duties are surely very slight in a village lighted by a few oil-lamps, and the peace of which is never disturbed by shrill voices crying out the daily papers, with its latest murder or suicide! Hence the children, who are so well brought up in that day-school near the Presbytery, may not be so 'cute as those in our smallest English villages, to whom these horrors are known daily by placard and paper. Still, there is the inestimable consolation, that the boys and girls of Ober-Ammergau fulfil the words of St. Paul: "Non plus sapere, quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem."

This year many little hearts must throb with anxious

expectation, as one hundred and thirty children take their part in the play, and help to compose those wonderful *tableaux vivants*, which astonish by their beauty and vividness. The behaviour of these young folks, as carriages and vehicles of every description poured in the whole of that Saturday afternoon, showed a total absence of that disposition to "mob" and stare, which is, alas! so peculiar to the lower orders of the British Empire. As the entire village has only about three thousand possible beds for visitors, a large number of whom had already arrived on the Friday, it was a puzzle to know where the owners of the cottages and their families ever found a place of rest. Our lodgings were scrupulously neat, the food good, and fare very cheap, and that, too, at a time when "famine prices" might naturally have been demanded. Often was the query made by our Catholic party, clerical and lay, as we met for meals at good Madame Tobias Zwink's, could any peasant or artisan at home have put us up so comfortably, or looked after our wants with such assiduity and cheerfulness?

According to a custom at Ober-Ammergau, a cannon is discharged at intervals during the Saturday evening from a hill near the theatre, the reverberation of which among the mountains proclaims the advent of next day's performance to the hamlets around. On this special evening, July 26th, the brass band of youths and boys came out to serenade the Prince Regent, who with his two daughters had come to witness the play, on which occasion we learned, for the first time, that *their* national melody was the same as *ours*—"God save the Queen!"

Early next morning the music of church bells and sound of artillery awoke us all, and Masses began in the parish church at about 4.30, and continued at five altars, without a moment's delay, up to 8 A.M. At 6 o'clock the sacred edifice, by no means a small one, was crowded to overflowing; many were unable to enter by either of the two porches. The choir, organ, and orchestra were giving their services at the parochial Mass, at which all the actors communicated. The chancel overflowed with priests, and the prince and his daughters were present in a stall at the Gospel side, draped

with red velvet. The scene was one not to be forgotten. The pleasing spectacle of sovereign and people worshipping at one common altar, round which were grouped clergy of many nationalities, including at least three bishops, brought back to one's mind the happier features of the Church in the good old "middle ages." At a quarter to eight, a warning cannon was fired, and, without delay, the happy five thousand persons, who had secured tickets, were all wending their way to the large wooden theatre. They are models of punctuality in this out-of-the-way village, and as the last gun went off at eight, the choir, with stately step, came promptly forward and stood in line, while a plaintive overture broke forth from the unseen orchestra. The general plan of the "Passions-Spiel" may be here given, and for clearness the subject shall be classified under four heads; viz., chorus, tableaux, music, and drama.

I. *Chorus*.—The chorus, styled "Schutzgeist" (angel-guardians), comprising fourteen women and eleven men, are robed very effectively in a species of white alb and girdle, over which is fastened a loose cape of brilliant hue. A gilt crown, and sandals, complete their costume. They sing between each portion of the drama for about the space of fifteen minutes, and whilst the tableaux are being exhibited, to which their song refers, they divide, and retire to each side without any interruption of the music. Here the classic student will be reminded of the old Greek chorus, to which their functions are analogous, as the singers explain the tableaux and prophecies of the Old Law, and unfold their special reference to the next scene of the Passion. Their share in the day's work is thus very important, as they appear no less than eighteen times. When it is remembered how careful public singers are of their voices, and the high price at which they often put their efforts during two hours in a comfortable concert-hall, this Bavarian chorus must be allowed to divide the honour of the day along with the actors. The latter may be under cover or not, but the singers are invariably in the open air, and on nearly every occasion are at one time drenched with sudden showers, or scorched by the sun's rays. Of their patience under such drawbacks, we were

witnesses on two consecutive days, and, despite the changing weather, choral numbers, mingled with solos the most artistic, were given in a faultless manner, aided by an orchestra of thirty youths and boys, whose execution was simply perfect. Another special charm of this part of the performance is the constant and varied gesture of the singers as they pour forth their sad strains and unfold the awful story. At one moment the hands are uplifted, at another extended or joined upon the breast; yet amid this continual change there is ever present the most perfect grace and dignity.

II. *Tableaux*.—In the midst of the choral numbers are shown the tableaux, or living groups, depicting some well-known subject from the Old Testament, selected with reference to the various scenes of the Passion. As a small bell is heard, the chorus, still singing, retire a short distance, half to either side, and whilst the vivid living picture remains in view for four minutes, they describe, with outstretched hands, the meaning thereof, and its application to the scene which is next to appear. Then, as the curtain falls, they again close into line to finish their song, and as the last notes fall from the band, they glide away through a door in the pavilion at the extreme right and left.

As already mentioned at the opening of this article, so much has been written well and wisely on the entire "Passions-Spiel," that any praise of these tableaux is almost unnecessary. If any be selected as most worthy of mention, perhaps the "Manna" scene appears by common consent to be the finest, since it is the most complex, brilliant, and statuesque in effect. Here are massed together a wonderful group of over three hundred figures—men of all ages, women with little ones in their arms, boys and girls—all of whom form a crowd of immovable beings gradually extending upwards to the very back of the inner stage. In the centre, conspicuous by his rays of glory, stands the great "Law-giver," and near him the first High Priest in his robes of office, and for the four minutes that this coloured picture is exhibited there is ever falling steadily a shower of silvery snow. After a pause the curtain, which has fallen on this scene again rises, and discloses to us the same tableau; but

in the foreground are now introduced the two messengers from the "Promised Land," bearing a huge bunch of grapes, which some of the little ones are trying to pluck. Meanwhile the chorus, in a melodious refrain, sing of this "bread from heaven," and the grapes, as typical of the new banquet of Christ's body and blood.

The two most remarkable tableaux after these are, perhaps, those preceding the agony and betrayal at Gethsemane. In the first, Adam is at work, spade in hand, while two boys are tearing up the thorns and briars at his side. Eve sits sadly on a log, embracing two little girls, and holding an infant on her lap. There is a pathetic look of great desolation about the entire scene that tells of God's curse on our first parents. Meanwhile the chorus sing of the parallel between the first Adam, toiling in the sweat of his brow, and of the second, sweating blood in the Garden of Olives, and end with the words :

" O, come, ye faithful souls, come all,
Look on the woes that Him befall,
In shadow first, and then in glory,
We all shall see
The sorrowful, sweet story
Of Gethsemane."¹

The next tableau displays a group of soldiers with their spears and standards, and in the centre Joab is embracing Amasa, whilst he thrusts a dagger into his left side. Here, a fine effect is produced by a hidden chorus behind the scene answering the twenty-five choristers, who stand at either side. The latter sing :

" Ye rocks of Gibeon ! why do you mourning stand,
That once were counted joy of all the land ?
Oh ! tell me, I adjure you, what befell."

And the hidden chorus reply :

" Fly hence, O wanderer, swiftly fly from hence !
This bloodstained spot is cursed in all the land," &c.

* * * *

" The foulest deed will soon be done,
That earth or hell displays.
Alas ! ere this night's course be done,
" Judas his Lord betrays !"²

Of all the remaining tableaux, the group around the "Brazen Serpent" is a grand colour-picture, whilst for sadness and simplicity may be cited the first murder, where Cain, clad in a leopard-skin, and holding his blood-stained club, flees from the rude stone altar, before which lies the bleeding form of Abel.

III. *Music*.—Not the least surprise, as many visitors testify, is the boldness and power of the music, and its perfect execution by the native orchestra of thirty instrumentalists, who are often mere youths and boys. That any village, of about seventeen hundred souls, should yield seven hundred and fifty actors (of whom one hundred and twenty-three speak), a chorus of twenty-five good voices, and thirty well-trained performers on string, wood, and brass, is certainly a marvel! What town in England, even of two or three thousand, but would be taxed to its utmost resources, to produce by its *own unaided efforts*, an oratorio, or sacred concert, to last the usual three hours of an evening?

The music of Ober-Ammergau is cast in a thoroughly German mould, powerful and earnest, yet at times, as critics have noticed, it recalls that melodious style peculiar to Mozart. How much older than the present century the score is, it may be hard to determine; but it was certainly revised about ninety years ago by the village organist and schoolmaster, Dedler, at which time Dom Ottmar Weis, a Benedictine of Ettal monastery, improved the text.¹ Up to late years no one was allowed to carry away either the words or music of the "Passions-Spiel." But Mr. Stead seems to have been favoured in this respect, and in his work gives us three valuable specimens of different types of music. The first, a bold air, the Hosanna, in chorale-style, is sung in unison by all the Hebrew crowd in the opening scene, with a fine harmony for the orchestra. The second specimen is a grand chorale, sung before the "Via Dolorosa" scene, and is quite in the style of Bach, the accompaniment

¹ *Passion Play*, by Canon M'Coll, page 52.

of soft horns imparting a funereal effect to the words, "Betet an," &c.

"Worship now, and praise and thank!
Who the cup of suffering drank,
Now the way to death has trod,
Reconciling us to God."¹

The last piece, given by Mr. Stead, is a rather operatic soprano solo, with chorus, full of pathos, and is sung to the tableau of the Bride in the mystical garden lamenting the absence of her Beloved!

The orchestral prelude to the lament of the chorus over Jerusalem, which heralds the scene where Christ weeps over it, is sad and weird, and almost note for note of Handel's "Behold, darkness," from *The Messiah*. Of all the airs in this wonderful score, one will haunt the memory long afterwards—the oft-repeated sad refrain "Ihr Felsen Gabaon!" ("Ye Mountains of Gibeon," &c.) It is nearly an exact passage from Mozart's *Requiem Mass*.

The hidden choir of angels impart great solemnity to the scene of the "Last Supper," and as Christ goes round to give each of the Apostles the Holy Eucharist, the distant chorus swells, and then gradually dies away.

IV. *Drama*.—As to the dramatic portion of the "Passions-Spiel," about which so much has appeared in the press, but little need be said here, especially as our readers will feel that this article has grown to an unwarrantable length. Certain Protestant critics have manifested surprise, but in a kindly manner, at certain points in the play, which to an ordinary Catholic occasion no difficulty whatever. Thus, a Mr. Russell, editor of *The Liverpool Post*, in a small book reprinted from his paper, expected to see Christ jubilant in His hour of triumph, in the Palm Sunday scene. He says: "In His rapt expression of wistful abstraction you miss the gracious, smiling character of previous conceptions, and read the sad intensity consistently maintained by Joseph Mayr throughout his reading of the part." But in the old account

¹ Stead's *Passion Play*, page 104.

of the Messiah, sent to Rome by the Consul Lentulus, is it not stated, that "He had often been observed to weep, never to smile"; which exactly tallies with the general tradition of the Church. Nor can we hardly imagine smiles on the face of Him who ever beheld the sins of the world around Him, and especially on the occasion above alluded to, when He knew how soon that "Hosanna" would be turned into "Crucifigatur!" This opening scene is generally admitted to be one of the finest, since it gives us, what Doré and Flandrin have pourtrayed respectively in oils and fresco, the effect of a vast concourse of people, for which the Ober-Ammergau double stage is so exactly suited. Here, slowly advancing from the further stage and the side streets, we see some five hundred persons of every age, singing and waving long palms, till the very air seems green, and ever and anon glancing back. Then, appears in the distance the calm and dignified form of the Christus, riding slowly forward on an ass, led by John, and as the people gather closer around, His hand is raised from side to side in solemn benediction. After the Twelve Apostles have closed up the procession the curtain of the centre theatre falls behind them, and as Christ dismounts and addresses the crowd, it quickly rises again, when we see the busy scene of the Temple, full of priests and scribes, the buyers and sellers. With a calm dignity, Mayr advances, upbraids the profaners of God's house, and with a small scourge of cord expels the men with sheep, overthrows the money-tables and cages, from which latter some white doves fly off to the mountains. Finally after an altercation with the enraged priests, who retire by the side street, the Messiah enters the Temple in triumph, followed by the palm-bearing multitude. From this moment until the conclusion of the play, the patient and reverent face of Joseph Mayr fascinates the entire audience, and through the whole of that eventful Sunday, we seemed to be living in other ages and other climes. The eyes of that five thousand followed his form from scene to scene; now, with the fool's garment cast over him; then, again, in the red mantle of scorn; and, finally, rising from the grave in glittering robes of white,

Around the leading figure of the Christus are naturally grouped, in the early portion of the "Passions-Spiel," the Twelve Apostles, of whom it may be observed, in passing, that whilst Judas is vehement and rather too spasmodic, the others are thoughtful and simple in manner, often wearing a puzzled look, as of those who understand not the mystery of the Passion. The part of the "beloved disciple," however, represented by Peter Rendl, a youth of nineteen, is characterized by a deep and tearful sympathy for his Master, and exhibits a refined nature entirely different to the rest of the fishermen of Galilee.

Of the other performers, the cleverest is the turbulent and energetic Caiaphas, Burgomeister Lang; whilst first among the female actors is undoubtedly the difficult rôle of Mary, played by his daughter. Curious to relate, though it may cause but little surprise to a devout Catholic, the most affecting scene in the whole play is one nevertheless not drawn from Holy Writ—the scene where the heartbroken Mother bids adieu to her Son on the road to Bethany. The Protestant writer, Stead, in his work (page 11), writing of this scene, says: "Let persons gaze upon this sad leave-taking *with dry eyes, if they can;*" and he declares, and truly so, that "the most pathetic character in the play is not Christ, but His Mother." The effect of this scene upon the vast audience on both the occasions it was witnessed by the writer, certainly bore out the truth of what has just been stated. Sighs and groans broke forth on all sides, as that white-veiled and tearful Mother, surrounded by the holy woman, clasped His hand in hers, and with clear but tremulous voice besought that she might die with Him. Then, having thanked her for her "tender love and motherly care during thirty-three years," He handed her gently over to Magdalene and the others. She now piteously asks, where she shall see Him again. The slow and sad answer comes: "There, beloved Mother, where the Scripture shall be fulfilled, 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter, and he opened not His mouth.'" Then, the Messiah leaves, along with His Apostles, who mutter sadly, "What affliction lies before us all;" and the Mater Dolorosa, upheld in the arms of those around, gazes after his retreating

form. The curtain falls, and that vast multitude give way to their pent-up feelings—feelings as holy and ennobling as ever pervaded the human breast!

The next appearance of the Virgin Mother is similar, in its effect on the audience, to the one just described. It occurs in Act xv., when the "Via Dolorosa" is about to be enacted, which it is beyond the power of our feeble words to adequately describe. Coming up the left-hand street, near Pilate's palace, is seen slowly approaching the sad group of holy women, with Mary and John in the centre. Soon distant shouts and cries are heard in the other street, near the house of Annas, and another procession of a very different nature gradually comes on to the front stage, led by the Roman centurion. Christ totters feebly along, followed by the two thieves and a band of soldiers, and as He falls to the ground under the cross, the vast mob of priests and people surge around Him. The Apostle John stops, shudders, listens, and goes forward to see what is occurring. Then he returns to the holy women, now joined by Veronica and the weeping "daughters of Sion," and supports Mary, who now beholds Christ falling for the second time. All this combines to make a scene so overpowering, as not to be easily effaced from the coldest heart.

And now this article must have an ending, and, perhaps, an apology is needed for its length.

Truly, this village of the Passion has been faithful to its noble vocation! Truly, it has brought all, both rich and poor, in this material age to study in the "School of the Passion!" May we not apply to them those words of our Saviour: "I confess to Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones"? (Luke x. 21.)

It was with a real pang we tore ourselves away that bright Tuesday morning in July last, as our carriage took us through the now quiet lanes—for streets they can hardly be called—and with wistful eyes we gazed on the bright gardens and cross-crowned cottages. The village church disappeared as we turned a corner of the road, but the huge

cross, forty feet high, on the summit of the lofty rock Kofel, could be still seen for a long distance. One by one the handsome wayside Calvaries were passed, and the brightly flowing Ammer was left behind, as our car suddenly began the rapid descent to the station at Oberau, and we were once more flung back into that age of hurry and excitement, from which for a time we had escaped.

It may be asked, What is the general feeling of those who have witnessed the "Passions-Spiel" of Ober-Ammergau? It would seem to be this. We thought we had by frequent reading and meditation come to understand the Passion of Christ, but this drama, acted by simple Bavarian peasants, had taught us to *realize* what was only known before, as it were, "in a dark manner."

WILFRID DALLOW.

THE SANCTUARIES OF THE HOLY LAND AND THEIR TRADITIONS.—III.

IN Jerusalem, in the basilica of the Resurrection, it appears that before the close of the thirteenth century the Franciscans had the entire basilica with all its sanctuaries in their hands. The canons of the Holy Sepulchre left the city after it had fallen a second time into the hands of the Moslems; but according to the facts that are known, it appears they returned at regular intervals with the patriarchs (Latin) from Acre, where they took up their residence upon their withdrawal from Jerusalem, until the year 1291. In all likelihood they confided, as far as it was in their power, the charge of the entire basilica to the Franciscans, who appear to have remained behind. It was not until the taking and sacking of the city by the Turks, in 1518, that there is any record of the Eastern Christians who were separated from Romé, pretending to any right in the basilica. From that time the basilica has been more or less divided amongst the different

religious bodies, including the Catholics, with regard to the sanctuaries within its precincts. Up to the present century only the Catholics could celebrate on the tomb of Christ, which is beneath the great dome. At present the Franciscans have their convent, which is attached to the basilica, and in which five or six religious generally reside; then their large chapel, looking into the basilica, and which, according to tradition, marks the spot where Christ appeared to His mother after His resurrection. They have also within the basilica the altar which likewise marks the spot where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen. On Mount Calvary, which is likewise within the precincts of the basilica, they have but one half—that where, according to tradition, Christ was nailed to the cross: the other half is in the possession of the Greeks. The grotto or cave wherein the three crosses were found by St. Helena, is likewise still in the possession of the Franciscans. The large choir which faces the round building under which the Holy Sepulchre stands, formerly formed the choir for the canonry established there under Godfrey of Boulogne. It is now in the hands of the Greeks, and most probably may have been from the departure of the canons, in 1241. It must, however, be remembered that the Greek Christians of Jerusalem remained united to Rome until the Council of Trent (*Vide, Guide Indicat.*, par Frère Lieden, vol. i., page 165, ed. 1887).

Besides these sanctuaries, all the others within the basilica belong either exclusively to the three other Christian sects, viz., orthodox Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, or are considered the common property of all. The Holy Sepulchre itself, since 1808, has become thus common to the Greeks, and is now regarded as belonging to all the religious bodies holding sanctuaries within the precincts of the basilica. Moreover, on certain occasions religious service is performed by the Latins at every sanctuary there. This is, as it were, a vestige of those rights of which in the course of time they have been violently or fraudulently deprived.

Again, within the city, the sanctuary of the "Flagellation" is still in their hands. They had been for years deprived of this shrine, but Ibrahim Pascia, when he took Jerusalem, in

1832, restored the spot to them. On the so-called "Via Dolorosa" they have possession of the fifth station, or the spot which marks, according to tradition, the spot where Simon the Cyrenean was forced to carry the cross of Jesus Christ. This spot has been acquired only since a few years past. Besides the sanctuary on the "Via Dolorosa," all the others, with the exception of the sixth, seventh, ninth, and twelfth, are in the hands of the Franciscans. The third and fourth, however, belong of late to the Armenian Catholics. The sanctuary of the Cænacle or Supper-hall has been lost since 1551.

Of the other sanctuaries in the city—such as the house of Caiphas, which is now a church belonging to the schismatic Armenians; the house of Ananias, also a church belonging to the same religious body; and a few others of secondary interest—with the exception of the doubtful sanctuary lately yielded up to the French Government, and now in the possession of the Missionary priests placed there by Cardinal Lavigerie, probably these were all at one time in the possession of the Franciscans, who have in the course of time been violently driven out. Indeed, up to a few years ago their right to officiate within all these sanctuaries now in the hands of the schismatics was recognized; but the influence of Russia on behalf of the schismatical sects more than counterbalances the ineffectual protests of the French Government for the restitution of the rights of the Catholics of the East, especially in the matter of the sanctuaries. Except in the convent of St. Saviour's, whither the Franciscans retreated after their expulsion from the Convent of Mount Sion at the Cænacle, and that within the basilica on Calvary, as well as a small residence at the sanctuary of the "Flagellation," the Franciscans have other residences within the city. The other sanctuaries therein, and in their hands, are merely open each day for the celebration of Mass, or at the request of pilgrims.

Outside the city, the Garden of Gethsemani is still in their hands, as well as the sanctuary of the "Agony." The "Tomb of the Virgin" has been taken from them since 1757; and, notwithstanding several protests of the

French Government, they have been unable to recover their former possession. Mount Olivet has been a mosque almost from the fourteenth century; but the Franciscans have had from the beginning, and even at the present day, the right to celebrate Mass there on the Feast of the Ascension. Bethphage, or at least where tradition locates the spot where Christ began His memorable ride into Jerusalem, has for more than the second time come again into the hands of the Franciscans, and a chapel is now erected on the site. Bethania, beyond the Mount of Olives, has the sanctuaries where Christ raised Lazarus from the dead, and also where he dwelt with Martha and Mary. Though driven out during the last century from the large church erected over the tomb of Lazarus, still within the past few years they have been enabled to get within the precincts of their former residence, and at present there is a church on part of the ruins of the early basilica. The other sanctuaries in and around Jerusalem are either of no great importance, or are regarded by the Ottoman Government as the common property of the different religious bodies in Jerusalem.

At Bethlehem, from the year 1244, a short while after the city had again fallen into the hands of the Moslem, until the year 1757, the entire basilica, with all its sanctuaries, was in the exclusive possession of the Franciscans. It appears, however, that owing to troubles which befell the Franciscans in the year 1365, that the basilica was seized by the schismatical Armenians and Greeks; but these were afterwards driven out, and the rights of the Latins acknowledged. In 1757, owing to extensive bribery on the part of the schismatics with the Ottoman Court, a firman was issued granting them entire possession of the basilica, with its sanctuaries, as well as that of the two other sanctuaries outside the city, viz., the *Grotta di Latte* and the *Grotta dei Pastori*. In vain did the Franciscans protest, as the aid given by Europe was but very feeble. The result was that the basilica should remain common property; the sanctuary, or rather the altar erected on the spot which tradition marks as where our Saviour was born, was taken possession of by

the Greeks; the other sanctuaries, all of which are beneath the transept of the basilica, were retained by the Franciscans. These sanctuaries are, viz., the spot where the Blessed Virgin received the shepherds, where she laid the Infant Saviour after His birth; the grotto of St. Jerome; the grotto where are enshrined the bodies of many of the "Holy Innocents," together with the places where St. Paula and St. Eustachia are buried, as well as a few other historical cavities under the basilica and adjoining the grotto of the Nativity, are still in their hands. Forced out of the basilica itself, in order to have a church for their exclusive use, where they could administer to the spiritual wants of the Catholics of Bethlehem, they have erected alongside the basilica the large church dedicated to St. Catherine.

Outside Bethlehem they still retain possession of the *Grotta di Latte*, as well as a large garden, in which, according to an ancient tradition, is the cistern, the waters of which David longed for, when his army was encamped near the Cave of Odollam. They have also of late acquired a little ruin which, according to a very ancient tradition, marks the site of a house in which the Holy Family dwelt, probably after the birth of the Infant Saviour. Indeed, this tradition would seem to coincide more with the words of the Evangelist in his account of the reception of the Magi than to represent the Holy Family as still residing in the grotto or cave at the time of their arrival in Bethlehem. The grotto of the Shepherds, though formerly in the hands of the Franciscans, has been in the possession of the schismatic Greeks since 1618, who, in that year, took it by force from its former proprietors. As to the two sanctuaries in the town where the Baptist was born—*ain Karim*—it is difficult to say when they came into the possession of the Franciscans. Dr. Thomson, in his work on the Holy Land, laughs at the idea of the two sanctuaries in *ain Karim*; and his reason is a proof of his ignorance of the most ordinary of Syrian customs even to the present day. The first sanctuary is within the town, and marks the place of the nativity of the Baptist; the other lies beyond the village, and, according to tradition, was the summer residence of the

parents of the Baptist, and in which Elizabeth received Mary, who there uttered that sublime canticle, the *Magnificat*. It is certain that in 1621 both sanctuaries were in the possession of the Franciscans. A chapel has been erected over the second, amidst the ruins of a large church, probably built during the Latin occupation of Jerusalem. Over the birth-place of the Baptist there have been, almost from the moment the Franciscans came into possession of it, a church, a convent, and guest-house for pilgrims. The church has been recently rebuilt.

The Emmaus of the Gospel lies about an hour's distance to the west of Jerusalem. The sanctuary there is the site whereon stood the house of Cleophas. For many centuries only the ruins of the old city were all that remained to recall to the mind of the pilgrims the celebrated miracle recorded in the Gospel. Of late years, almost through a miracle, the entire site has been bought, and, excavations having been carried out under the able direction of several French archeologists, the ruins of the ancient basilica have been brought to light. A convent and chapel have been erected by the Franciscans, aided by the extreme generosity of Mademoiselle de Nicolay, by whose aid the sanctuaries of Palestine have been in many instances entirely restored. A large guest-house for pilgrims has also been erected alongside the convent. At Ramleh, which according to tradition is the Arimathea of the Gospel, the earliest accounts place the Franciscans in possession of the house of Joseph, who obtained from Pilate the body of Christ, and also the house of Nicodemus, about the year 1395. Since then they have been driven out several times from their convent; and after Napoleon, whose apartments in the convent are still shown to travellers, had been driven out of Syria, the Turks, in revenge for the hospitality shown to the invaders, massacred the entire community. There is a guest-house attached to the convent, where pilgrims on their way to the Holy City from Jaffa are hospitably entertained.

The only sanctuary which Jaffa possesses is that which, according to tradition, marks the site of the house of Simon the Tanner. It is doubtful if it were ever in the hands of

the Franciscans. The moment the last of the Crusaders abandoned Jaffa, about the year 1197, the place was turned into a mosque, and it so continues to this day. St. Louis of France took Jaffa in 1252, and, during his brief occupation of the city, built a church for the Franciscans; but the city fell again into the hands of the Moslem in 1267.

The sanctuaries of Nazareth have never been lost sight of, notwithstanding the wars and sieges that again and again have desolated Galilee. Areulf speaks of the two principal sanctuaries as having churches erected over their sites: viz., the place of the Annunciation, and that where the Holy Family dwelt, upon their return from Bethlehem. There is also another sanctuary which, according to an old tradition, marks the place where Christ sat with His disciples many times after His resurrection. It is called the *Mensa Christi*. The Crusaders were driven out of Nazareth in the year 1291, and a short time after the Franciscans entered. They were in possession of the place of the Annunciation in the beginning of the fourteenth century. They also obtained the other two within a short period after their coming, but from all three were many times driven out. They are still in possession of all three, and have a large convent and guest-house near the Church of the Annunciation. Over the other two, chapels have been erected midst the *débris* of the early erections.

On Mount Tabor, as far back as the close of the sixteenth century, the Franciscans were in possession of whatever ruins of former times existed there. As Tabor is but three hours' distance from Nazareth, in all probability, owing to the pilgrimages which were continually being made there, they were more or less, from the moment of their arrival in Nazareth, the guardians of Tabor; but not until the reign of the celebrated Emir Facardin of Lebanon were they declared the real proprietors. Henry Maundrell visited it in 1697, and from his account it is evident there was no regular building on the spot. Only in 1763 did the Franciscans erect a chapel; but since 1858 they have been able to erect a church and a small residence, with a place for the reception of pilgrims.

From the year 1641 they have been in possession of the

ruins of the old church erected over the spot in Cana of Galilee, where, according to tradition, Christ wrought His first miracle. Strange to say, a fierce attempt was made in 1865 by the Protestants in Palestine to obtain possession of the place; but, happily, without result. On the shore of the Sea of Galilee it is only since 1846 that they have obtained exclusive possession of the site where tradition marks the place in which Christ conferred the supremacy of His Church to Peter. They had been even from the thirteenth century in the habit of visiting it once a year. At present there is a chapel, but as yet no regular residence.

In Naim, which is but a few miles to the south of Tabor, from the time of their first coming into Palestine, the Franciscans have had a chapel on the site marked by tradition as that where the miracle of the raising of the widow's son from the dead took place. As, with their possession of all the other sanctuaries, they have been many times driven out, but since 1678 their right has been undisturbed, and within the past few years a residence has been built for the accomodation of one or two religious, as well as for those pilgrims who may visit there.

Such is but a brief account of the history of the principal sanctuaries in Palestine. It would, indeed, have been impossible to give anything like a full account of them, and still more so to enumerate a number of other sanctuaries which are not of the same importance as those enumerated. Besides, it was not intended to give any account of the missionary work done in Palestine and Syria, or a list of the religious establishments throughout the length and breadth of these countries, and which are solely devoted to the religious instruction of the people. Those who would wish a full account of such matters, will be fully satisfied by reading the latest editions of Frère Lieden's *Guide Indicateur de la T. Sanite*. (Imprimerie des Pères Franciscans à Jerusalem, 1887.) An English translation has lately appeared, but, so far, I have not seen a copy of it. Every information required either by the pilgrims or historians is accurately given by the author: and those who would wish to visit Palestine, and at the same time to be fully informed

as to the means of visiting the sanctuaries, and the probable expenses they will incur, will be fully satisfied after a perusal of the above work.

A few words in conclusion. Undoubtedly the historical sketch of the sanctuaries of Palestine, given in these pages, is meagre; yet, perhaps, the same may be said even of the larger works which have been, during the past and present century, published on the same subject. The history of the sanctuaries has yet to be written. The trials and sufferings which the children of St. Francis have been compelled to undergo, age after age—from the moment of their coming in the twelfth century, when they found the sanctuaries of Christianity abandoned by their former guardians, and in many instances desecrated by the fanaticism of the followers of Islam—have yet to be told. That Christianity can still pray within the sanctuaries where it was, so to speak, cradled, is due to their constancy and bravery. Within the past quarter of a century, undoubtedly a new era has more or less dawned upon the Levant. The pride of the Moslem is broken, Christianity is free even beneath the Crescent: but other difficulties have arisen—difficulties arising from the political jealousies of Christian Powers, as well as from the misguided zeal of many who of late years have endeavoured to oust the Franciscans from those very spots where their blood, shed century after century, has been the price paid for that possession which they, in the name of the Christian world, still hold and guard. Whether they will be able, in the future, to cope with these difficulties, remains to be seen. If they fail, Catholicity will once more see its most sacred shrines the prey of Moslem and schismatic. Indeed, the possession of the sanctuaries of Palestine is a question in which every Catholic should feel an intensely deep interest; and as a memorial of that feeling, the old custom of a collection on Good Friday, in each Church throughout the Christian world on behalf of the sanctuaries, has been again established by His Holiness Leo XIII. It could indeed be desired that the expenses incurred should in many instances be diminished, but the circumstances of the country, together with many other

causes, in a great measure, if not totally beyond the control of the guardians of the sanctuaries, prevent such a desirable end. Questions, however, of this nature, hardly enter into a sketch of the sanctuaries. That the great majority of them is still in Christian—in Catholic hands—is indeed a consoling thought, and a comfort beyond expression to the Catholic pilgrims to find that those hallowed shrines which his lips in childhood have learned to pronounce with feelings of love, are still hallowed by the sacred rights of his religion. That they may ever remain so is the hope of Christendom: and that the children of St. Francis, faithful in the future as in the past, to the crusade which he, their founder, confided to them—viz., that of guarding the hallowed shrines of Christendom—may as the years roll on win back the few sanctuaries which either Turkish greed or Greek and Armenian fanaticism has unjustly despoiled them of, is likewise the prayer of every true Catholic, who, acquainted with the story of their sufferings and privations, their courage and constancy in the past, cannot but wish that now when an era of peace has at length dawned for the Christians in these countries, and in the future, they may enjoy the fruit of their labours.

J. L. LYNCH, O.S.F.

THE DIOCESE OF DUBLIN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—VIII.

THE OLD CHAPELS.

SS. MICHAEL AND JOHN.—That particular section of the Penal Laws entitled, “The Act for Registering the Popish Clergy,” came into force in July, 1704, and in that year we find Dean Russell registered as Pastor of St. Michael’s, living in Cook-street [“at Mr. Geoghegan’s,” *List* 1697]; aged 45, ordained in Paris in 1682, and having for sureties Oliver Weston, of Michael’s-lane, Gent., £50, and Redmond Donogher, of Ballytemple in Co. Longford, Gent., £50. Of the curates mentioned in a previous paper, Bryan Murry is the only one

I can trace as still ministering in St. Michael's. To satisfy the requirement of the law, which allowed only one priest to each (civil) parish, he registered himself as Pastor of Drumcondra, but continued to live in Cook-street, where his mission lay. Rivers and Luttrell had been moved apparently to St. James's and St. Michan's, as their residences are given in James's-street and Queen-street respectively. Ryan and Magennis do not appear at all on this list, and must either have died in the interim or been expatriated. No doubt their places were taken by some of the numerous priests who are registered as dwelling in Cook-street, but the indication of residence alone will not enable me to determine who served in St. Michael's, and who in the adjoining parish of St. Audoen. We may probably be safe in assigning to St. Michael's, Patrick Hughes, Patrick Carey, and Richard Murphy.

Throughout all Ireland 1080 priests were registered in conformity with this Act. The object of this registration manifestly was to ascertain the signatures and places of abode of the Catholic clergy, that they might the better prevent their evading the rigours of subsequent statutes—a fact which came into painful prominence when the Oath of Abjuration was proposed in 1709. "In the eyes of the law," writes Mr. Lecky, "the priest who, without having taken the abjuration oath, celebrated the worship which he believed to be essential to his salvation; the schoolmaster who, discharging a duty of the first utility, taught his children the rudiments of knowledge, were all felons, for whose apprehension a reward was offered, and who only remained in the country by connivance or concealment." This will go far to account for the utter absence of all ecclesiastical documents referring to this terrible period of our history. With the exception of the act recorded of the Franciscans, daring to hold a Chapter of their Order in Dublin, in that particularly awful year 1703, and this official registration of 1704, not a line, nor an incident about our Church or our clergy reaches us until 1705, when from abroad we learn of the death of Archbishop Creagh, and thence also, in 1707, of the Brief, appointing Dr. Edmund Byrne his successor.

The extreme cruelty of the enactments of the Penal Laws alienated the minds of the magistrates and inferior Protestant gentry from a stern and rigid enforcement of them. Hence there were pauses between times, amounting to a tacit connivance, and the Holy See, thinking to discern such a pause early in 1707, and encouraged, moreover, by a change of administration, ventured to provide pastors for a few of the derelict sees of Ireland. A letter from Cologne, dated June 26th, 1707, speaks of the expedition of four briefs. These were undoubtedly for Edmund Byrne to be Archbishop of Dublin, Hugh Macmahon to be Bishop of Clogher, Ambrose MacDermott to be Bishop of Elphin, and Thaddeus Francis O'Rourke to be Bishop of Killala. All four briefs bear the same date—March 15th, 1707. Three of these prelates lived abroad, and could easily get consecrated on the continent; but the Archbishop-elect of Dublin lived in Francis-street, where he was parish priest; and how was he to get episcopal consecration? At the time there were but *two bishops* in all Ireland, namely, Archbishop Comerford of Cashel, seriously infirm, and hunted from place to place like a deer, and Patrick Donnelly, Bishop of Dromore, a prisoner in Newgate, Dublin, on a charge of high treason.¹ On the 20th of March, in that same year, the Propaganda charitably “granted 100 scudi for relief of Bishop O'Donnelly, who was in prison in Dublin on a charge of high treason, and who was in danger of exile or death.”¹ Who, then, was to be the consecrating prelate? Here we have an interesting question. It was supremely dangerous for a bishop to enter into Ireland, and just as difficult to get in the brief of appointment. The following stratagem would seem to have been resorted to—at least I tender it as one solution of the difficulty. Dr. O'Rourke, appointed to Killala, was at the time of the appointment chaplain to Prince Eugene (then in alliance with England), and much esteemed by him. “The Prince on taking leave of him, presented him with a gold cross and ring, set in

¹ The date of death of Dr. Dempsey, Bishop of Kildare, is quite uncertain. He would appear to have been living in 1704. (See Dr. Comerford's *Collect.*, vol. ii., p. 96.)

² See Brady, vol. ii., p. 178.

diamonds, which are now in the author's possession [Rev. Charles O'Connor], and introduced him to the Emperor Leopold, who recommended him warmly to Queen Anne, by private letters, and to all his allies, by a passport written on parchment, signed by Leopold himself, and sealed with the great seal of the Empire, which is also in the author's possession."¹ This Imperial passport procured him an audience and letters from the Queen, and thus he was enabled to visit Dublin, not, however, as a consecrated bishop, but as a simple priest. But once in Dublin his papers procured him ready access to the imprisoned confessor of Dromore, and on the 24th of August, 1707, Dr. O'Rourke was consecrated Bishop of Killala, in Bishop Donnelly's cell in Newgate, "*assistentibus* Edmund Byrne, Archbishop-elect of Dublin, and the Very Rev. Fergus O'Ferrall, Archdeacon of Ardagh."² What a strange event! We read of martyrs in the early ages baptising their jailers, and of Popes in the catacombs ordaining priests and bishops, but I doubt if there is another instance on record of a bishop receiving episcopal consecration from the hands of an imprisoned bishop, and in his prison cell. Yet it was amidst such surroundings, and in such strange circumstances, that the episcopal unction was poured out upon the afflicted Church of Ireland, in the commencement of *only the last century*. It may be asked, how could such a solemn ceremonial be carried out within a prison, and escape detection? But anyone that has read Mr. Gilbert's vivid description of Newgate and the "Black Dog," where bribery and utter absence of discipline reigned supreme,³ need not be astounded when he reads of a bishop being consecrated within their precincts. Moreover, De Burgo, in his short biographical notice of Father Dominic Mac-Egan (*Hib. Dom.*, p. 587), who was a prisoner in the same jail of Newgate from 1700 until his death, in 1713, tells us, that he daily celebrated Mass in the prison, and with such impunity, that when a sudden enforcement of the extreme penal laws closed up the chapels through the city, many of the faithful, as he had

¹ *Memoirs of Charles O'Connor.*

² See Brady, vol. ii., p. 178.

³ Gilbert's *Dublin*, vol. i., p. 265.

it from some of themselves, assisted at Father Mac-Egan's Mass in the prison, and thus were enabled to fulfil their obligation. When Mass, therefore, could be said thus publicly by a prisoner within the precincts of a jail, and at a time when it was proscribed outside, the ceremony of episcopal consecration, stripped of all unessential pomp, could not have presented any insuperable difficulty. Besides there was no other place in which Dr. O'Rourke could have been consecrated, for Bishop Donnelly remained a prisoner until his death, in 1716, and it is not likely that the authorities would set him free, even for a day, in order that he might add another to the number of illegal Popish Bishops.

Lastly we have the contemporary evidence of that notorious quack, prophet, cobbler, almanack-maker, fanatic, and no-Popery firebrand, known as Dr. John Whalley, of Patrick-street. In a memorial to Parliament, got up by him for the enactment of still severer penal laws (some to be of a very peculiar character), and published as a Supplement to *Whalley's News-Letter*, amongst other reasons, he adduces, that many Popish priests who cannot conveniently conceal themselves, by reason of their being too well known, "chuse to abide imprisonment, where by interest of their goalers, they easily obtain leave to teach as schoolmasters, and have their daily masses, and thereby all *desired opportunity of ordaining others*, and otherwise propagating and perpetuating their dangerous idolatry."¹

Dr. O'Rourke once consecrated, Archbishop Byrne was in a position to receive Episcopal consecration at his hands, which we may presume was conferred as secretly as possible in the old chapel house in Francis-street, unless, indeed, he might have preferred to repeat the ceremony in Newgate, about which interesting fact, however, we have no definite information. The Pallium was not postulated for, as that ceremony, involving a public consistory would have disclosed his appointment to the Government; but he got a dispensation, enabling him to perform Episcopal functions without the Pallium.

¹ See Dr. Madden's *Irish Periodical Literature*, vol. i., p. 241.

The new Archbishop had a troubled reign before him; none so troubled since that of Archbishop Matthews. However he entered on his work bravely. His first care was to appoint Dr. Edward Murphy, P.P., St. Audoen's, his Vicar-General, as we learn from a document in Vol. III. of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* (p. 138), and his next care was to make due provision for the spiritual requirements of the largely increased and increasing population of the city.

The population of Dublin—at no time previous to 1700, of any extent comparable to that to which it has since grown—had commenced to increase steadily and continuously from the time of the Restoration. A sense of security from the invasions of the Clans, now broken and crushed beyond the possibility of recovery, tempted enterprising citizens to build dwelling-houses outside the walls, and thus, what had been hitherto uninhabited suburbs, rapidly became new centres of population. On the south side of the river the tendency was eastward from the city, and within a period of twenty years from the accession of Charles II., Dame-street—hitherto numbering but a few houses on the south side, as far as George's-lane (now South Great George's-street)—was completely built upon. The new residences on the north side had handsome gardens, sloping down to the river's edge, and were inhabited mostly by the gentry and wealthier classes. The Green of Hogges, now known as College-green, similarly lost its appearance of a pasturage, and was quickly flanked on either side by a row of stately houses; whilst that portion of the Steyne lying between the north wall of the College and the river, formerly the site of the Lepers Hospital or Lazzaretto (hence called Lazer's hill), was covered by a line of dwellings facing the river, and extending right away to the "town's-end," which formed one extremity of the horse-shoe-shaped shore, of which "ring's-end," was the other extremity, a formation which may still be traced in the curved line of Sandwith-street. Grafton-street, and Dawson-street had just been called into existence, though even so late as 1708 a portion of the former was set as wheat-land, at 2s. 6d. an acre. The State authorities had already authorised a dismemberment of the recently resuscitated parish of St.

Andrew, and divided it into St. Andrew's, St. Mark's, and St. Anne's. The Catholic Archbishop, with a view to provide adequate spiritual succour for "the hewers of wood and drawers of water" that were certain to abound in this new quarter, divided the parish of St. Michael (which hitherto, as we have seen, had extended to the Dodder) into two parishes. Drawing a line down Aungier-street, South Great George's-street and Eustace-street, to the river, he erected all that lay east of that line into the new Catholic parish of St. Andrew, and appointed the Rev. Patrick Doyle to be its first pastor. As an account of St. Andrew's will require a special paper, I will leave it for the present, and continue the history of the now dimidiated parish of St. Michael.

The apparent lull in the persecution that made possible the introduction of a new archbishop, tempted also many of the regulars to return to the field of their labours. Father Stephen M'Egan, O.P., afterwards Bishop of Meath, stole back to Dublin in 1708, and attaching himself as curate to St. James's, quietly watched events and bided his time until he could safely recall his brethren. But soon the Government took alarm, and finding the irrepressible Papists still increasing and multiplying, a further enactment was passed in 1709, obliging all priests, even those who were registered in 1704, to take the oath of abjuration. This oath not merely abjured allegiance to the Pretender, but also allegiance to the Catholic doctrines of Transubstantiation, devotion to the Mother of God, &c. Any priest that had not taken this oath on or before the 25th of March, 1710, and that, after such neglect or refusal, had attempted to say Mass or discharge any other ecclesiastical function, would be subject to the same penalties as if he were a convicted Regular; *i.e.*, he would be liable to exile in the first instance, and if he returned, to death. Out of one thousand and eighty registered priests throughout all Ireland, but thirty were found to bend before the tempest and take this renegade's oath. In bundle 73, No. 445 of "Reports on Religion," preserved in the Irish Record Office, we have a faint insight into the consciences of nine of these unhappy jurors. This paper is headed: "A Dialogue between nine jurors and Father James Dillon at

Mrs. White's house before they entered the Court to take the oath of Abjuration." Mrs. White's house was situated in Rosemary-lane, and would seem to have been a favourite hostelry for the clergy all through the first half of the last century, for, in the population returns, compiled in 1766, we find "fifty Papists," returned as residing at Mrs. White's, out of a total Catholic population in Rosemary-lane of "one hundred and twenty-eight Papists." Father James Dillon was in all probability a curate in St. Michael's at this time. Some years later we meet him as Precentor of St. Patrick's, V.G. and P.P. Garristown. The dialogue takes the form of verse, but of the poorest doggerel, not deserving of record. Father Dillon was the champion of orthodoxy, and in each alternate verse strongly urges cogent reasons for refusing the oath, whilst the nine waverers as strongly put forward lame excuses and mental reservations. They assumed strange names together with their proper names alongside in brackets; thus, Solomon (Father James Dalton), Goderlechum (Father Kelly), Saul (Father Ferril), Absolom (Father Michael Dillon), Crafford (Hugh M'Donough), Cattle Drover (William Cullen), as *in praesenti* (Thomas Dillon), Bladerbuss (Father John Pierce); Fury and Coughlan came in after. None of them belonged to the diocese of Dublin, but from later records we have reason to hope that they repented of their sin. With regard to the censure incurred by those who took this oath we have recorded in the old Chapter Book in Dean Byrne's handwriting:—

"Ye following is an answer sent from Rome to Dr. Byrne upon ye Quaere what censure did they incur who took ye oath of abjuration:

Clarissime Dne.

"Notum tibi facio omnes Nostrales qui praestiterunt juramentum incurrisse excommunicationem reservatam in Bulla Coenae utpote tanquam Defensores Haereticorum, a qua non possunt absolvi nisi a Summo Pontifice, vel ab alio qui specialem ad hoc habet auctoritatem: ita declaratum fuit in Curia Romana in mense Maii proxime elapso; doleo miserabilem illorem statum; Deus Optimus Maximus det ipsis gratiam vere poenitendi, nobis vero gratiam perseverandi, vale sicut optat tuus ignotus amicus, etc. "C.D.

"In loco nostri refugii 19 Octobris, MDCCX."

We have no way of knowing who this *ignotus amicus* was, but may presume that he was one of the Irish prelates who communicated the result of his own inquiry to the Archbishop of Dublin.

What became of our clergy under the lash of this new enactment must remain a matter of conjecture. By it the secular clergy were honoured with the same attentions of persecution as the regulars had been up to this. Henceforward no distinction was known between them. We may presume, therefore, that for a while, at all events, they lay quietly concealed, closed up their chapels, and observed all the mystery and secrecy imposed by their now desperate situation. The archbishop, it would seem, prudently withdrew to his relatives in the present parish of Borris, diocese of Leighlin. Dr. Comerford, in his valuable Collections, tells us of a slab let into the wall of the old parochial chapel of Killtennil, having armorial bearings on it with the motto, "*In Domino Confido*," and underneath the inscription: "Captain Edmund Byrne erected this chapel, and Dr Edmund Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin consecrated the same, 1709." (Vol. iii. p. 163.) A letter from the Vice-Provincial of Discalced Carmelites, dated September, 14th, 1709, says "the regular clergy are dying in the prisons, some after nine, some after seven years' imprisonment, and pious women, accused of bringing about the conversion of Protestants, share the lot of the clergy." A year later Father Ambrose O'Connor, ex-provincial of the Dominicans, writes from London to Propaganda, June 8th: 1710, "*Res hibernicae in dies pejores fiunt. A 28 Martii fidelis populus Dublinensis Missam audire nequit. Decem Ecclesiastici ibidem capti et incarcerati sunt.*" Sometimes at Mass a curtain was drawn between the priest and the worshippers to prevent the latter being able to identify the celebrant. All priests were at the mercy of the Government, their names and addresses being known from the registration; and, although the last Tory ministry of Aune was accused of being favourable to them, in 1711 a proclamation was issued for the rigid execution of the laws against Papists. These laws produced an unholy breed of scoundrels known as priest-hunters. They flourished plenti-

fully at this period. One more wicked than the rest, named Edward Tyrrell, and pronounced by the Chancellor to be "a great rogue," now appears frequently in Government correspondence. In an examination held in presence of the Lords Justices and Council he deposes that "he saw Primate M'Mahon¹ in Flanders, and is now in this kingdom, and knows he resides at Cullogh-Duffe M'Mahon's, near Carrickmacrosse, in the County Monaghan, and saith that he comes to Luske, in the County of Dublin, to ordain clergymen of the popish religion. Saith that John Taffe of Atherdee was present when Primate M'Mahon ordained priests at Patrick Marky's house at Glaspistol, in the County Louth, in the month of May last, when he ordained four priests. Saith that the names of the persons so ordained are Patrick Marky, son of the aforesaid Patrick; John Fleming, who lives near Atherdee; one Patrick Lawler, near Dunleer; and one Bellew, of the same county. That Dr. Verdon, Titular Bishop of Ferns was present, and assisted at the said ordination." He furthermore stated that he had informed Captain Bellingham of this ordination, that he might have the delinquents apprehended, "whereupon Captain Bellingham said he was an old man and infirm with the gout and was unfit for business, and therefore advised the informant to goe to Dublin and apply himself to the Government." Clearly, Bellingham, like many of his Protestant brethren on the magisterial bench did not approve of these atrocious laws, and was glad to have any excuse to rid himself of their enforcement. Tyrrell could not get any clue to the whereabouts of Archbishop Byrne, but he got what he considered the next best thing, for at the close of the examination he adds that "he believes Edmund Byrne, then Titular Archbishop of Dublin's papers are kept in the house of one Byrne, a cooper in Francis-street." (State Papers, Presentments, Affidavits, &c., I.R.O.)

This ruffian's career was befittingly terminated in the year following, for a paragraph in *The Dublin Intelligencer* of May 23rd, 1713, announces "that this day Terrel the famous

¹ Dr. M'Mahon was not Primate at this time, but Bishop of Clogher. However, he may have had the administration of Armagh, *sede vacante*, and thus been mistaken by Tyrrell for Primate.

priest-catcher, who was condemned this term for having several wives, was executed."

The terrible straits to which ecclesiastical government was reduced in this ferocious period, are, perhaps, best understood from a perusal of the regulations drawn up for the Diocese by Dr. Byrne, and published in the third volume of the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, p. 128. The first of these forbids any priest to presume *contra leges patriae* to celebrate any sacred function in any public chapel where formerly the Holy Sacrifice had been usually offered, without the consent of the city clergy, to whose supervision he appears to completely hand over the administration of the city, at least, being unable to reside there safely or permanently. The year 1714, when George I. ascended the throne, and the year 1715, when rebellion was raging in Scotland, were naturally troubled years for the Catholics, and in the former year a proclamation was issued for putting the laws strictly in force; and though in most cases the priests succeeded in evading the vigilance of the magistrates, the laws were far from being dead letters. Father James Eustace, of Ballymore-Eustace, had been lying for several months in prison, awaiting the order for his transportation. Father McTee, or Tye, parish priest of Blessington, had been convicted of saying Mass, and sentenced to transportation. The warrant for the execution of the sentence had come down, but for want of shipping in the port of Wicklow, it was still unexecuted; but he was kept in close confinement.

The High Sheriff gives an animated description of his efforts to suppress the devotions of the Papists at the shrine of St. Kevin in Glendalough. A *posse comitatus* was raised, and, meeting at the Seven Churches on the morning of the 3rd of June, the Feast Day, dispersed the "rioters, pulled down the tents, demolished the crosses, filled up the wells, and apprehended and committed one Toole, a Popish school-master."

Notwithstanding the ferocity of the persecution, Dr. Byrne found an opportunity of consecrating a bishop for Kildare (in succession to Dr. Dempsey, who was some years dead) in the person of Dr. Edward Murphy, P.P. of St. Audoens, and

Vicar-General of Dublin. The Archbishop had recommended Dr. Murphy to Propaganda, and he was consecrated on the 18th of December, 1715, by Dr. Byrne, assisted by Patrick Goulding, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Simon Murphy, Treasurer of St. Patrick's. Archdeacon Goulding had just been summoned from Spain to fill the post of Vicar-General, vacated by Dr. Murphy's promotion; while Simon Murphy succeeded him as P.P. of St. Audoen's.

For a couple of years the laws were not so strictly enforced by the magistrates, and a breathing moment was accorded to the poor Papists of Dublin. But it was of short duration. When the work of the priest-hunter was declared by the Legislature "an honourable service," blood-hounds would not be wanting to merit the reward implied in this encomium. Since the flight of King James, there were no nuns in the Diocese of Dublin. Some of the Poor Clares of Galway, who were living scattered amongst their families, petitioned the Archbishop to receive them into the archdiocese. His Grace readily complied, and they were established, first in Channel-row, afterwards, through the bounty of the widowed Duchess of Tyrconnell, in a house in King-street. Soon after Father MacEgan did a similar service, with equal success, for the Dominican Nuns of Galway, and they commenced their career in Dublin in a small house in Fisher's-lane, to be exchanged in a few months for a better one in Channel-row—now North Brunswick-street. These were the first and only communities of nuns in Dublin in the early part of the last century.¹ Their establishment in Dublin, however, was near costing the Archbishop a brief termination to his episcopacy, for a Polish Jew, named Garcia, who in the disguise of a priest was successfully

¹ A monstrance in possession of the Carmelite Nuns, Ranelagh, bears an inscription stating that it was presented to the Carmelite Nuns of Dublin, "A.D. 1661." This seems hardly credible—an establishment of nuns so soon after Cromwell. It may be that the original Dublin community of Carmelites lay hid in some part of the country, still retaining their title of Dublin Carmelites; returning to Dublin about the second quarter of the last century to the house on Arran-quay, at the corner of Lincoln-lane, where they remained until the beginning of the present century, when they bought up what was known as the Ranelagh Gardens, and converted the Ranelagh Hotel into their present convent.

pursuing the rôle of a priest-hunter, denounced the Archbishop to the Government, and his Grace, together with five regulars, three secular priests, and the nuns, were apprehended and thrown into prison; but most of them (including all the nuns) were subsequently liberated on giving security to appear when called on. "The fear, however, prevails that there is an order for further arrests, and for this reason the Archbishop had brought to an abrupt conclusion some diocesan visitations in which he was engaged." Thus writes the Nuncio at Brussels to the Secretary of the Propaganda. This was the last scare to which the Archbishop was subjected, and profiting by the comparative tranquillity which ensued, he now figured in the capacity of a public controversialist. Dr. Clinch, his agent in Rome for a special purpose, thus describes his labours in this field:—"*Cum Curia Parliamenti fecisset edictum quo cautum erat Praelatis et Doctoribus Catholicis et Protestantibus per spatium duorum mensium circiter congregari ad proponendas undequaque difficultates super materiis ad fidem pertinentibus, laudatus archiepiscopus solus inter Praelatos intervenerit praefatis collationibus contra haereticæ pravitatis defensores, inibique tanto zelo tantaque sagacitate et eloquentia, quam supra hominem pene dixerim, dogmata nostræ religionis in Collegio publico Dublinensi propugnare ut plurimi veritatis radius illuminati excusso haeresis jugo in gremium Ecclesiae portum salutis quaesiverunt. Nec omittendum hic videtur quod ferventibus hinc inde disputationum fluctibus, Antistes ille noster librum a quodam Achille Doctore Protestante compositum per alium librum ita refellerit, ut suum ipse librum suppressere rogatus sit adeo pseudo dogmata haeretica debellabat.*"¹

To these high commendations he adds that, when it was proposed that all should take the oath *de non cognoscendo Jacobo III. tanquam Rege legitimo*, he opposed its being taken, and published a book in defence of his view, which had the effect of deterring many from taking this oath. Lastly, he recounts how he was the first among the Irish bishops to subscribe to the Bull "*Unigenitus*," and had it subscribed to

¹ Manuscript bound up with *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, in Trinity College Library.

by all his clergy. In his closing years, Dr. Byrne met with great trouble from one of his clergy, of which, however, I purpose to say something when dealing with the Parish of St. Catherine.

To Dr. Goulding, who died after a few years, Dr. Felix Cavanagh, brought from Paris, succeeded as Vicar-General, and he, dying after one year, was succeeded by Dr. John Clinch, the Archbishop's agent referred to, and whom we shall meet again. Archbishop Byrne died on the 22nd of January, 1723-4. The place of his burial I have not yet been able to discover, but in all probability it was in St. James's.¹

All this time I have been saying very little of St. Michael's Chapel in Skipper's-lane, or of its Pastor, Dean Russell. But of parochial records for this period there are none. However, with the death of Dr. Byrne, we meet the first records of the Metropolitan Chapter, commencing with rather interesting incidents, in which the Dean naturally had to take an active part. These, however, must wait for the next paper.

✠ N. DONNELLY.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE CONFRATERNITY AND SCAPULAR OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

The Scapular of the Most Holy Trinity is the badge of the Confraternity, and admission into the latter consists in the valid reception of the former. The Scapular and Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity, like the Scapular and Confraternity of our Lady of Mount Carmel, are intended to

¹ Three decades of Rosary Beads preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, are the only surviving relics of Archbishop Byrne. They were handed down amongst some of his relatives living in the Parish of Blackditches; from them they passed first to Eugene O'Curry, then to Father M. Molony, the late respected Pastor of Barndarrig, who deposited them in the Royal Irish Academy.

extend to persons in the world some of the spiritual advantages attaching to membership of a religious order. Like the brown scapular which is a substitute for the large scapular worn by the Carmelites, the white scapular of the Most Holy Trinity is a substitute for the habit of the Trinitarians.

The institution of the Trinitarian Order, as well as the colour and general design of their habit, was miraculous. The founders of the Order were St. John of Matha, and St. Felix of Valois, to whom may be joined Pope Innocent III. John of Matha was born in Provence, about the year 1160, and having completed his studies with great distinction at the University of Paris, was ordained priest in the year 1193. So high an opinion was even then entertained of his sanctity that it was considered a privilege to be permitted to assist at his first Mass. The Bishop of Paris, Maurice de Sully, requested him to celebrate his first Mass in his private chapel, and he himself with the Rector of the University and several of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of the city were present. At the moment when the priest elevated the sacred Host, an angel in the form of a young man appeared over the altar, and was seen by all those who were in the chapel. He wore a white robe, having a red and blue cross on the breast; his arms were crossed, and his hands rested on two captives, the one a Christian, the other a Moor.

The bishop and the other ecclesiastics who were witnesses of this miracle discussed it long and anxiously, but were unable to arrive at any satisfactory explanation of its meaning. At length it was determined that the young priest himself, furnished with an authentic account of the miraculous occurrence, should proceed to Rome and consult the Holy Father. At first John consented, but his humility overcame his resolution, and instead of going to Rome, he hid himself in a forest in the diocese of Meaux. Here he met a hermit named Felix of Valois, in whose holy society he spent more than three years.

One day as the two saints were sitting together talking as was their wont on some spiritual subject, they saw a white stag of unusual proportions coming towards them, and

having between its antlers a red and blue cross. This sight recalled to John's mind the vision of the angel, which he then for the first time narrated to his companion. Both of them gave themselves to fervent prayer, and after some days, as if moved by a common impulse or inspiration, they determined to go to Rome. They reached the Holy City in the year 1198, just after Innocent III. had ascended the Papal throne, and to him they explained the object of their pilgrimage. The Pope received them kindly, gave them an attentive hearing, and carefully examined the documents with which they had been furnished by the Bishop of Paris and others. He also consulted the Cardinals, ordered a fast and special prayers in his household, and prepared himself with extraordinary fervour to celebrate Mass on the following day. At the elevation, the vision of the angel appeared to him precisely at it had already done to John of Matha. He was dressed in a white robe, a cross of red and blue was on his breast, and his hands, crossed in front of him, rested on two captives. The holy Pontiff immediately understood that the two strangers were commissioned by God to found an Order for the redemption of Christian captives from the Moors. He at once gave his approval, clothed them himself with a habit similar to that worn by the angel, and seeing in the three colours composing it an image of the Blessed Trinity, he conferred on it the title of the "Order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives."

In course of time the Religious of this Order obtained permission to establish Confraternities, that as many as wished might be permitted to share in the merits and good works of the brothers, and in the graces plentifully poured down on their noble undertaking. The habit worn by the Religious was, of course, unsuitable for the use of others, yet its miraculous origin rendered it desirable that the members of the Confraternity should not be deprived of the protection which it afforded to those who were clothed with it. Hence the small scapular, which should be of *white woollen cloth*, having on each part a cross also of woollen material, the vertical or upright limb of which should be red, the transverse blue.

HOW TO ESTABLISH THIS CONFRATERNITY.

The Confraternity of the Most Holy Trinity can be established in missionary countries without having recourse to the Superior-General of the Trinitarians; in other countries, however, his permission is requisite.

A priest wishing to establish a Confraternity of this title will communicate with his bishop, from whom, in a missionary country, he will receive all the necessary faculties for inscribing names, blessing scapulars, &c., with a copy of the rules and religious exercises which the bishop recommends to the members. In countries not under the care of the Propaganda, a copy of the bishop's license for establishing the Confraternity must be forwarded to the Superior-General of the Trinitarians, who will transmit the faculties required to the priest. These faculties must in turn be submitted to the bishop for his inspection and authentication.

The priest having completed these preliminaries, and being furnished with all the powers needed, sets about establishing the Confraternity in the usual way. Vested in surplice and white stole he blesses the scapular, and imposes it on those desirous of becoming members. If a large number are to be received at the same time he may use the plural form, but he must put the blessed scapular round the neck of each one. While putting on the scapular he may either repeat at each imposition the formula, *Accipe habitum*, or, having put on the scapular on each one without saying anything, he may then repeat the formula in the plural, *Accipite habitum*.

All having received the scapular, the priest enters their names in a Register. Should he be prevented from writing the names himself, he may appoint others to do it in his place, but he should afterwards authenticate each page by writing his initials at the bottom.

The white scapular, or scapular of the Most Holy Trinity, cannot be renewed in the same manner as other scapulars. When any of the other scapulars are worn out, a new one may be assumed without any blessing or other ceremony; but each time the white scapular is renewed, the

new one must be blessed by a priest having the necessary faculties.¹ This scapular loses its indulgences when the cross is defaced or removed; consequently, when this happens a new scapular duly blessed should be procured.²

CONDITIONS FOR GAINING THE INDULGENCES OF THIS CONFRATERNITY.

For gaining the Plenary Indulgences attached to wearing the scapular of the Most Holy Trinity, confession and communion are, of course, required; and, in addition, it is necessary to visit either a church of the Trinitarian Fathers, or a Confraternity chapel, and there pray for some time for the Pope's intentions.

In places, however, where there is neither a Trinitarian church, nor a Confraternity chapel, it is sufficient to visit the parish church, and to say there the necessary prayers.³ Religious, students, and others living in communities fulfil this condition by visiting their own chapel.⁴ And all wearers of the scapular legitimately impeded from visiting any church or chapel gain the indulgences without the fulfilment of this condition.⁵ It would be advisable, however, that they should get the visit commuted into some work which they are able to perform.

THE CONFRATERNITY OF THE SEVEN DOLOURS.

The Confraternity of the Seven Dolours, or of our Lady of the Seven Dolours, as the French style it, is the offspring of the religious order called the Servites of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This Order was founded in the year 1233 by seven noblemen of Florence, devout clients of our Blessed Lady. Before they received the call from their heavenly Patroness to found an Order in her honour, they were already members of one of the pious Confraternities for promoting devotion to her. On the Feast of the Assumption, 1233, they met in the church of their Confraternity to sing the praises

¹ *Trésor Spirituel*, page 109. Paris, 1863. *Les Indulgences leur nature et leur usage*, tom. ii., page 91. Paris, 1890.

² *Ibid.*

³ Gregory XVI., April 5th, 1843.

⁴ Pius IX., February 15th, 1848.

⁵ Clement XIII., August 2nd, 1760.

of the Blessed Virgin, and celebrate her triumphs. As they knelt before her altar they felt their souls moved with more than usual fervour, and experienced a holy joy resembling the joy of the blessed. To complete their ecstasy, the Blessed Virgin herself appeared to them, told them to quit the world for her sake, and to embrace a more perfect state of life. These holy men lost no time in obeying the command of their more than Mother. Having consulted the Bishop of Florence, the blessed Ardingho, they sold their property, distributed the proceeds to the poor, and, clad in coarse garments, took up their abode in a deserted cabin outside the city walls. Whenever they were seen in the city they were saluted by the people as the servants of Mary. "Behold the servants of Mary! behold the servants of Mary!" resounded on all sides of them as they passed along the streets, and even infants at the breast are said to have taken up the cry.

The fame of their sanctity and of the sacrifices they had made soon rendered it inconvenient for them to reside in such close proximity to the city. They determined, therefore, to remove to some distant retreat, and having communicated their design to the Bishop, he gave them, with the consent of the Chapter, a portion of church land situated far up among the heights of Mount Senar. In this seclusion they remained until 1239, steadily refusing the entreaties of their friend, the Bishop, that they should found an Order. In this year, however, the Papal Legate, Geoffrey de Chatillon, supported with his authority the request of the Bishop, and while the holy hermits were deliberating on what course to pursue, the Blessed Virgin, we are told, again appeared to them, commanded them to found an Order, and showed them a black habit, which she told them to wear in memory of her Son's Passion.

The Order was at once founded; six of the seven founders were ordained priests in 1241, and in 1248 the Order received the approval of the Holy See. The chief objects of their devotion were the Passion of Jesus Christ, and the Dolours of His Blessed Mother.

The Confraternity was established in 1667, by Alexander VII., at the request of Anne of Austria, Queen of France,

and mother of Louis XIV. Two years previously she and all the ladies of her court had received the scapular of the Seven Dolours—a miniature of the habit given by the Blessed Virgin to the founders of the Order, and invented like the other scapulars for the purpose of investing lay persons with a habit blessed by the hand of the Mother of God. The devout Queen Anne in her letter recommending the Confraternity to her courtiers, asked them to nominate one hundred ladies, who, with herself, should serve the Blessed Virgin in the quality, and under the title of *Ladies of her Great Sorrow*.

HOW TO ESTABLISH A CONFRATERNITY OF THE SEVEN DOLOURS.

To establish a Confraternity of the Seven Dolours, the customary rules must be followed. The written permission of the bishop must first be obtained. If the bishop has the required faculties, he will empower the priest to establish the Confraternity without reference to the General of the Servites. But in non-missionary countries the license of the latter must also be obtained.

The scapular, which should be of *black woollen cloth*, is blessed and conferred in the usual way. As in blessing and conferring the other scapulars, so with regard to this also, the formula may be used in the plural when a number are to be invested at the same time. The scapular, however, must be put on the shoulders of each one by the priest who blesses it.

It is necessary for membership that the names be written by the Director, or by another appointed by him, he himself taking care afterwards to examine and initial each page.

THE RED SCAPULAR OR SCAPULAR OF THE PASSION.¹

A miraculous origin is attributed to this scapular also. A French Sister of Charity, we are told, being in the chapel of her Convent on the evening of the 26th of July, 1846, the Octave of the Feast of St. Vincent, was favoured with

¹ The wearers of this scapular do not form a Confraternity. *S. Ind. Cong.*, 27 Apr., 1887.

a vision of her beloved Redeemer. In His sacred hands He held a scapular of red woollen cloth united by cords of the same material and colour. On one of the two pieces of cloth composing the scapular was a representation of our Lord hanging on the cross surrounded by the instruments of His Passion, and round the crucifix were the words *Holy Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, save us*. On the other end the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary were represented with a cross placed between, which seemed as it were to grow out of them, and round about was the inscription, *Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, protect us*.

This vision was frequently renewed to the holy nun, and among other occasions on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, the 14th of September, of the same year. On this occasion she heard our divine Lord say: *All who shall wear this scapular shall receive every Friday a great increase of faith, hope, and charity*.

When she was spoken to about the difficulty of obtaining the necessary approval of this new devotion, she replied: "Our divine Saviour desires the establishment of the scapular of His holy Passion. Not the least doubt of this lingers in my mind. He will be well able, at the moment known only to Himself, to smooth away all the difficulties which usually stand in the way of new devotions, and to make the day of His precious death a special day, a day enriched from the treasures of the Church. I am happy to think that this will be one part of the riches of the Congregation of the Mission."

Little attention was at first paid to the words of the holy nun by her Superiors. In the month of June, however, of the following year, the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission and of the Sisters of Charity, being in Rome, determined to acquaint the Holy Father of the Sister's supposed visions. To his astonishment and delight Pius IX. offered no objection to the new devotion, but, on the contrary, expressed a great desire to see employed this new means for converting sinners and confirming the just; and without any inquiry or further explanation, he issued a Rescript on the 25th of June, 1847, authorizing the Priests of the Mission

to bless and distribute *the scapular of the Passion of Jesus Christ*. By the same Rescript he attached several indulgences to the wearing of this scapular. Other indulgences were added by a Rescript of the 21st of March, 1848, and on the same occasion the Superior of the Congregation of the Mission was empowered by the Holy Father to delegate to all priests, secular or regular, faculties to bless and distribute the red scapular.

The wearers of the red scapular do not constitute a Confraternity, but there can be little doubt that they share in a special manner in each other's prayers and good works, and in the merits and suffrages of the Priests of the Mission, and of the Sisters of Charity. Besides, their united devotion to His sacred Passion must be most pleasing to our Redeemer, and must secure for them the special love of the hearts of Jesus and Mary, which, along with the Passion, are offered to the wearers of this scapular as the particular objects of their devotion.

CONDITIONS FOR VALIDLY RECEIVING THE RED SCAPULAR.

1. One must receive the scapular from a priest having the necessary faculties. The Lazarists—Priests of the Congregation of the Mission, or Vincentians, as they are more usually styled in this country—all have these faculties; and any priest, secular or regular, can have them by applying directly to the Superior-General of the Congregation of the Mission,¹ or through a local Superior or Member of the Congregation.

2. The scapular as well as the strings must be made of wool, and must be red in colour.² This is the only scapular for which strings of a particular material or colour are prescribed. In all the other scapulars the strings may be of any material and of any colour. Hence, if one wears all the scapulars attached to the same strings, these strings must necessarily be of red woollen material, and should for greater safety be attached *immediately* to the red scapular.

These two conditions suffice. No enrolment of names is necessary, as there is no question of a Confraternity.

¹ Paris, Rue de Sèvres, 95.

² The first scapular alone requires to be blessed. When it is worn out or lost, the wearer can put on a new one without any blessing.

(ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.)

"THE LIVING ROSARY IN MISSIONARY COUNTRIES."

"In last issue of the I. E. RECORD, Father Byrne, O.P., says, at page 820: "To gain the indulgences of the Living Rosary . . . one *must* use beads bearing the *Dominican* blessing." He grounds his statement on an Apostolic Brief, dated 17th August, 1877, which I believe was hitherto unheard of by most priests, and which, I take it, was never published in the I. E. RECORD.

"Now in the I. E. RECORD of June, 1871, at page 425, Dr. Walsh writes: "For the indulgences of the Living Rosary, neither the use nor possession of beads, &c., is required."

"The Sodality of the Living Rosary exists in almost every parish in Ireland; but this Brief of 1877, if it applies to Ireland, practically puts an end to all such sodalities; and yet how is it that we never had any reference made to it for fourteen years?"

"I see in the I. E. RECORD of this month (page 848), that the new regulations made in 1887, in regard to the Carmelite Scapular do not apply in their full force to countries under the care of the Propaganda.

"This question is one of great practical importance, and Father Byrne's statement might be examined, and the result given in next issue of the I. E. RECORD. I am sure hundreds of priests will be puzzled by the new doctrine. "R. M'L."

The article on the Living Rosary to which our correspondent refers has occasioned a widespread feeling of uneasiness among the Irish clergy, and the above is not the only communication received with reference to it. This feeling is natural. For, as our correspondent states, the Sodality of the Living Rosary exists in almost every parish in Ireland. In almost every parish in Ireland it has existed and flourished for nearly half a century, and has been a source of incalculable good not only to the spiritual, but also to the material well-being of the Irish Church. During all this time the directors and members of this Sodality imagined they were complying with all the conditions necessary for gaining the liberal indulgences attached to it by Gregory XVI. Our bishops seem to have been under the same impression, and even theologians, as is evidenced by the quotation given by our correspondent, shared in the

popular belief. But if Father Byrne's teaching is to be accepted as applying to this country, it will follow that, with very few exceptions, indeed, the Sodality has no valid existence amongst us, and that even where it exists validly very few of its members gain the indulgences. For Father Byrne's teaching, express and implied, is to the following effect. First, only those appointments of officials—directors, *zelatores*, *zelatrices*, &c.—made up to November 15th, 1877, received general confirmation, and all subsequent appointments in order to be valid should have been made, or at least confirmed, by the Provincial of the Dominicans, or by some local superior of the same Order. Secondly, the use of beads bearing the Dominican blessing is a necessary condition for gaining the indulgences of this Sodality.

Now a very large number of those who were officials of Living Rosary Sodalities in this country before the date mentioned above must have since died. Many, through increasing age or multiplied household cares, have assigned their places to others who are younger or have more leisure. And finally, many, as in the case of curates, have been obliged to transfer their labours from the sodality of one parish to that of another. But according to the teaching we are now discussing every new appointment of an official made since November 15th, 1877, whether to supply the place of a deceased or of a retired one, if it had not the requisite sanction from the Order of Preachers would be invalid; and invalid, consequently, would be all enrolment of new members made by them. Nay, since a change from one sodality to another is virtually a new appointment, a curate who at the above date was director of a sodality in a certain parish, could not validly discharge the duties of director in another parish to which he might have been afterwards transferred. Again, even in those very few places where the constitution of the sodality may still remain valid, a large proportion, at least, of the members have not beads bearing the Dominican blessing. Hence, if this condition be required, the indulgences of the Sodality of the Living Rosary are, speaking generally, not gained in Ireland at all, and the sodality itself is, as our correspondent says, practically at an end amongst us.

These consequences, which follow from Father Byrne's teaching, being so sweeping and revolutionary in their character, it is not to be wondered at that the clergy should feel uneasy, or that they should ask, as our correspondent does: "How is it that we never have had any reference made to it for fourteen years?" We hope to answer this question in a manner both simple and satisfactory.

Ireland, and, if we are not mistaken, all other English-speaking countries, are under the care of the Propaganda, and to bishops under the care of this Congregation extraordinary powers and faculties are always given. Among these is the power to *erect ALL SODALITIES approved of by the Holy See, to admit into these the faithful of both sexes, to bless the beads and scapulars proper to them, and to apply to them all the indulgences granted by the Popes to all such sodalities, beads, and scapulars.*¹ Recently a doubt arose as to whether these ample faculties granted to bishops in missionary countries had not been somewhat restricted by a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, published July 16th, 1887, with reference to the Confraternities of the Most Holy Trinity, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the Seven Dolours. This doubt was solved in an Instruction sent by the Propaganda in June, 1889, to the bishops of missionary countries. In this Instruction the Congregation states that the powers formerly granted by them to bishops in countries under their charge are still continued in all their plenitude.²

From these premises it is easy to deduce the answer to our correspondent's inquiry, why, namely, we have not heard before of the necessity of the conditions laid down by Father Byrne? It is simply because these conditions were

¹ *Sacrae huic Fidei Propagandae Congregationi dudum jam anteactis temporibus auctoritas per Summos Pontifices facta fuerit tribuendi Archiepiscopis Episcopis . . . aliisque Missionum moderatoribus ab eadem S. Congregatione dependentibus facultatem erigendi in locis sibi subjectis QUARUMQUE PIAS SODALITATES a S. Sede approbatas iisque adscribendi utriusque sexus Christifideles, ac benedicendi coronas et scapularia earundem sodalitatum propria cum applicatione omnium Indulgentiarum quas Summi Pontifices praedictis sodalitatibus, coronis et scapularibus impertiti sunt. Instr. S. Con. de Propaganda Fide, June, 1889. (I. E. RECORD, Third Series, Vol. x., No. 9, page 850.)*

² *Ibidem.*

not, and are not, necessary in this country. All the requisite faculties for instituting and carrying on the sodalities of the Living Rosary can be obtained, as they have always been, from our bishops, who have, in the comprehensive words of the *Instruction* already referred to, the power to erect *quascumque sodalitates a S. Sede approbatus*, and to bless the beads and scapulars pertaining to them. The bishops can appoint directors, who in their turn can appoint all the other officials; and these other officials can validly receive into the sodalities all who may wish to join. If blessed beads are necessary, the directors have faculties from their bishops for blessing them.

To sum up, then. Father Byrne's article on the Living Rosary, so far as it concerns this country, or any country subject to the Propaganda, might as well never have been written, and its teaching need not excite the least uneasiness or anxiety regarding the constitution or working of his Living Rosary sodality in the mind of any priest in any missionary country.

The strictures which it has been our duty to make on Father Byrne's teaching render it necessary for us to offer a word of explanation. With his teaching, so far as it regards non-missionary countries, we have no concern; but in justice to him we feel bound to state that the constitution of the Living Rosary in such countries is as he states. Since 1877, the entire organisation and direction of it has been in the hands of the illustrious Order of Preachers, to whom *jure hæreditario*—to use the phrase employed by Pius IX.—everything in connection with the Rosary belongs. We take it, therefore, that Father Byrne's intention was to lay down the general rules relating to the Living Rosary, without taking into account the special circumstances of this or that particular country; while many of his readers, being unaware of our peculiar legislation on this and kindred subjects, believed he was explaining the regulations for this country, *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*.

But we cannot conclude without a further reference to the statement that beads bearing the Dominican blessing are necessary. Already it has been shown that this condition

does not apply, to us, at least. Indeed, as our correspondent points out, we have eminent authority for holding that beads, whether blessed with this blessing, or that, or not blessed at all, are wholly unnecessary, or at least were unnecessary up to 1871. The reason for this opinion is that in detailing the conditions for gaining the indulgence of the Living Rosary no mention was made of beads. Gregory XVI., who made the first grant of indulgences to this sodality, does not speak of beads; neither does Pius IX., in transferring the supreme direction of the Living Rosary to the Order of Preachers. In a little pamphlet on the Rosary, printed in Dublin in 1887, and compiled, if we are rightly informed, by a very distinguished member of the Dominican Order, though the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the Living Rosary are enumerated, no mention is made of the use of beads. This condition, in the form in which it is given by Father Byrne, is first mentioned in a summary of indulgences approved by the Congregation of Indulgences, February 2, 1878. But even from this document it would appear that the use of beads having the Dominican blessing, is not by any means a condition for valid membership of the sodality, or even for gaining the general indulgences—including all the plenary—but merely a condition for gaining certain indulgences attached to the recital of the daily decade. Moreover, it may be very fairly doubted, notwithstanding this document, whether even these latter indulgences cannot be gained without the exact fulfilment of this supposed condition. But, as has been said already, this phase of the question has only a speculative interest for us.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS.

CONGREGATION OF THE INQUISITION.

INSTRUCTION REGARDING MIXED MARRIAGES, ADDRESSED TO
THE BISHOPS OF THE EAST.INSTRUCTIO SUPER MATRIMONIIS MIXTIS AD PATRIARCHAS, ARCHIE-
PISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS RITUUM ORIENTALIUM.

Cum Christianorum conjugium unionem inter Christum et Ecclesiam exprimat, monente Apostolo Paulo *Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia*, aperte patet sanctum prorsus esse vinculum maritale quo inter se ipsi copulantur. Cum autem fides sit omnis sanctitatis radix atque fundamentum, pariter nemo non videt, conjuges ut mutua sese unione sanctificent, sicut in reliquis, ita et potissimum fide cohaerere debere. Mirum proinde non est, si inter cetera quae matrimonium impediunt, etiam illud accensetur quod *mixtae communionis* impedimentum proprio nomine appellatur.

Jam vero, cum in Orientalibus quibusdam regionibus nonnullae hac super re difficultates ortae sint, atque anxietatibus non paucis viam aperuerint, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo divina providentia PP. XIII., pro eo quo erga Orientales gentes zelo inflammatur, supremas Congregationi S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis mandavit, ut ad hujusmodi difficultates et anxietates amoliendas opportunam Instructionem elaboraret. Quibus jussionibus obsecundans S. Congregatio, ea quae sequuntur statuenda censuit:

1. Hujus impedimenti natura, quemadmodum omnes norunt ea est, ut matrimonii foedus inter eos qui bapuzati sunt, iniri nequeat, quando altera eorum pars haeretica vel schismatica sit. At catholicorum cum haeticis, et contra, nuptiae illicitae sunt quidem, sed nihilominus valent. Ingens propterea discrimen intercedit inter impedimentum mixtae communionis seu religionis et alterum quod propria appellatione dicitur *disparitatis cultus*. Primum enim locum habet inter Christianos; secundum afficit matrimonia Christianorum cum non baptizatis, sive judaei sint, sive infideles cujuscumque sectae, sive etiam catechumeni. Conjugia itaque inter personas cultu dispares sunt prorsus irrita; mixta vero valida, sed graviter illicita.

2. Facili porro negotio perspicitur cur connubia catholicorum

cum heterodoxis antiquissimi canones, quemadmodum recentiores Conciliorum ac Summorum Pontificum sanctiones, omnino reprobant ac reprobant, damnarunt ac damnant. Reprobanda enim sunt sive ob vetitam, quam secumferunt, in divinis rebus communionem, et exinde derivans scandalum, sive ob impendens catholico conjugii perversionis periculum, sive ob pravam sobolis institutionem. Accedit etiam hujusmodi conjunctionibus facile promoveri funestissimum in religionis negotio, uti vocant, indifferentismum. Sed alia etiam pernicioosa consectaria ex hujusmodi conjunctionibus dimanant, cum catholicos inter et acatholicos vix ac ne vix quidem ea inveniatur animorum concordia, quae inter conjuges necessaria prorsus est. "Quomodo enim," ait S. Ambrosius, "potest congruere charitas, ubi discrepat fides?" Hinc vel ipse Zonaras jure animadvertit matrimonialem societatem catholicos inter et acatholicos eo etiam ex capite esse reprobendam, quod miscenda non sunt quae naturam, ut inter se misceri possint, non habent: "Nam qui simul ita vivunt, ut eorum animi in iis, quae ad fidem pertinent, contrario modo affecti sunt, quo pacto eos in aliis rebus convenire posse quispiam arbitrabitur? quorumque sensus in iis quae sunt fidei, quorum prima est atque praecipua ratio, minime congruunt, quo pacto inter se aequis animis in reliqua vitae societate communicabunt?"

3. Quare mirum non est, si antiqua Concilia vetant catholicis, ne nuptias cum haereticis, sicut et cum infidelibus, concilient, nisi hi orthodoxam fidem amplectantur. Sic Conc. Laodicenum de haereticis praescribit: *Quod non oportet cum omni haeretico matrimonium contrahere vel dare filios aut filias: sed magis accipere, si se christianos futuros profiteantur.* Consonat Agathense: *Quoniam non oportet cum omnibus haereticis miscere connubia et filios vel filias dare, sed potius accipere, si tamen profitentur christianos futuros esse se et catholicos.* Et Chalcedonense in superius memorato canone: *Sed neque haeretico vel pagano vel judaeo matrimonio conjungere, nisi utique persona, quae orthodoxae conjungitur, se ad orthodoxam fidem convertendam spondeat.*

4. Ex iis, ut alia silentio praetereamus, satis quidem apparet matrimonia mixta esse prorsus illicita: qua de causa S. Mater Ecclesia merito ea semper detestata est, ac fideles ab illis contrahendis abstertere studuit. Ad amovenda tamen pericula quae ex mixtis nuptiis provenire possunt, concurrere debent circumstantiae, ceu scribit s. m. Bened. XIV., quae cum ab eo, qui

facultatem dispensandi habet, expensae fuerint, aditum aperiant concessioni legitimae dispensationis, cujus vi matrimonium inter partes, haereticam unam alteramque catholicam, licitum reddatur. Hae circumstantiae, cujusmodi est Ecclesiae utilitas, bonum publicum, gravissimum malum vitandum, et aliae, quae canonicas causas ad elargiendas matrimoniales dispensationes generatim necessarias constituunt, praerequiruntur ad impedimentum mixtae communionis aliquo in casu relaxandum; sed, quod sedulo est animadvertendum, minime sufficiunt.

5. Exigendae enim praeterea sunt opportuna a contrahentibus cautiones de amovendo a conjugate catholico perversionis periculo, de conversione conjugis acatholici ab illo pro viribus curanda, ac de universa prole utriusque sexus in catholicae religionis sanctitate omnino educanda. Has autem cautiones jus naturale ac divinum cum postulet, nulla unquam humana auctoritate mixtae nuptiae sine ipsis permitti possunt.

6. Positis igitur canonicis causis, ac praehabitis memoratis cautionibus, quibus arcentur quae legi naturali aut divinae adversantur, ab ecclesiastica competente auctoritate dispensatio in lege mixta connubia prohibente impetranda est, ut absque piaculo celebrari possint, ea deficiente, nunquam gravi culpa vacant.

7. Illicitum porro ac sacrilegum est se sistere coram haeretico seu schismatico ministro ante vel post contractas mixtas nuptias, quoties ipse ut minister sacris addictus adsistat, et quasi parochi munere fungens: nam pars catholica ritui haeretico ut schismatico se consociaret, ex quo vetita omnibus haberetur cum haeticis in eorum sacris communicatio. Quare ita contrahentes mortaliter peccarent ac monendi sunt. Si vero, ut in nonnullis locis evenit, haeticus seu schismaticus personam agat magistratus mere civilis, et quidquid ipse praestat, civilis dumtaxat et politicus actus sit, ac civiles effectus respiciat, et nulla prorsus acatholici ritus professio habeatur, aut inde colligi possit, non improbatur quod pars catholica, urgentibus schismaticis seu haeticis, aut civili lege imperante, eundem ante vel post initum matrimonium adeat.

8. Sciant insuper animarum pastores, si interrogentur a contrahentibus vel si certe noverint eos adituros fore ministrum haeticum sacris addictum ad nuptialem consensum praestandum, silere se non posse, sed monere debere sponso de gravissimo peccato quod patrant. Verumtamen, ad gravia praecavenda mala, si in aliquo peculiari casu sacerdos seu parochus non fuerit

interpellatus a sponsis, an liceat nec ne adire ministrum haereticum vel schismaticum, et nulla fiat ab iisdem sponsis explicita declaratio de eodem adeundo, praevideat tamen eos forsan adituros ad matrimonialem praestandum vel renovandum consensum, atque insuper ex adjunctis in casu concurrentibus praevideat monitionem certo haud esse profuturam, imo nocituram, indeque peccatum materiale in formalem culpam vertendum; tunc sileat, remoto tamen scandalo et dummodo aliae ab Ecclesia requisitae conditiones atque cautiones rite positae sint, praesertim de libero religionis exercitio parti catholica concedendo, nec non de universaa prole in religione catholica educanda. Quod si sponsi ad parochum, seu sacerdotem catholicum pro benedicendis nuptiis accedant postquam eas coram ministro haeretico seu schismatico celebraverint, idque publice notum sit vel ipsis sponsis notificetur, catholicus sacerdos huic matrimonio non intererit, nisi servatis, uti supponitur, ceteroquin servandis, pars catholica facti poenitens praevis salutaribus poenitentiis a patrata culpa absolutionem rite prius obtinuerit.

9. Pauca de *sponsalibus* addenda supersunt. Sponsalia inter unam partem catholicam et alteram schismaticam seu haeticam illicita sunt atque adeo invalida, nisi praevia legitima dispensatione celebrentur.

10. Itaque pro ea sollicitudine qua erga commissas sibi oves gerunt, enixe curabunt locorum Antistites, ut eas a mixtis nuptiis quoad fieri possit, deterreant, aut saltem nonnisi observatis adamussim debitis cautelis, legitimeque impetrata dispensatione illas permittant, eisdem impense inculcantes catholicum dogma, quod nempe, extra catholicam Ecclesiam salus obtineri non possit. Insistant celebris Apostolorum discipuli S. Ignatii M. verbis: *Ne erretis, fratres mei: si quis schisma facientem sectatur, regni Dei haereditatem non consequitur.* Excitandus tum a Vobis ipsis, tum a reliquis animarum pastoribus, christianus populus ad catholicam fidem et unitatem ardentiori usque studio custodiendam, atque ideo ad omne illius deserendae periculum vitandum, ut praefixus finis circa matrimonia mixta obtineatur.

11. Erit pariter eorumdem Praesulum efficere, ut ex fidelium memoria nunquam excidat notissimum naturalis divinaeque legis praeceptum, quo non solum peccata, sed et pericula ad peccatum proxime inducentia fugere jubemur; uti etiam aliud praeceptum quo parentibus injungitur filios educare in disciplina et correptione Domini, ac propterea ipsos erudire ad verum cultum, qui Deo

unice in catholica Ecclesia exhibetur. Hinc oportet, animarum curatores monere, ut gregi suo solerti invigilando, simil ac compererint adesse juvenes vel virgines conjugale foedus cum heterodoxis inire volentes, ipsos eorumque parentes salutaribus imbuant doctrinis, nihilque omittant, quo eos a transgrediendis Dei et Ecclesiae mandatis avertant. Edocendi deneque fideles, qua publicis catechesibus, qua privatis instructionibus circa constantem hac in re Ecclesiae doctrinam, ne unquam eos capiat oblivio canonum mixta connubia detestantium.

12. Et quoniam in gravissimo hoc negotio solius presbyteri arbitrio nil est relinquendum, ipsis injungendum erit, ut de quolibet mixto matrimonio contrahendo quantocius Episcopum certiozem reddant, accuratissime delatis omnibus rerum, locorum, et personarum circumstantiis. Tam Episcopi quam parochi sedulo invigilent ut conjuges datas cautiones fideliter adimpleant.

Haec ut Summi Pontificis jussa faceret, Sacra Congregatio Vobis significando duxit, atque interim fausta omnia ac felicia adprecatur.

Datum Romae, ex Cancellaria S. Officii, die 12 Decembris, 1888

JOSEPHUS MANCINI, S. R. et U. I. Notarius.

CERTAIN MATRIMONIAL IMPEDIMENTS.

EME AC RME DNE MIHI OBSME.

Die 12 Januarii currentis anni, Eminentia Tua, dum Romae degeret, sequens proposuit dubium.

Suprema Congregatio, mense Martio 1888, ad episcopum Waycastren. in Statibus Unitis Americae, interrogantem utrum in processibus matrimonialibus Defensor vinculi teneretur provocare secundam sententiam appellando a prima, quando nullitas matrimonii evidens est, v. gr., ob impedimentum ligaminis, cognationis; etc., respondit: "Negative, dummodo per processum saltem extrajudicalem certo constet de nullitate matrimonii ob persistens impedimentum evidenter comprobatum."

Et postulatum a Te fuit utrum haec responsio habenda sit in futurum ut norma processibus similibus.

Re delata ad Congregationem Generalem S. O. habitam die 26 currentis mensis, Emi Dni Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales Eminentiae Tuae pro responsione communicandum mandarunt Decretum cujus authenticum exemplum includo.

Interim . . .

Romae, die 30 Martii 1890.

R. Card. MONACO.

Emo Cardinali Archiepiscopo Parisiensi.

DECRETUM.

Feria IV, die 3 Junii 1889.

Emi ac Rmi Cardinales Inquisitores Generales decreverunt Quando agitur de impedimento disparitatis cultus, et evidenter constat unam partem esse baptizatam et alteram non fuisse baptizatam; quando agitur de impedimento ligaminis et certo constat primum conjugem esse legitimum et adhuc vivere; quando denique agitur de consanguinitate aut affinitate ex copula licita, aut etiam de cognatione spirituali, vel de impedimento clandestinitatis in locis ubi Decretum Tridentinum *Tametsi* publicatum est, vel uti tale dici observatur; dummodo ex certo et authentico documento, vel, in hujus defectu, ex certis argumentis evidenter constet de existentia hujusmodi impedimentorum Ecclesiae auctoritate non dispensatorum, hisce in casibus, praetermissis solemnitatibus in Constitutione Apostolica *Dei miseratione* requisitis, matrimonium poterit ab Ordinario declarari nullum, cum interventu tamen defensoris vinculi matrimonialis, quin opus sit secunda sententia.

L. ✠ S.

J. MANCINI. S. R. et U. I. Not.

DECREE REGARDING CRANIOTOMY AND ANY SIMILAR SURGICAL OPERATION.

Directe occisivam foetus vel matris.

Anno 1886, Amplitudinis Tuae Praedecessor dubia nonnulla huic Supremae Congregationi proposuit circa liceitatem quarumdam operationum chirurgicarum craniotomiae affinium. Quibus sedulo perpensis, Eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi Patres Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales, feria IV die 14 currentis mensis respondendum mandaverunt:

In scholis catholicis tuto doceri non posse licitam esse operationem chirurgicam quam craniotomiam appellant, sicut declaratum fuit die 28 maii 1884, et quaecumque chirurgicam operationem directe occisivam foetus vel matris gestantis.

Idque notum facio Amplitudini Tuae, ut significes professoribus facultatis medicae Universitatis catholicae Insulensis.

Interim fausta quaeque ac felicia tibi a Domino precor.

Romae, die 19 Augusti 1889.

Amplitudinis Tuae

Addictissimus in Domino

R. Card. MONACO.

Reverendissimo Domino Archiepiscopo Cameracensi.

THE FIRE OF HELL.

[*Etudes Religieuses*, juin, 1390.]

SUMMARY.

A PRIEST of the diocese of Mantua submitted the following case to the Penitentiary:—A penitent declares to his confessor that he believes that the fire of hell is not a real fire, but only metaphorical—that is, that the pains of hell are called fire, because fire causes the most intense pain; and in order to express the intensity of the pain of hell, it is represented under the image of fire.

The priest asked if one can allow this opinion to spread by giving absolution to a penitent who holds it. There is not question, added the priest, of a mere isolated case, as the opinion is generally held in a certain part of the country, where one constantly hears it said, “Make children believe that in hell there is real fire.” (23rd April, 1890.)

The Penitentiary answered that it is necessary to instruct such penitents carefully, and if they continue obstinate, to refuse absolution.

RESPONSUM.

Sacra Pœnitentiaria ad præmissa respondit: hujusmodi penitentes diligenter instruendos esse; et pertinaces non esse absolvendos. Datum Romæ, in Sacra Pœnit., die 30 aprilis, 1890.

R. C. MONACO, P. M.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII., TO THE BISHOP OF VIGEVANO, WHO WAS BROUGHT BEFORE THE CIVIL TRIBUNALS FOR EXERCISING A FUNCTION OF HIS MINISTRY.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Graviter molesteque tulimus allatum Nobis nuncium de gravi contumelia Tibi irrogata, quum propter sacri muneris tui perfunctionem coram laico magistratu quaestioni obnoxius fuisti, quae de suspectis criminis haberi solet. Dolor autem quem tua causa cepimus eo fuit acerbior quod episcopalis dignitas in Te laederetur et novum suppeteret, triste satis indicium dirae insectationis qua in Italia conflictatur Ecclesia. Lenit tamen aegritudinem Nostram cogitatio effectum, quos necesse est oriri ex hujusmodi vexatione adversos consiliis hominum qui eam intulerunt. Quo enim exploratior fit injusta vis, qua saevit in Ecclesiam

civilis potestas quae ipsa conscientiae arcana contendit accensere ditioni suae metuque poenarum deterrere ab officio dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, eo liquet apertius quam impudens mendacium sit quo religionis hostes sese justae libertatis jactant adsertores, et quam irritus eorum conatus ut sanctae militiae Christi proditores faciant qui sese illi addixere.

Hi enim, Deo, opitulante, neque minis cedent neque ab officio desciscent, novam imo e nobili certamine adepti gloriam gestient, Apostolorum instar, quippe eo nomine quod Deo paruerint digni habiti sint contumeliam pati.

Macte igitur animo, Venerabilis Frater, Nosque Tibi gratulari sinito pro sacerdotali zelo et constantia, qua pastorale ministerium obis: quam strenue iniisti viam ea pergito alacriter, neve molestias reformides quas Tibi forte vis et nequitia hominum adhuc erit allatura. Erigant Te veterum exempla fidelium de quibus illud traditum est "*quod in multo experimento tribulationis abundantia gaudii ipsorum fuit:*" erigat spes mercedis amplissimae manentis eos qui "*certamen sustinuerunt propter nomen Christi et non defecerunt.*" Tibique adjuncticis gratiae Dei sit Apostolica Benedictio, quam nostri in Te animi testem Tibi, clero et populo Dioecesi cui praees peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIII Junii anno MDCCCXC, Pontificatus Nostri decimotertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

S. CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND REGULARS.

THE PROFESSION OF FAITH TO BE TAKEN BY A NEWLY APPOINTED PARISH PRIEST.

CAN A BISHOP DELEGATE ANY APPROVED PRIEST OF HIS DIOCESE TO RECEIVE IT.

CIRCA PROFESSIONEM FIDEI A NEO-PAROCIS EMITTENDAM.

BEATISSIME PATER,

N. . . . Episcopus N. . . . in Gallia, ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae humiliter, provolutus, hucusque putavit sibi competere facultatem, de jure communi, subdelegandi quoscumque sacerdotes approbatos suae diocesis, ut possint dare investituram, seu mittere presbyteros institutos in possessionem beneficii. Sed cum episcopus Orator nuper compertum habuerit

nonnullos hodie de praedicta sententia dubitare, huic sacrae Congregationi proponit sequens dubium :

An de jure communi possit episcopus subdelegare omnes sacerdotes suae dioecesis, ut hanc institutionem faciant et professionem orthodoxae fidei audiant ?

Et quatenus negative, petit sanationem quoad praeteritum, et facultatem in futurum.

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, ad primum mandavit rescribi prout sequitur, videlicet :

Juxta exposita, Ordinarium quoad immissionem in possessionem posse delegare quo vero ad fidei professionem excipiendam non posse.

Ad secundum autem, vigore specialium facultatum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro concessarum, eadem Sacra Congregatio benigne annuit *pro gratia sanationis quoad praeteritum; quo vero ad futuram, providebitur in casibus particularibus, in quibus constiterit de impedimento emittendi professionem fidei in manibus Ordinarii.*

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, 14 Aprilis, 1890.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praef.*

FR. ALOYSIUS EPISCOPUS CALLINICEN, *Secr.*

INDULTUM A S. C. EE. ET RR.

De professione fidei per delagatum accipienda.

Vigore specialium facultatum a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro concessarum, Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverentissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, attentis expositis, benigne annuit precibus Episcopi Oratoris pro petita facultate delegandi decanos seu Vicarios foraneos aliosque, de quibus agitur, sacerdotes, ad recipiendam fidei professionem, ad quinquennium duratura, ea tamen lege, ut cum primum beneficiati ad Curiam accesserint, teneantur fidei professionem renovare coram Episcopo vel ejus Vicario generali.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Romae, 6 Maii, 1890.

I. CARD. VERGA, *Praefectus.*

FR. ALOYSIUS CALLINICEN, *Secr.*

DECREES OF THE CONGREGATION OF RITES.

HOW TO PLACE THE OFFICE OF THE SEVEN FOUNDERS OF
THE SERVITES IN THE CALENDAR.

HOLY WEEK CEREMONIES IN CERTAIN CONVENT CHAPELS.

RUTHENEN.

Jussu Reverendissimi Episcopi Ruthenen hodiernus redactor Kalendarii in usum cleri ipsius dioceseos Ruthenensis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi insequentia dubia pro opportuna solutione humillime subjecit, nimirum :

I. In Calendario perpetuo ac proprio Ruthenensis dioceseos dies XI Februarii festo S. Pauli primi eremite, conf. assignata est, quum dies XV Januarii sit propria sedes S. Tarcitiae Virginis.

Quaeritur an Festum S. Pauli e die XI praefata removendum sit, ut locum cedat novo officio SS. Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V. ; vel potius hoc Officium in prima sequenti die libera fixe reponendum ?

II. In nonnullis Monialium Oratoriis, feria V in Coena Domini, capellanus Missam celebrat sine cantu neque hostiam consecrat pro Missa Praesantificatorum. Expleta Missa, Sanctissimam Eucharistiam extrahit e tabernaculo illamque in calice vel pyxide velo cooperta superius collocat, ut per totam diem a Monialibus et externis fidelibus adoretur. Quaeritur an ejusmodi praxis ab Episcopo permittenda seu toleranda sit, vel omnino reprobanda ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii, exquisitoque voto alterius ex Apostolicarum Caeremoniarum Magistris, omnibus rite perpensis, ita propositis dubiis rescribendum censuit, videlicet :

Ad I. *Negative ad primam partem, Affirmative ad secundam.*

Ad II. *Expositionem Eucharistiae Sanctissimae, de qua in casu, prohibendam esse.*

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandavit, die 30 novembris 1889.

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *Praef.*

PETROCORICEN.

Reverendissimus Dominus Josephus Nicolaus Dabert hodiernus Episcopus Petrocoricen, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequens dubium pro opportuna solutione humillime subjecit, nimirum,

An Festum SS. Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V., in Kalendario Dioecetano di XI Februarii alio Festo huic diei fixe adsignato jam impeditum, reponendum sit in sequentia die prima ; libera vel potius recolendum praefata die XI, amoto altero Festo ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem infrascripti Secretarii proposito dubio rescribendum censuit :

Affirmative ad primam partem, Negative ad secundam, et detur recens Decretum in Ruthenen.

Atque ita rescripsit et declaravit die 7 martii 1890.

CAJ. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

SEVEN LECTURES ON SOME OF THE DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. In reply to the attacks of the Dean of Ripon. By the Very Rev. James W. Gordon, Canon Penitentiary of the Cathedral Chapter of Leeds, &c. Ripon: W. Harrison, 1890.

CONTROVERSIAL LETTERS. By the Rev. J. W. Vahey, Ridgeway, Wisconsin. Milwaukee: Hoffman Brothers.

In a pamphlet of one hundred and fifty pages the Very Rev. James W. Gordon gives to the world seven rather interesting controversial lectures. The particular doctrines of the Church which the lecturer undertook to defend are those most generally attacked by English Protestants of the Low Church type. Among them are the Primacy of St. Peter, Papal Infallibility, Saint-Worship, Purgatory, Confession, and Indulgences. Canon Gordon says nothing, of course, on any of these subjects that has not been said thousands of times already ; but he is entitled to the merit of having dressed old truths in a pleasing garb.

Father Vahey's style of controversy, if less elegant and refined than Canon Gordon's, is more striking and original. Each, we suppose, suited himself to his opponent in the matter of style, and there can be no doubt that the Dean of Ripon is a much more polished and more gentlemanly antagonist than the Rev. H. W. Spaulding, D.D., editor of

The Church Record, Ridgeway, Wisconsin, against whom Father Vahey had to take up shield and spear. The following statement and reply will sufficiently indicate the spicy flavour which these "Letters" possess:—

"Even the brigands and robbers of the wilds and mountain fastnesses of Italy and Spain will cut throats and go to confession, lay the required portion of their booty on the altar, and go back again to their bloody work." (Rev. H. W. Spaulding, D.D.)

"The only proof you advance to substantiate this sad state of affairs in Italy and Spain is your infallible word, which must be received because you are an Anglican D.D. That because your vision is very obtuse and badly distorted, therefore the sad state you narrate, the dirty mess you dish out to your readers, is true." (Rev. J. W. Vahey.)

WHY NO GOOD CATHOLIC CAN BE A SOCIALIST. By Kenelm Digby Best, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates, 1890.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND SOCIALISM. A Solution of the Social Problem. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D. St. Louis, Mo. B. Herder.

THESE two pamphlets, small though they be, are important contributions to the literature of Socialism. Thorough-going Socialism is but another name for Communism—Communism not of goods only, but also of power and authority. Hence it would give to each individual an equal share in the property of the State, and an equal share in the making and administering of its laws. Such being the principles of Socialism, Father Best has little difficulty in showing that no good Catholic can subscribe to them. *For what participation hath justice with injustice? . . . And what concord hath Christ with Belial?* Father Best's weapons are chiefly theological, and are taken for the most part from the armoury supplied by the writings of Pius IX., and of our present Holy Father.

Dr. Condé B. Pallen, while attacking Socialism from the same point as Father Best, uses weapons altogether different. A doctor in philosophy, he is naturally led to compare the principles of Socialism with the recognised principles of his own favourite science. And he does more. Taking a retrospective glance at the history of civilization, he shows that Socialism, so far from being the panacea for all social evils, is much more likely to be the fruitful source of evils greater and more deplorable than those under which society now groans. Under Socialism the individual, according to Dr. Pallen's showing, is not a man, but only a

citizen. Men are not persons but things, but the goods and chattels of the State, which the State can dispose of according to the State's own liking. In Christianity, on the contrary, and especially in the Catholic Church, man's individuality, and his personal responsibility, are fundamental tenets.

ESSAY IN REFUTATION OF AGNOSTICISM. By the Rev. Simon Fitzsimons. Rochester: New York.

THIS is a thoughtful essay. The writer handles his subject in a masterly manner, and, with sound argument and delicate satire at once crushes the Agnostics, and covers them with ridicule. For his knowledge of the peculiar teachings of his opponents, Father Fitzsimons has gone to the writings of such men as Herbert Spencer, Professor Huxley, and Mr. Laing, whose very words he frequently gives.

D. O'L.

INSTRUCTIONS ON THE COMMANDMENTS OF GOD AND ON THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH. Translated from the Italian of St. Liguori. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm, C.S.S.R. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In this neat little volume we are presented with a handy series of popular instructions on the Commandments and Sacraments. No books are so deserving of being read and circulated as those which convey instruction to the people on those points of their holy religion which are most intimately connected with the ordinary routine of their daily lives, and hence no book will confer greater or more lasting benefit than that which treats of the observance of God's Commandments, and of the frequentation of His holy Sacraments. It is sufficient to mention that this work comes from the pen of St. Liguori, to secure for it a careful perusal, and a wide circulation. There is no one who will not derive profit from a diligent study of this small compendium of man's duties; and we would earnestly recommend it to the faithful as a valuable aid in the direction of their daily conduct.

LITURGY FOR THE LAITY. By Rev. James H. O'Donnell. New York: P. O'Shea.

HANDBOOK FOR ALTAR SOCIETIES. By a Member of an Altar Society. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THESE are two useful little books. The *Liturgy for the Laity* explains with clearness and accuracy the symbolism and use of the vestments and various other things used in the service of the

Church. Over forty standard works have been consulted by the compiler, who has had considerable success in condensing the pith of them into a neat little book of one hundred and seventy pages.

The Handbook for Altar Societies is a sacristan's manual. The altars, how to keep them becomingly, and furnish and decorate them tastefully—the vestments, how to make and care them—the furnishing of a sacristy—in a word, the hundred questions that exercise the sacristan in the arrangement and care of the Church, are discussed in this little book. It contains so many practical hints that it will be found to be a useful manual in every sacristy.

We have, however, read with some surprise the description of the fantastic dress of the acolytes and torch-bearers in chapter IV.

ST. ALPHONSUS' PRAYER-BOOK. Selections from the Works of St. Alphonsus. By the Rev. Father St. Omer, C.S.S.R. Translated from the French by G. M. Ward. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a complete manual of pious exercises for every day, every week, every month, every season of the year, and for all the most important circumstances of life. The object of the translator has been to give English-speaking Catholics the privilege of making constant use of the very words "of that sweet spirit of St. Alphonsus." The book sets out with a summary of the Saint's teaching on prayer, and with an exhortation to Christians to pray always, quoting the words of the "Apostle and Doctor of Prayer:" "He who prayeth shall certainly save his soul; he who prayeth not shall certainly lose it." The frequent use of the prayers contained in this highly-presentable little volume cannot fail to be of the greatest utility to the faithful; men will soon learn how to speak to God, how to love Him, how to succeed in the practice of ejaculatory prayer, and how to remain in the Divine presence in the midst of their worldly occupations. These are the prayers of one honoured with the title of "Doctor of the Universal Church," whose special mission it was to win souls to Christ by inculcating the necessity and the efficacy of prayer. They are taken from his ascetical and dogmatical works, and are so arranged as to be most useful for all classes of readers. We would most earnestly wish to see this book in the hands of all the faithful, being assured that possessing the very spirit of St. Alphonsus, they cannot, in the various circumstances of life, possess a more prudent counsellor or a better friend.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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CALDERON DE LA BARCA.

EVERY student of dramatic poetry has learned that Spain once claimed a proud pre-eminence in this department of literature; but who the authors were, or what the works that entitled her to this distinction, few have been at pains to inquire. Her language is less generally known, and her classics less commonly studied, than those of most other countries in Europe. The names of Goethe and Schiller, of Alfieri and Metastasio, of Molière and Racine, are familiar to readers with any pretensions to literary culture; yet those illustrious writers whose genius once shed a halo around the Spanish theatre, and to whose works, not only Germany, Italy and France, but even England herself, stood indebted for much lofty poetical inspiration, are practically unknown amongst us. Cervantes, who held towards the Spanish stage a somewhat similar relation to that of Marlowe towards the English, should long since have been forgotten but for his immortal burlesque, by which, in his old age, "he laughed Spain out of her chivalry." Lope de Vega, the most prolific of writers, and pronounced "a prodigy of nature," because of that marvellous rapidity of execution which enabled him, in the course of a few hours, to produce some of his most brilliant masterpieces, is now remembered only as a clever improvisatore; and, probably, should not be even so fortunate, had he not found an appreciative and accomplished biographer in the person of Lord Holland.

And Pedro Calderon de la Barca, the Shakespeare of Spain, whose works have exercised a wider influence on the literature of other nations than those of either of his great contemporaries, is scarcely more extensively read, or more highly estimated than they. His writings have become known to us chiefly through translations; and translations, however excellent, are but an imperfect medium through which to view the merits of a great writer, more especially of a great poet, many of whose beauties must necessarily evaporate in the process of transfusion from a foreign tongue.

That this strange indifference is nowise attributable to the absence of genuine poetic power on the part of the distinguished authors mentioned, it will not be difficult to prove. The high repute in which the Spanish drama was held during the seventeenth century, and the number of imitators it produced, then and subsequently, among the *litterati* of all European countries, afford sufficient evidence that its authors must have been men of conspicuous originality and rare poetic taste. From a cursory comparison of the literatures of Italy and Spain, during that remarkable period, it will be found that the same general features are observable in both—the same broad outlines in plot and incident and characterization, the same gorgeous profusion of colouring in the descriptive passages, the same profound philosophical reflection and lofty romantic tone. And what holds for the literature of Italy, is true also for that of France. The student of Corneille, Molière, or Quinault, will have learned to trace resemblances, not in the main line of treatment only, but even in minor details, between many of the most striking passages in these authors and the nobler outbursts of passionate eloquence that mark the dramatic works of Lope and Calderon. Nor shall this excite surprise, when it is remembered that neither Italy nor France lays claim to a native dramatic literature; for, as ancient Rome was indebted to Greece for the inspiration of her poets, so were these countries under obligations to other than domestic sources for most of the beauty of thought and harmony of expression by which their best writers established their fame.

But that this should also have occurred in England, a country in which there arose a literature, indigenous as it were to the soil—noble in every outline, bold in every flight, independent in every movement—is the highest tribute that could possibly have been paid to the supremacy of the Spanish mind. And yet such has been the case. Massinger owed his *Virgin Martyr* to one of the *Autos Sacramentales* of Calderon; Fletcher was indebted for the idea of his *Elder Brother* to one of the secular dramas of the same author; and even Dryden himself did not hesitate to mould his *Indian Queen* and *Indian Emperor* on the great masterpieces that, about half a century previously, had won renown for the Spanish stage. To these might be added the names of Cibber, Steele, and many others; but enough has been said to prove that, however strange may be the indifference with which the dramatic literature of Spain has been treated during the last two centuries, it certainly has not arisen from any lack of poetic power on the part of the authors to whom that literature owed its birth.

As regards Calderon, it is to be accounted for on entirely different grounds. A poet who is intensely Catholic in all his writings, and many of whose most artistic works are an embodiment and glorification of the sublime asceticism that has ever been the animating spirit in the inner life of the Church, cannot be expected to find favour with critics whose judgments are warped by bigotry, or with readers whose tastes are formed on the principles that these critics teach. His most profound reasonings must appear to such minds to be vitiated with what they have learned to regard as the aimless speculations of an exploded philosophic system; his deep enthusiastic piety must seem no better than a blind admiration for the superstitious mummeries of a false religion; and his brilliant originality of thought and majestic harmony of expression, will be sure to partake of the apparent deformity and disproportion of the noble conceptions they are meant to clothe. On these grounds alone is it possible to explain the violent prejudice and severe strictures of many of Calderon's critics. Sismondi, for instance, asserts that, because "living in a corrupt age, and

writing for a superstitious people, to whose vices he was bound to pander, he fell into extravagance in every form of art. A priest himself, he became the poet of the Inquisition, and the minister of ecclesiastical arrogance, divorcing morality from religion and honour from truth."¹ Salfi goes to the extent of saying that he "can never read Calderon without indignation, since he seems to have had no object in view but to render his genius subservient to the lowest prejudices of his country."² And an able writer in *The Quarterly Review*, supposed to be either Southey or Lockhart, in a critique which even Hallam has pronounced "frigid,"³ severely censures the exuberance of metaphor, the Asiatic pomp of description, and the substitution of fanciful conceits for the language of the heart, which characterize the works of Calderon throughout.⁴ We find, on the other hand, that writers who have succeeded in divesting themselves of prejudice against Catholic sentiments and Catholic practices, and who have endeavoured to understand the state of society in Spain, during the age for which Calderon wrote, have manifested a different spirit in estimating the merits of his works. Most of the German critics, notably the Schlegels, have risen above the low level of sectarian bigotry, and have written in enthusiastic terms of Calderon and his works. Frederick Schlegel does not hesitate to institute a comparison between him and Shakespeare, and to assign the position of pre-eminence, on some counts at least, to the Spanish poet. "While Shakespeare," he tells us, "proposed the enigma of life without attempting a solution, in this great and divine master, it is not only proposed but solved."⁵ And Augustus Schlegel, who, on account of his religious opinions, is less likely to be suspected of partiality than his brother, is more laudatory still. "Blessed man!" he exclaims, "he had escaped from the wild labyrinth of doubt into the stronghold of belief. From thence, with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, he beheld and portrayed the storms of the world. To

¹ *Littérature du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. iv., c. 33.

² *Hist. Litt. de Ginguéné*, vol. xii., page 449.

³ *Lit. of Europe*, page 594.

⁴ *The Quarterly Review*, vol. xxv., page 14.

⁵ Dr. Trench's *Life and Genius of Calderon*, page 2.

him human life was no longer a riddle."¹ A poet whose merits have, on the one hand, been so much depreciated by the blindness of prejudice, and so much extolled, on the other, by the judgment of discerning and impartial critics, cannot fail to possess a special interest for the Catholic student of literature, in any country, or at any time.

The Spain to which Calderon was born, in the last year of the sixteenth century, differed in many important features from the Spain we know to-day. During the two preceding generations, she had reached the acme of her power, and had wielded, both in Europe and beyond the Atlantic, a political influence unparalleled in her long and glorious history. The year 1492 had witnessed the conquest of Granada, after a protracted crusade of more than eight centuries against the Moors; and almost immediately, as if to find employment for the swords now sheathed in an honourable peace, the Continent of the West was thrown open to the Conquistadores, and a series of heroic exploits, not always, it must be admitted, unstained by violence and crime, were performed, and new dominions were added to the already unwieldy possessions of the Spanish crown. Nor, during those years of activity abroad, were her arms allowed to rust at home. The Reformation, adopted in the north of Europe, was energetically repelled in the south; and Spain, then as now the defender of the faith against heresy, threw herself at once into the forefront of the conflict, resolved to bear the sacrifices or the glory that such an attitude might entail. Thus her victories abroad conspired with her championship of the truth at home to engender in her people a spirit of national pride, and to beget a filial reverential love for the two authorities they acknowledged as divinely-created upon earth, the Kingship and the Church.

Side by side with these generous sentiments of patriotism and religion, there existed a code of chivalry, not invariably, it must be conceded, in harmony with the Gospel precepts, but sanctioned nevertheless by royalty, approved by the nobility, and highly honoured by the members of every grade

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature* (Bohn's edition), page 405.

of social life. Foremost amongst its principles was its respect for noble blood. The well-born, the *bien-nacido*, were by nature generous, independent, and high-spirited; incapable of inflicting wanton injury; ready to shed their blood to preserve the escutcheon of their family undimmed by the breath of shame. From this, as a centre, radiated many divergent doctrines, which, however consonant with the laws of chivalry, seem, to the modern conscience, at least, to have been strangely at variance with the teaching of the Ten Commandments. It was, for example, a generally accepted belief that personal insult, especially if involving a violation of female purity, could never be wiped out except by the life-blood of the offender. And when it is remembered that, concurrently with this belief, there was accorded to the nobility, by universal consent, a large licence in the matter of gallantry, it will be seen what a fruitful source of intrigue, jealousy, and revenge lay deep down in the heart of the society for whom Calderon wrote. As a set-off, however, against the irregularities that sprang from this belief, was the principle of Catholic theology, universally received in Spain, that sincere repentance is an unfailing remedy to atone for a life of crime. A career of the most atrocious villainy, greater perhaps than that of the penitent thief, often closed in a scene of the most edifying reconciliation with heaven; and it not unfrequently happened that men who while living had vaunted in their disobedience to civil and ecclesiastical authority, glorying in their disregard of the sanctities of social life, were borne to the grave amid the glare of torches, and long files of white-robed clerics, and the solemn and sonorous chant of the Requiem service of the Church.

Such was the Spain to which Calderon was born; and such were the influences, which as a dramatist who "should hold the mirror up to nature" he was bound to portray in his works. While yet a pupil of the Jesuit College, in his native city of Madrid, his talents began to display themselves; and before he had finished his studies at Salamanca, where he read a course of theology, philosophy, and law, his fame had already spread far and wide. In the year 1621, when only twenty-one years old—for his age corresponds always

with the years of the century—he contested for a prize, given, on the occasion of the canonization of St. Isidore, to the best poem in the saint's honour; and so superior was his composition to those of the other competitors, that Lope de Vega spoke of him as “Don Pedro Calderon, who in his youth won the laurels that were wont to be given only to white hairs.” But the laurels thus early won were not destined to be worn in peace. As Cervantes had borne a part in the battle of Lepanto, and Lope de Vega had shared the disasters that had overtaken the Armada, so now it came to Calderon's turn to serve his apprenticeship to arms. A fierce contest was being waged in the Low Countries just as he reached man's estate, and, thirsting as well for military glory as for poetic fame, he threw himself enthusiastically into the thick of the fray. Spain then held out great rewards for success in war, and probably Calderon would have followed the career of arms for life, but for a lucky circumstance, which, if it deprived his country of his valuable counsels in battle, gained for her and for the world at large his valuable services in the nobler fields of literature where he was destined to win a guerdon of deathless renown.

In the year 1621, Philip IV. ascended the throne of Spain. A man of inferior talent for ruling, he might have graced a subordinate position in the cabinet, but wielding the royal sceptre, he could never have become anything better than a speculator in theory, and a blunderer in fact. In one respect, however, he was superior to most of the then sovereigns of Europe. Highly cultured himself, manifesting by turns the accomplishments of sculptor, painter, poet, and actor, he also possessed a keen discernment to recognise, and a generous will to reward, the most talented among his subjects. He had not been long in the enjoyment of supreme authority when the fame of Calderon reached his ears; and he at once decided to recall him from the active service of the field, to the more congenial position of Laureate to the Court. Calderon accordingly returned to Madrid; and thenceforth until the year 1651, with the exception of a few months during which he served in the Franco-Catalonian

war, he remained attached—in every sense of the word—to the royal person, and composed dramas of various kinds, as the civil or religious celebrations of the royal household required. In this latter year he was ordained priest, and a great change became at once apparent both in his demeanour and in his works. Forsaking the profane muses, in wooing whom he could find little to satisfy the requirements of his soul, he transferred his allegiance to a nobler object, consecrating his talents thenceforward to the service of the Church. The composition of the *Autos Sacramentales*, sacred dramas written in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, and intended to be acted on the evening of Corpus Christi, claimed his almost undivided attention during the remainder of his life. For these he seemed to have reserved the noblest efforts of his genius, since on them he lavished a fertility of invention, a copiousness of knowledge, and a brilliancy of colouring both in thought and language, that nowhere else can find a parallel in the vast extent of his works. He died in 1681, and his remains were interred in the Church of San Salvador. In the year 1840, however, they were exhumed, by order of the sovereign, and were borne, amid great pomp, to the Church of Our Lady of Atocha, at Madrid, where they at present repose. Above them has been reared a monument not unworthy of the poet's memory, and bearing an inscription that expresses the sentiments, if not the words, of Calderon himself: "Dying he deliberately despised those things which during life he had written with the greatest applause."

In approaching the study of Calderon's works, the reader is at first overwhelmed by their number, and the variety of subjects they embrace. Placed side by side with him, the most prolific of our English dramatists is dwarfed into insignificance; and were it not that the fifteen hundred plays of Lope de Vega are extant, to show what one of his contemporaries was capable of doing, we should be disposed to regard Calderon as an author of unrivalled activity in the fields of dramatic literature. Exclusive of his *Autos*, of which over seventy have been preserved, there are more than one hundred and fifty secular dramas, all elaborately

finished, and dealing with every phase of civil and social life. Nor, this marvellous rapidity of execution considered, are the faults so numerous or so glaring as might naturally be expected. There is often, no doubt, a repetition of the same figures. The buds that blow too early and share the common fate of "the infants of the spring;" the silk-worm that weaves for itself, by simultaneous action, a cradle and a shroud; the crystal fountain that springs into sunlight by the sandy beach, and is lost in the overwhelming tide; the twinkling stars which are flowers, and the sparkling flowers which are "stars that in earth's firmament do shine:" these and similar images recur at frequent intervals, and gradually become familiar as the hackneyed material of the poet's trade. Nor is this all. Even in the inner workings of the spiritual agencies that subserve the higher uses of the drama there is a repetition which the careful critic cannot fail to notice. Religion and honour, jealousy and love, and the other invisible influences that are the motors of human action, are so treated by Calderon as invariably to produce the same results; so that, as Dr. Trench expresses it, one is tempted at times "to liken his poetry to the shifting combinations of a kaleidoscope, which, ever as you turn it, yields only what you had seen already, however it may yield this, brought into new and unlooked-for combinations."¹ But despite these blemishes, which are common to most poets, and are met with not unfrequently even in Shakespeare himself, there are beauties to be found in Calderon which few of our poets have equalled, and none surpassed. At his command the grand old Spanish tongue, soft as the gentle breezes that fan the woods of Andalusia, sonorous as the limpid waters that roll in music upon her shores, yielded up its choicest treasures, its sweetest combinations; and in his highest flights of imagination, as in his most profound and abstract reasonings, became the obedient instrument of his will. Clothed with its richness and sparkling with its brilliancy, the graceful badinage, the courtly compliment, the delicately-pointed flattery of the Castilian gallant, found as easy an expression as did the

¹ *Life and Genius of Calderon*, c. 2, page 59.

theology of the Bible, or the philosophy of the schoolmen, or the asceticism of the saints. Then, unlike most of our English dramatists, honour invariably plays an important part in the action—an honour “of which I know no apter symbol,” writes Augustus Schlegel, “than the fable of the ermine, which is said to prize so highly the whiteness of its fur that, rather than stain it in flight, it at once yields itself up to the hunters and to death.”¹ And in a third feature, also, is Calderon superior to most other dramatists, either ancient or modern: he is wholly free from the grossness, or the indecency, or even the double-meaning innuendo, which has ever been the damning fault of the literature of the stage. Viewed under this aspect, how favourably do his writings contrast with all that a Beaumont and Fletcher, a Dryden, and so many other English dramatists have endured to write, and so many fashionable English audiences to listen to and applaud!

In analyzing the secular dramas of Calderon, it will be convenient, for the sake of clearness and order, to adopt the division of Augustus Schlegel, and to regard them as falling under four main heads:—Compositions on sacred subjects, taken from Scripture and legends; historical; mythological, or founded on other fictitious materials; and finally, pictures of social life and modern manners. We can only briefly illustrate each.

The most powerful and interesting of Calderon's secular dramas are founded on incidents recorded in the Old Testament, or on legends dealing with the lives of saints; and in them the student must admire the wonderful ease and self-possession with which he moves through the intricate windings of the wide domain thus laid under contribution. *The Locks of Absalom*, founded on the tragical end of Amnon, as recorded in the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of Kings, is perhaps the most famous of his Scriptural plays, and affords a striking proof of the poet's power to deal with the most delicate technical difficulties of his art. The feigned illness of Amnon, the ravishment of Tamar, the implacable hatred

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, page 502.

of Absalom, are all delineated with the strength and freedom of a master-hand; while the idyllic scene of the sheep-shearing, with all its pastoral quietness, its mazy mingling of shepherds and shepherdesses in the enjoyment of the rustic dance, the whole forming the background of an atrocious murder, is described with a vividness of colouring, and a realism in its every outline, that has never been surpassed in the whole range of letters.

The dramas derived from hagiological sources are numerous and interesting. *The Purgatory of St. Patrick*, though by no means the most powerful, is yet, perhaps, the best known in these countries, because of the excellent translation of it we possess from the pen of Denis Florence M'Carthy. The play, as the translator tells us in his preface, is founded on the *Vida y Purgatorio* of Montalvan, which was itself compiled from the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum, seu Vitae et Acta Sanctorum Hiberniae*, the work of Thomas Messingham, an Irish priest, who was Superior of the Irish College in Paris, in the early part of the seventeenth century. The drama deals with the early life of St. Patrick, his captivity, his conversion of Ireland to the faith, and his penitential exercises in the famous cave, to which tradition has assigned the name of "St. Patrick's Purgatory." Contrary to the account of authentic history, Egerius is represented as the Ardh-Reigh, and Leogaire as the vassal; while the two princesses—who are beautifully described in the legend as fired by the lambent flame that came from the lips of the saint, until they were consumed to ashes, "which the south wind blowing strongly dispersed over many parts of Ireland"¹—instead of being known as "Fedelm the Red Rose," and "Ethna the Fair," so familiar to the readers of Aubrey de Vere's poetry, are called by the softer and more southern names of Lesbia and Polonia. With the story of St. Patrick is interwoven the thrilling legend of Luis Enius, the Owain Miles of ancient English romance, and the dreadful horrors of his experience in "the Purgatory"—the punishment of the Four Penal Fields, of the Fiery Wheel and the Smoky

¹ Jocelin's *Life of St. Patrick* (Swift's translation), pages 17, 18.

House, and the High Mountain and the Cold River, of the Pit of Flames and the Bridge of Terrors—all are invested by the picturesque language of the poet with a veri-similitude such as has rarely been conferred on mere creations of the mind. One of the most beautiful passages in the play, however, is the prayer of St. Patrick in his solitary captivity, rendered as follows by D. F. M'Carthy in his excellent translation :—

“ Great primeval Cause of all,
 Thou, O Lord, in all things art !
 These blue heavens, these crystal skies
 Formed of dazzling depths of light,
 In which sun, moon, stars unite,
 Are they not but draperies
 Hung before Thy heavenly land ?
 The discordant elements,
 Water, fire, earth, air immense
 Prove they not Thy master hand ?
 Or in dark or brightsome hours
 Praise they not Thy power and might ?
 O'er the earth dost Thou not write
 In the characters of flowers
 Thy great goodness ? And the air,
 In reverberating thunder,
 Does it not, in fear and wonder,
 Say, O Lord, that Thou art there ?
 Are not, too, Thy praises sung
 By the fire and water—each
 Dowered for this divinest speech,
 With tongue the wave, the flame with tongue ?
 Here then, in this lonely place,
 I, O Lord, may better be,
 Since in all things I find Thee.
 Thou hast given to me the grace
 Of Obedience, Faith, and Fear ;
 As a slave, then, let me stray,
 Or remove me where I may
 Serve Thee truly, if not here.”

Of Calderon's historical and mythological dramas it will not be necessary to treat at length. The former embrace a great variety of subjects, extending from the first dawn of history down to events that happened within the poet's lifetime ; and the interest many of them must have possessed

for a Castilian audience may be inferred from the fact that such personages as Isabella of Castile, Charles V., Pizarro, Philip II., Don John of Austria, Henry the Navigator, St. Ignatius Loyola, St. Francis Borgia, and others of equal prominence were frequently impersonated, and that events of vast religious and political magnitude were often represented on the stage. In his mythological plays, Calderon does not, as Cowley says, "serve up the cold meats of the ancients, new heated and new set forth;" but, like Keats in more recent times, he assimilates them to the tissue and fibre of his own mind, where they become the exemplars of a new creation possessing a Christian symbolism, and endowed with all the wealth and beauty of modern poetry.

A class of Calderon's writings that has attracted no small amount of attention is his dramas of common life, or as they are technically called, his "Comedies of the Cloak and Sword." It is in these that the manners and customs of Spanish society during the seventeenth century are most vividly portrayed, and to reconcile many of them with our modern views of dramatic excellence, it will be necessary to bear in mind that the literary taste of the Spaniards, for whom the poet wrote, was far different from ours, and that the laws of social intercourse among the nobility of the south of Europe, during what is known as the age of chivalry, admitted of greater freedom of action than our stricter ideas of decorum at the present day could sanction. Ladies in masks and gentlemen in disguises, servants perpetually blundering and masters perpetually duped, all acting from the wildest motives, taking part in the most extravagant actions, constantly creating surprises that are calculated to maintain an audience in a fever of excitement—such are the staple materials of which these dramas are composed. The moral, no doubt, is not always high; yet, as has been already remarked, there is a total absence of grossness or indecency, so common in the literature of the English stage. A feature, too, which no one can help admiring in these compositions is the exquisite finish they display, and the wonderful skill with which the expectancy of the reader is kept alive until the close. The narrative never tires; the description never palls;

the dialogue is a combination of courtly ease and artistic beauty; while the Catholic and the poet are manifest throughout.

We now come to those writings of Calderon that demand our greatest attention, both because of the celebrity they once obtained, and the high esteem in which they were held by the poet himself, namely, the *Autos Sacramentales*, or "Acts" in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. In the year 1651, as has been mentioned, Calderon became a priest, and henceforth devoted his talents to the composition of the sacred drama. His industry in this department of literature was untiring during the remainder of his life, more than two plays on an average being turned off every year, and so highly did he estimate the value of these compositions that, when asked shortly before his death for a complete list of his plays, because the booksellers were vending the writings of others under his name, he replied by giving the titles of his *Autos* only, making no mention of his other works; for, as his epitaph states, "Dying he deliberately despised those things which in life he had written with the greatest applause." Any notice of Calderon, therefore, which would omit reference to his *Autos Sacramentales*, especially at a time when the decennial recurrence of the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau has revived public interest in the development of the sacred drama, would be unworthy of the poet, and inadequate to the end we have had in view in writing this paper.

Although the drama has, for several centuries, been divorced from the Church, and has often been carried on in direct contravention to her commands, yet it is true, however strange it may appear to some, that it had its origin in religious celebrations, grew up under the protecting ægis of ecclesiastical authority, and was secularized only after a long and honourable service in the cause of morality and truth. Like the drama of ancient Greece, it was introduced as a means of teaching a primitive and unlettered people, through the sense of vision, the rudiments of religion; and the priesthood of the middle ages, seeing the hold it secured on the minds of the faithful, took its management into their own hands, and made it the vehicle of a more detailed knowledge

not only of sacred history and tradition, but even of the more abstruse and sublime mysteries of the Christian faith. In its crudest form it was known as the Miracle Play—sometimes as the Mystery Play, because of its chief actors being ministers of the Church (*Mistèrès d'Eglise*)—and consisted in the representation of historical and legendary personages, who had played, or were supposed to have played, important parts in the regeneration of the human race. From this arose the Morality, which, if more difficult to be understood than its predecessor, was also more beautiful when viewed from an artistic standpoint, inasmuch as it introduced, either exclusively or in part, allegorical personages—virtues, vices, and the like—who in their interchange of speech and action symbolized the invisible agencies of the spiritual world. This form of the drama was known, towards the close of the middle ages, to almost every country in Europe, but nowhere did it take such hold on the minds and affections of the people as in Spain, which was pre-eminently a Christian and a Catholic nation.

Thus begun in good faith and simplicity, the Morality Plays continued for many generations—as the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau continues still—to be a source of instruction and edification to the people. Gradually, however, abuses began to be introduced. The crowds that assembled to witness the gorgeous spectacle became eager for coarser and less spiritual excitement; and, though the place of entertainment was usually the cathedral, there were not wanting men who could both write and utter low buffooneries, unworthy alike of the plays themselves and of the sacred edifice in which they were represented. Hence many Church authorities—notably Innocent III.—found it necessary to intervene, and to put a stop to these abuses. Council after council was held, some prohibiting the spectacles altogether, others prescribing certain limits outside which they could not be tolerated; and, in consequence, they soon fell into desuetude in most of the countries of Europe. Spain, however, was peculiarly circumstanced, especially as regarded her devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. From time immemorial a great love for the Holy

Eucharist had characterized her people. It had expressed itself in a thousand ways—in their private devotions, in their casual salutations, in their most ordinary and insignificant actions of life. Being thus the great source and centre of the nation's spiritual activity, it had also become the inspirer of her intellectual efforts, and the sacred drama of her poets continued for generations to be a pæan of adoration, a canticle of praise, in honour of the Sacred Host. When, therefore, the prohibition of the Church was promulgated against the drama, the Spanish clergy and poets pleaded strongly for its continuance, alleging in its defence the existence of a time-honoured custom, and the comparative absence of abuse. The consequence was that a compromise was effected. The plays were allowed to continue on condition that they should no longer be enacted in the churches, that clerics should take no part in them, and that they should be confined to certain solemn festivals, particularly to those set apart for special devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

Such was the condition of the sacred drama in Spain when Lope de Vega appeared, and by means of his four hundred *Autos*, raised it to a higher point than it had hitherto reached. It remained for Calderon, however, to bring it to its greatest perfection, to invest it with a grandeur, a sublimity, a magnificence of conception and spectacular display, that had never before been equalled, and have never been equalled since. "Here, indeed, at length," writes Dr. Trench, "his two vocations of dramatist and priest were reconciled in highest and most harmonious atonement; and, from the finished excellence of these works in all their details, he appears to have dedicated to them his utmost care, to have elaborated them with the diligence of a peculiar love."¹ And Augustus Schlegel, writing on the same subject, expresses himself as follows:—

"The mind of Calderon, however, is most distinctly expressed in the pieces on religious subjects. Love he paints merely in its most general features; he but speaks her technical poetical language. Religion is his peculiar love, the heart of his heart.

¹ *Life and Genius of Calderon*, page 93.

For religion alone he excites the most overpowering emotions which penetrate into the inmost recesses of the soul. He did not wish, it would seem, to do the same for mere worldly events. However turbid they may be in themselves to him, such is the religious medium through which he views them, they are all cleared up and perfectly bright. Blessed man! he had escaped from the wild labyrinths of doubt into the strongholds of belief. From thence, with undisturbed tranquillity of soul, he beheld and portrayed the storms of the world. To him human life was no longer a dark riddle. Even his tears reflect the image of heaven, like dew-drops on a flower in the sun. His poetry, whatever its apparent object, is a never-ending hymn of joy on the majesty of the creation; he celebrates the production of nature and human art with an astonishment always joyful and always new, as if he saw them for the first time in an unworn festal splendour. It is the first awaking of Adam, and an eloquence withal, a skill of expression, a thorough insight into the most mysterious affinities of nature, such as high mental culture and mature contemplation can alone bestow. When he compares the most remote objects, the greatest and the smallest, stars and flowers, the sense of all his metaphors is the mutual attraction subsisting between created things in virtue of their common origin, and this delightful harmony and unity of the world again is merely a refulgence of the eternal all-embracing love."¹

But these testimonies notwithstanding, there have not been wanting writers who have been unable to see anything more in the *Autos* of Calderon than a wild farrago of theology, philosophy, and asceticism, combined in so abstract and unintelligible a manner as to be unworthy of serious criticism, much less of such eloquent eulogies as have just been cited. And, indeed, when the ordinary *personnel* of these plays is only superficially considered, nothing could be more natural than to form such an estimate of their worth. A strange medley of allegorical and metaphysical personages, such as Idolatry, Heresy, Apostacy, Truth, Falsehood, Doubt, Thought, the Will, the Senses, Faith, Hope, Charity, Innocence, Sin, Grace, the Prince, the Man, Lucifer; characters from Scripture history, such as Noah, Isaac, Joseph, Moses, David, Solomon, Isaias, Daniel, Balthasar; the strange creations of mythology, such as Orpheus, Perseus, Andromeda, Medusa, Psyche, the Sybils,

¹ *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, page 503.

and many more; these, and such as these, are the usual *dramatis personae* of the *Autos Sacramentales*. No wonder, therefore, that many critics, offended by the apparent incongruity of such a motley combination, should be deterred at the very outset from entering on the study of these plays. To comprehend the principle of their construction the reader must transfer himself to a region of art altogether new, and bring with him a soul susceptible of the impressions of supernatural beauty, capable of perceiving the wondrous unity that results from the almost infinite variety of the spiritual world. If he fulfil these conditions, he shall no doubt understand how the varied characters, apparently most incongruous, are so conceived by the poet that out of them a harmonious whole is constructed; a sublime spiritual story is told; an instructive lesson, embodying the most sacred and solemn truths, is delivered to the audience in a manner at once attractive and edifying. This shall be made more clear by a brief description of the manner in which the poet presses all the materials of creation into his service for the exaltation and worship of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.

Starting with the principle that the Eucharist is God, the Author of the universe, the centre round which it turns, the end towards which it tends, he hesitated not to enter, with all the freedom and boldness of a Christian poet, upon a domain co-extensive with the world, co-existent with eternity, and to compel everything therein to do homage to its Creator, concealed beneath the sacramental veils. Another relation not less inspiring, which the Eucharist holds towards mankind, is found in its institution. The main object of the Redeemer in bequeathing this ineffable gift was that it should become the great source of light and strength to the Christian soldier in the relentless spiritual warfare in which he is engaged; and the poet, perceiving how its efficacy in this relation may be diminished or increased by a thousand influences, sometimes originating within us, sometimes proceeding from without, made bold to allegorize these forces, representing them as acting upon the stage the several parts they play in the mysterious world of spirit. The senses of the body, which

are as it were the outposts of the fortress in which the soul is imprisoned; the seasons of the year, which, by their influence on human action, may become powerful agents for good or evil; time and space, truth and falsehood, the Church and the world, Christ and Lucifer, and the myriad other powers of light and darkness that enter into man's struggle, his rises, and his falls, all, as is manifest from this view of the subject, admit of dramatic treatment; and hence they were invested by the poet in his *Autos Sacramentales* with an embodiment which was at once highly poetical and in harmony with the truths of the faith. The theology and philosophy of the Church, uninviting as they might seem at first sight to an imaginative writer, were treated with equally consummate skill. As Dante had done before him, Calderon discerned, with true poetic instinct, the suitable materials of his art amid the heterogeneous writings of the early Fathers and mediæval scholastics; and, like the bee that extracts the honey from among the varied juices of the flower, he selected their choicest thoughts, and worked them into the woof and texture of his most polished poetic works. Even the strange creations of mythology, incompatible though they appear with the sublime truths of Christianity, he disdained not to make use of; and the success that attended him here may be inferred from the following passage by Dr. Trench:—

“The manner in which Calderon uses the Greek mythology is exceedingly interesting. He was gifted with an eye singularly open for the true religious element, which, however overlaid and debased, is yet to be detected in all inferior forms of religion. These religions were to him the vestibules through which the nations had been guided, till they reached the temple of the absolute religion, where God is worshipped in Christ. The reaching out and feeling after an unknown truth, of which he detected something even in the sun-worship of the Peruvians, he recognized far more distinctly in the more human, and therefore more divine, mythology and religion of ancient Greece . . . Generally he took a manifest delight in finding or making a deeper meaning for the legends and tales of the classical world, seeing in them the symbols and unconscious prophecies of Christian truth. He had no misgivings, therefore, but that these would yield themselves freely to be moulded by his hands. He felt that, in employing them, he would not be drawing down the sacred into the region of the profane, but elevating that which

had been profaned into its own proper region and place. The legends of heathen antiquity supply the allegorical substratum for several of his *Autos*. Now it is *The True God Pan*, or it is the story of Perseus rescuing Andromeda from the great sea-monster, or Theseus destroying the Labyrinth, or Ulysses defying the enchantments of Circe, or the exquisite mythus of Cupid and Psyche. Each in turn supplies him with some new poetical aspect under which to contemplate the very highest truth of all."

The space at our disposal forbids us to enter on a more detailed analysis of the *Autos Sacramentales*: but enough has been said already to indicate the general nature of these compositions. "That they were a most remarkable exhibition of the spirit of the Catholic religion on its poetic side," says Ticknor, in his *History of Spanish Literature*, "can no more be doubted than the fact that they often produced a devout effect on the multitudes that thronged to witness their performance."¹ The morning of Corpus Christi opened with Solemn Mass, followed by a magnificent procession of the Blessed Sacrament through the streets of the city, in which not only clerics, but even the principal citizens, the magistrates, and even the king himself, deemed it a privilege to take part. In the afternoon the *Autos* were performed on a spacious platform erected either in front of the royal palace, or before the houses of the chief officers of state, and were witnessed by persons of every description, who occupied the surrounding windows and balconies, or whatever other points of vantage they could conveniently secure. That these plays produced a salutary effect on the minds of the audience can be easily imagined; for, while the gorgeousness of the spectacle spoke to the eyes of the illiterate, the deep allegorical meaning and hidden symbolism of many of the scenes must have proved highly interesting to even the most educated and refined. Indeed we have it on the testimony of Madame D'Aulnoy, a French traveller, who was present at such performances in Madrid, in the year 1679, that the vast multitude, on one occasion, were so overcome at hearing an actor recite the Confiteor, that, by a simultaneous impulse, they all cast themselves on their knees, smote their breasts audibly, while not a few amongst them were

¹ Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., c. xxii., page 361.

seen to burst into tears. What a pity that entertainments which were calculated to awaken such generous feelings of devotion should have so fallen into disuse, that the only dramatic performance of the present day which is at all comparable to them in power and impressiveness, can be witnessed only once in every ten years, and even then in a place inaccessible to the majority of men !

Such is a brief epitome of the life and labours of Calderon, a man whose transcendent genius entitles him to an honoured place among the poets of all time. It would be an invidious and bootless task to institute a comparison between him and Shakespeare, as has sometimes been attempted. Each stands unrivalled in his own peculiar sphere : Shakespeare, as the poet of human nature, in all countries and for all times ; Calderon, as the poet of the most Catholic people in the world, in an age when that people was most Catholic. The one, " warbling his native woodnotes wild," shows what inborn genius can achieve without the restraints of artificiality ; the other, by his mysterious allegory and subtle dialectics, proves that the highest art in poetry—and the same is true of music, and architecture, and sculpture, and painting—proceeds from a mind enlightened by supernatural faith, and a heart chastened by divine love. Shakespeare will be admired by the literary men of all ages, while human nature remains as he has described it—and that shall be for ever ; Calderon will be cherished by the Catholic peoples of the earth, while the Church to which he belonged retains her characteristic harmony in faith and works—and that shall be " to the consummation of the world." May we not, therefore, be permitted to express a hope that his writings, instinct as they are with faith and piety, may become more generally known among literary men, especially here in Ireland, which is connected with Calderon's country by ties of kindred, blood, and sympathy in religion, which he has honoured by making it the scene of one of his principal dramas, and which has already furnished two of his most ardent admirers, most earnest students, and most successful translators, in the persons of Archbishop Trench and Denis Florence MacCarthy ?

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

THE death of Cardinal Newman brings to mind various events in his chequered life. It reminds the present writer of one characteristic incident, mentioned by O'Curry in the preface to those Lectures delivered by him to the students of the Catholic University, of which Newman was then rector. O'Curry had spent his life labouring in the neglected field of Irish literature. He had searched the piles of MSS. mouldering on the shelves of libraries, public and private, throughout Ireland; he had visited the great English collections; MSS. had been sent from abroad, from Belgium and from Rome, for his inspection; he had studied volumes unopened for centuries; and he had thus attained a knowledge of the native language, literature and archæology never before approached and very probably unrivalled since.

Chiefly at the instance of Newman, a Celtic chair was established in the new Catholic University; and the appointment of O'Curry as the first professor, and the constant encouragement which that great scholar received from the rector, were all characteristic of the late Cardinal. The *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History*, in reality sketches of Irish literature, were the outcome of O'Curry's connection with the University. Of the circumstances attending their delivery and publication we read in the preface:—

“Little did it occur to me on the occasion of my first timid appearance in that chair, that the efforts of my feeble pen would pass beyond the walls within which those lectures were delivered. There was, however, among my varying audience one constant attendant, whose presence was both embarrassing and encouraging to me, . . . whose kindly sympathy practically showed itself. . . . At the conclusion of the course, this great scholar and pious priest (for to whom can I allude but our late illustrious rector, the Rev. Dr. Newman?) astonished me by announcing to me, on the part of the University, that my poor lectures were deemed worthy to be published at its expense.”

The lectures were published in due course, and no one who has even glanced through them will assert that Irish literature is either non-existent, or scanty, or worthless. One object of Newman and of O'Curry has been gained.

But they had another object in view, as O'Curry plainly states. It was to convince the Irish Catholic public, and more especially the educated class, that to them first of all belonged the duty of becoming acquainted with, and of learning to appreciate at their proper value, the language and literature of their ancestors. Has that end been reached? Do Irish Catholics to any extent know their native language to-day, or are they at all acquainted with the character of their native literature? Thirty-five years have passed since those lectures were delivered. In that time Irish Catholic education has made great strides. Yet, the number of those who can write our native language passably, or who have the slightest knowledge of our literature, is shamefully small. In whose hands do we now find those lectures, delivered in the National Catholic University, and treating of the most Catholic literature in the world? Chiefly in the hands of foreigners, and almost exclusively in the hands of non-Catholics. Those precious ecclesiastical MSS., first studied by O'Curry, have been published in fac-simile after great toil and labour, mostly by the exertions of Dr. Atkinson of Trinity College, an Englishman and a Protestant. Two centuries ago a Tipperary priest, a fugitive in the glen of Aherlow, with a price on his head, composed valuable and beautiful works—some ascetical, others historical. After that lapse of time, the most important of these has just been set forth, not by a priest, nor by an Irishman, nor by a Catholic, but by the same Dr. Atkinson. An immense body of mediæval sermons, Catholic of course to the core, have been given to Celtic students, again by Dr. Atkinson. The calendar of saints composed by the monk Aengus has been printed by Whitley Stokes, an Irishman indeed, and of distinguished family, but not a Catholic. To him, too, has been left the honour of preparing the first edition of the famous Irish life of St. Patrick, and of publishing the lives of the early saints from *The Book of Lismore*, writings which throw

so much light on the faith and usages of the old Irish Church. We find a Protestant clergyman preparing a dictionary of the words used by the monks who in Donegal convent arranged the old Irish annals. We see Max Nettlau, a German, preparing the text of our great epic, the *Táin Bó*. Dr. Kuno Meyer and others spend years studying the glowing, romantic, and poetic literature of ancient Erin, and of the early Christian period—a literature which carries us back thousands of years, giving us charming glimpses of old Celtic life. Even the organ of workers in the old and middle Irish is published and supported at Paris; articles on Gaelic subjects are frequent in foreign periodicals, far more so than in papers written for Irishmen; and our standard grammars are drawn up by German scholars. Again, it is a German and Dr. Stokes who are prepared to print, at their own expense, that great collection of words collected by O'Curry, and thought to have been lost until recently discovered among the MSS. in Clonliffe College.

It was, therefore, with a feeling of shame that a distinguished Irish-American noted, the other day,

“Two puzzling *facts* in recent Irish history. First, the interest that Protestants and foreigners take in the language and literature of that country; a language and a literature not only full of the spirit and teachings of Irish Catholicity, but which contain in themselves the seeds of the strongest and most aggressive Catholic tradition in the world. The other *fact*, no less puzzling, is the callous indifference or open hostility of the clergy and politicians to the native speech and literature.”

These are, indeed, puzzling facts, and bitter to think on; but we do not think on them, and so we avoid their bitterness. They are facts, certainly; for what are the great names among Celtic scholars of to-day. In addition to those already mentioned, those of Ascoli, Ebel, Gaidoz, de Jubainville, Nigra, Rhys, Thurneysen, Windisch, Zimmer, Zimmerman, occur to anyone interested in Celtic research. All these are foreigners, and nearly all non-Catholics. On the other hand, if we search among Irish Catholics, we find no layman of eminence, no one able to fill the place of Sullivan or Hennessy. Dr. Joyce and Mr. Flannery of London appear

but seldom. Then in the clergy, we shall meet with very few Irish scholars. There are eight or nine in the regular orders. The secular clergy are represented by Dr. M'Carthy, and one or two others rarely *en evidence*, and by a handful of the younger priests, willing, it may be, and earnest, but without influence or opportunities. Now, many of the priests in Irish-speaking districts are fine speakers. It was often my privilege to listen to eloquent sermons in beautiful Gaelic almost rivalling the language of Keating himself, and as often had I to regret that those speakers could not, through want of some acquaintance with the written language, contribute, as they were otherwise qualified to do, to our modern Gaelic literature, as our brother Celts, the Welsh clergy, do for their own prose and poetry.

It is in an humbler class of society that the lovers of our ancient speech are to be looked for—among the ranks of the school-teachers. Some of those devote their evenings, after their hard day's work, and their well-earned leisure time, to committing to writing, as well as they can teach themselves to do, some of that great body of folk-lore handed down orally from one generation to another, which is yet to be met with in those parts of Ireland where the vernacular is the language chiefly used. Better still, some, with the encouragement of their managers, qualify themselves to teach the native language to their pupils, with the happy result that the children speak, read, and write, both English and Irish. And, as the Bishop of Waterford noticed, the children who were thus taught their own language first, and through it learned other things, had a far better knowledge, of their religious duties especially, than the children sent to schools where Irish is not recognised as not worth teaching.

It must be confessed, however, that the number of Irish-teaching schools, although increasing, is very small. Out of the thousands of schools in which the children of the nation are educated, but forty-five encourage the national language; out of the tens of thousands of Irish boys and girls growing up in those schools, only eight hundred and twenty-six were examined last year in Irish. Only about three or four hundred people in Ireland have a respectable knowledge of the written

language. In those days of education we are forced, then, to ask ourselves, does education mean Anglicisation? Can education, which ought to be a development of the power of the mind, have anything in common with a system which neglects and practically scorns that great power of speaking a magnificent language which children have in the Irish-speaking counties—a power which our foreign friends, after years of study, are glad to obtain even imperfectly. Besides, is it not right to encourage a regard for national characteristics? If so, let me set down some of the many anomalies which present themselves to anyone, especially a foreigner, interested in the Irish language.

I. As to the position of the language in the elementary schools of the country, something has been already said. The school-teachers cannot be blamed so much as the system which forbids Irish to be taught to children until they have reached the fifth class, just when many other eligible extra subjects present themselves, and when youth, the proper time for learning a language, is to a great extent passed. Moreover, it insists that Irish, if taught at all, shall be taught outside school hours. Now, who could expect that children would like to learn anything, when doing so would mean spending even a short time extra in school? And as for the teachers, they have no inducement to teach Irish when they can more easily present pupils for examination in other extra subjects which will procure equally great, or greater, results fees. And, in fact, it is not the slight fees held out by the National system that attract teachers to establish Irish classes, so much as the prizes offered by a generous Protestant clergyman living in Wales, the Rev. E. Cleaver.

II. Looking round the higher schools and colleges we find the native language practically ignored. In all Ireland, only two hundred and seventy-four passed in Irish at the late Intermediate Examinations; of these two hundred and thirty-four came from the Christian Brothers' schools, leaving forty to all the seminaries and colleges of the country. In none of the Irish-speaking counties is the vernacular recognized in the local colleges, except in two. And at the same

time French and German pupils are brought over to teach Irish boys and girls the intricacies of foreign languages. Granted that there are, as I believe there are, more to-day than there have been for the last two centuries who can write and read Irish, there are surely far more who can write and read French, German and Italian—languages almost useless after four years to the vast majority; while a magnificent language, which it ought to be our pride, as it is our duty, to foster and cultivate, is despised and allowed to die.

III. Few of us have been taught to look upon the loss of a language linked with the fate of this country for three thousand years, as a national calamity, or to regard its preservation as a national duty. And so even private students, with rare exceptions, see it decay with indifference. In the periodicals we read articles over Irish names, upon all subjects except the history, language and literature of Ireland.

IV. It cannot be denied that the trusted political leaders of the people, and many priests in Irish-speaking districts, are unable or unwilling to speak to their audiences in the language the latter best understand, and which the speakers, if consistent, should encourage.

V. Foreign scholars—Germans, French, English, Danish—become enamoured of our language—peculiar in itself, valuable to the ethnologist and philologist, powerful, and delicate as a medium for conveying thought, sweet and musical when correctly spoken—and of our rich and varied literature. They come from Paris, Berlin, and Leipsic to spend their leisure time working in the Dublin libraries, or in Oxford, or the British Museum, studying dusty scrolls and envying us our better opportunities of seeing the MSS. which are, they assure us, most precious, and which we in our ignorance, look upon as waste paper. Naturally, they are surprised that the learned of that Island of Saints and Scholars, of which they have heard so much, should be blind to the treasures which lie at their own doors; and then, they say, where is the much-vaunted patriotism of Irishmen, when they ignore the greatest proof of their nationhood?

And here is a question we may put ourselves. Granted

that many of the richest and subtlest Irish Catholic minds are engrossed with professional studies and duties, with political questions, with those great social problems which now-a-days present themselves at every turn, or with special studies for which there may be a *special* aptitude that one should encourage; granted all this, do there not still remain many who intend to read or study *something*, and who can choose their subject? And if so, have not the native language and literature a claim prior to that of foreign studies?

At the Welsh National Eisteddfod, held in Bangor a few weeks ago, Canon Farrar made use of the following eloquent words:—

“When a language has such a history and such a literature as the Welsh, it is a possession which men ought not readily to let die; and when God has created a nationality, and has surrounded it with rivers, with hills, and with the sea for its rampart and its girdle, the world is all the poorer when such a nationality disappears.”

These words, coming from a distinguished English scholar, may be applied, and with tenfold force, in favour of our own language, literature and nationality. Are the thoughts of generations of Irishmen, enshrined in their own natural language, to be forgotten? or is Ireland, after three thousand years, to throw away her ancient tongue, a bond which connects her with such a past history as hers is, and which would be for aye a proof of her distinct nationhood?

“But what use is the Irish? This wailing over the language is all sentimentality.” This is a common objection. Well, it is sentimentality, and patriotism is but a sentiment also, and the two sentimentalities are closely connected. Yes, it is sentimentality to long for the revival of the national language, and to wish to see the national history and literature in their due place of honour; but it is true patriotism as well. Witness Archbishop MacHale, a great and consistent patriot, who during his life did all he could to encourage his people to use their native language, and who undertook the translation into Irish

of a considerable portion of the Holy Scripture (the only authorized Catholic portion of Scripture we have), of Moore's *National Melodies*, and even of half the *Iliad*. Witness again Henry Flood, Grattan's contemporary, who left his large fortune for the encouragement of the native tongue. Again, we can point to Petrie, Todd, Hudson, and to many others.

And yet it is not all sentimentality. Many a mind which might make a stir in Ireland is being left dark and uneducated in the Irish-speaking districts to-day, as the school inspectors can testify. And not a few people are left without religious instruction through want of one who will teach them in the language they understand. I could mention instances of this myself.

It surely stands to reason that the history, language, and literature of a country are sacred national trusts. It is evident, too, that much of the most interesting portion of Irish history, the earlier part, is as yet only a skeleton, which must be filled up from the study of the early literature. Again, take our antiquities. To preserve our historical monuments, and to record their connection with historic events, is a good work; but I cannot help thinking that much labour and energy are uselessly thrown away by the dry-as-dust school of antiquarians in maintaining baseless or doubtful theories, while the great national monuments, our language and literature, are neglected and allowed to perish. Not that the modern Gaelic is a ruin, by any means, in itself; it is sound and vigorous; but it is being sapped from without.

The language has no literature. This ridiculous objection has been met a hundred times, but I suppose it will continue to be brought forward as long as people neglect to inquire into the facts before pronouncing their judgment. No one who has read O'Curry's book, or De Jubainville's catalogue of our epic literature, or even O'Reilly's meagre list of writers, or who has seen those tomes in the Royal Irish Academy, which contain but an index to the one thousand four hundred volumes of MSS. preserved there, can deny the extent, at least, of Gaelic literature. As for the character of this

literature, we find Mr. Alfred Nutt, a recognised authority on ethnology and early history, record his opinion—

“That except the Hellenic, the Irish sagas are the only considerable mass of Aryan epic tradition. As evidence of the most archaic side of Aryan civilization, the *Táin Bó Cuailgne* is inferior only to the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*.”¹

And we may be sure that there is something valuable in the literature, to study which foreign scholars come to the Dublin libraries, collate various MSS. with much toil, and rough it in the coast villages and islands, as we see them do, in order to acquire a better insight into the structure of the spoken Gaelic, and so obtain a key to the difficulties of the older language. Those scholars, who are acquainted with all European literatures, assure us that the Irish mediæval and earlier literature stands unrivalled, except by a portion of the classics.

One reason why so little is generally known of Irish literature is found in the fact that much of it is anonymous—copied by scribes from older MSS. There are some prominent names, however, but these are seldom heard of; whilst the names and works of even obscure English and Continental writers are familiar to Irish boys and girls. It is to be regretted that we have no handy manual of Irish literature. Dr. Windisch's article (“Keltische Sprachen”) in the new German encyclopedia would make an excellent little book, if translated and printed separately, as it gives in a small compass a reliable account of all the Celtic languages and literatures.

Upon us Irish Catholics the study of Irish literature has a special claim. We maintain that the faith we hold is identical with that taught by St. Patrick and his successors; that they were, as we are, Roman Catholic. It has been the aim of Protestant Irishmen to persuade their co-religionists that they alone hold the pure patrician teaching, now, as always uninfluenced by Rome. Strong articles by good writers have appeared quite recently in support of their contention, and, very probably this historico-religious question will be dis-

¹ *Folk Lore*, June, 1890, page 234.

cussed warmly in a short time, when present burning questions shall have been settled. If this discussion were put upon us to-morrow, how many have we competent to support our claim by arguments drawn from our extensive ecclesiastical literature? Newman had experience of the value of such arguments, and no wonder he was so much interested in O'Curry's work. The study of Irish literature is but in its infancy; many things must occur in a literature so extensive and so thoroughly Catholic to throw light on the exact belief of the early Celtic Church. It has been shown that those who study the literature are practically non-Catholics, and such men might not see, or might be tempted to slur over, a point in favour of our position.

So that even if Irish were to perish as a spoken language, the literature would remain valuable from the pure literature point of view, and still more valuable from the Catholic standpoint. And now we come to the question: Is the national language really fated to perish? According to the last census, eight hundred thousand people in Ireland can speak Irish; sixty thousand can speak no other language. More than two millions in America can speak Irish. And yet, if things do not change, it is certain that in another century the spoken language will have disappeared for ever. Things are changing, For the last five centuries the history of the language has been a history, first of active repression by penal laws, then of a more fatal and more shameful neglect, and until very recently, ill-concealed adversity to the language, on the part of influential Irishmen. Not one Irishman having control or influence in the education of the country has ever spoken or done anything worth mentioning for the national language. And when the Irish has lived through all this, when better days are dawning, public opinion becoming more and more national, and prominent Irishmen beginning to take an active interest in the old tongue, have we not every reason to hope and to look forward to its revival, to some extent, at least? Already it is creeping into the schools, if not into the colleges. No one is found to disparage it, as it used to be disparaged a few years ago; and even this is something. A century since,

the Welsh was in as bad a state as our language is in at present, until by the exertions of a few patriotic clergymen, public opinion was aroused in its favour. The result is, that Welsh is now a popular, nay, a fashionable language, as is evidenced from the fact that at the last Eisteddfod the Bishop of Bangor opened the proceedings by reciting a Welsh ode composed by himself for the occasion, and that other eminent Welshmen, lay and clerical, recited various compositions in prose and poetry. I wonder shall we ever see the like in Ireland. Another result is that the children are taught the two languages concurrently; the school-books have Welsh and English on opposite pages, and the children know English better than those in the neighbouring English schools. They have twenty-four newspapers—daily, weekly, and monthly, and a vigorous, living and racy literature.

This, too, is what those interested in Irish aim at. It is not to banish English—that would be, first of all, impossible, and also absurd. Listen, again, to the words of Canon Farrar:—"Neither I, nor any man in his senses, dream for a moment of doing anything to hinder the universal prevalence of English. But the prevalence of English is something very different from the exclusive dominance of it. We wish that every child should speak English perfectly, and should also speak . . . its native language perfectly." That this state of education is a possible one is proved by its success in Wales and in other countries. That it is desirable is evident, if the only aim of education be not to make us more English than the English themselves. It is clear, too, that if the language is to be saved, immediate steps must be resolutely taken by those who have control of educational establishments of all kinds.

E. GROWNEY.

"ROBERT ELSMERE" AND "THE NEW
REFORMATION."

IT is now two years and more since *Robert Elsmere* first appeared before the public. Its circulation has been large; it has been read by many; it has been noticed and reviewed in all the periodicals; it has made a name for its author. Apparently, not quite satisfied with the stability of the scientific basis on which it is built, Mrs. Humphry Ward has since its appearance contributed an article to *The Nineteenth Century*,¹ which it is not unnatural to consider as a kind of supplement to it: a brilliant article, obviously intended to set forth the reasons that have led the author to take up the position she does in *Robert Elsmere*, regarding the present state and prospects of Christianity. It will not be out of place, therefore—rather it will be convenient—to notice in conjunction with *Robert Elsmere* the article entitled *The New Reformation*.

Writing² some years after the Council of Rimini St. Jerome exclaimed that "the whole world mourned, wondering that it had become Arian." In view of the possibility of the publication and the ready acceptance of such a book as *Robert Elsmere*, we may well lament and wonder that the world has become incredulous. It is true its appearance has not been without its compensating advantages. It has evoked a good deal of protest in the press; it has led to a widely-spread expression of disapproval of the principles on which it is based; in a word, it has shown the heart of the country to be in the main sound in regard to the fundamental tenets of Christianity. But allowing for all this, the fact still remains that it is a revelation to us what sad havoc modern rationalism and infidelity have made and are making among the reading portion of the population.

An erroneous impression as to the character of the book is widely spread among persons who have not had an opportunity or perhaps an inclination to read it. It is supposed to

¹ *The New Reformation*. By Mrs. Humphry Ward (author of *Robert Elsmere*). March, 1889.

² *Adversus Luciferianos*, c. 19.

contain a systematic argumentative attack upon Christianity—to be, in fact, a novel, written upon the principle of many modern stories for boys, containing, interspersed between chapters of interesting and exciting narrative, certain pages devoted to the discussion of scientific, religious, and other subjects—passages for the most part carefully avoided by the reader. *Robert Elsmere* is not a book of that kind. It does not pretend to introduce controversial conversations, nor does it undertake to discuss such subjects as Christian origins, the Sacred Scriptures, and the like. The sting lies elsewhere. It is in the plot. We have, in the literature of the day, attacks on Christianity in abundance. We have a plentiful supply of books that completely ignore the doctrines of Christianity. *Robert Elsmere*, in a way, goes a step farther. It seems to pre-suppose in a large section of the reading public a leaning toward and enthusiasm for infidelity. It endeavours to enlist our sympathies and admiration for a man who rejects the religion of Christ, and devotes himself to an active propagandism of infidelity.

Robert Elsmere is a young man of rare excellence—frequently encountered in works of fiction, seldom, alas! met with in real life. His Oxford career—of course he went to Oxford—was brilliant, though he failed, owing to overthoroughness in historical work, to take a first. It is whilst at Oxford that he makes the acquaintance of a Mr. Grey, who is evidently intended to personate the late Professor Green, and whom the author does all in her power throughout the book to extol and glorify. His university career ended, Robert takes orders and a curacy in the East End. He is intended, however, for other things. Good luck and ill-health drive him to visit some friends in the Lake District, where he becomes acquainted with the Leyburn family, a mother and three daughters. The mother, weak in mind and body; the youngest daughter, Rose, beautiful, capricious, and eighteen; Agnes, amiable and good; Catherine, the eldest, well-looking, charitable, of strong religious views, the model of a good old-fashioned Protestant. A mutual attachment springs up between Robert and Catherine, which ends in engagement under circumstances the most unlikely and romantic.

The newly-married couple settle down in a comfortable Surrey parish. *He* becomes a model parson, charitable to the poor, solicitous for the young, zealous for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock. *She* proves herself to be everything that a parson's wife should be, and so the time passes in peace and happiness. It is during this period that Rose becomes acquainted with an old Oxford Don and friend of Elsmere's, an inveterate pessimist, named Langham. Regarding the man at first with feelings of aversion, she ends by falling in love with him. Her sentiments are reciprocated, and later on a kind of engagement is entered into between them; but at the last moment Langham characteristically breaks off the match.

There dwells in the parish a certain squire, to all appearances the very incarnation of the new learning. He dwells in mysterious loneliness in a gorgeous mansion, surrounded by his books. Thence he seldom goes forth to associate with his fellowmen, but he prowls about at early morn and in the twilight shades. His time and attention are entirely devoted to a gigantic work on Christian evidences, designed with a view to dealing the finishing stroke to a moribund Christianity. Wonderful to relate, it is just such a man as this that Elsmere has been long wishing to have by him, to assist him in some historical work he has on hand, and though their relations are at first somewhat strained, they soon become intimate friends.

The friendship proves disastrous to Elsmere. He is induced to take up the study of the early days of Christianity; he rushes into it with all his usual impetuosity, and before long he ceases to be a Christian. As yet Catherine knows nothing of his changed attitude in religious matters. A time of mutual distrust follows: then at last Elsmere makes a clean breast of the state of affairs to his wife. Next comes the giving up of the parish; and then the scene of the story changes to London. Elsmere gradually gets involved in secularist work, whilst his wife continues her charitable and religious duties in London. Meanwhile the relations between the two are somewhat strained. Elsmere before long gets connected with, and finally takes the lead in, a kind of infidel

institution, working for the welfare of the lower classes. It is during this period that he electrifies with his eloquence the minds of his hearers. Some specimens of his lectures are given to us, and we must say that the magic of his personality must have accounted for most of the effect produced, for more sorry stuff than the matter of his discourses it would be difficult to conceive. At first, Catherine will have nothing to do with his work, but finally a *modus vivendi* is established between them. They agree to differ, and Catherine, apparently as a kind of sop to Cerberus, whilst holding fast her old religious views and continuing to attend the Church as of old, resolves to be present on Sunday evenings at her husband's lectures, delivered in the interest of infidelity. The rest is soon told. Overwork begins to tell on Elsmere, and he has to leave London. He retires to Algiers, whence he never returns. He dies prematurely—happily, he says—apparently without belief in the immortality of the soul.

Such, in outline, is *Robert Elsmere*. The general effect of the book on the reader is the reverse of pleasant—it is depressing in the extreme. In regard to the central incident—the defection of Elsmere from Christianity—very much the same sensation comes over one as one feels in a nightmare. A calamity is felt to be impending, and there is at hand no apparent means to ward it off. In works of fiction the reader is completely in the author's power. The writer is bound by no series of material facts. The history and the characters are the creation of his own brain. In *Robert Elsmere*, the representatives of modern scepticism are depicted as men of keen intellects. There is Elsmere himself, highly gifted and highly educated. Mr. Grey is represented almost as the type of a perfect man. The old squire is the very impersonation of deep learning and powerful intellect. On the other hand, who are introduced as representing Christianity? There is Catherine, a good and amiable woman, simple and religious, but with little pretence to a liberal education. There is, besides, a well-meaning ritualistic clergyman—one Newcome—who spends his time apparently in a high state of mental tension. But where are the Newmans, the Gladstones, the Westcotts of Christian celebrity? No such

characters are introduced. The result is therefore clear. One can foresee from the outset the defeat of Christianity; and the way in which it is managed inspires us throughout the story with anything but pleasant feelings.

We cannot, it is true, quarrel with our author for the outcome of her story. The ground has been all prepared before, and the issue is but the natural result of the forces that she has set to work in her own way. But we are entitled to call in question the soundness of the foundation on which the whole story rests. We are not prepared to admit that Christianity has, as is intimated, ceased to maintain its hold upon this generation; and what is more, we are not at all clear that the views of the author are really so advanced on this matter as *Robert Elsmere* would lead us to suppose. It is patent to the reader of that book that Christianity is regarded as a thing of the past. Its day is gone; the literary world has pronounced its verdict; and what is now wanted is a new religion for the future.

In *Robert Elsmere*, the author is saved the necessity of bringing forward arguments in support of the position taken up. She simply assumes the effete state of Christianity, and upon that assumption builds up her story. But something more than assertion is necessary to convince a person with any pretence to education or mental culture that the old religion has lost its hold upon mankind. Mrs. Humphry Ward's article in *The Nineteenth Century* was written in support of that contention. It seems, in fact, to have been written with the view of establishing by proof the position taken up in *Robert Elsmere*. Strange to say, then, in *The New Reformation*, the writer shifts her ground, and points to that which, in the novel, was *un fait accompli*, a thing of the past, as an event of the future. But then in the article she is under the necessity of bringing forward proof of what she says. She makes use of the method of dialogue to develop her ideas, and thus enjoys the advantage of being able to set up an antagonist whom she is easily able to dispose of; still she finds it necessary to recede so far from her former position that now we are only assured that we are destined in the future to behold the discomfiture of Christianity.

Enemy, in fact, though she is to the supernatural, she is not deterred from trying her hand at prophecy. We are not prepared to go so far as Mrs. Ward does in depreciation of the value of prophecy, but we can certainly go so far as to assert that prophecy is a dangerous weapon in the hands of amateurs.

It will, perhaps, be well here to quote two passages from *The New Reformation* in illustration of the position taken up by Mrs. Humphry Ward in regard to the present position of Christianity. Thus, we have in one place :—

"No doubt there is a large and flourishing school of orthodox theology in Germany. So, seventy years ago, there was a large and flourishing school in Germany of defenders of the Mosaic authorship and date of the Pentateuch. . . . It is not *their* work, but that of their opponents, which has lived and penetrated, has transformed opinion, and is moulding the future. They represented the exceptional, the traditional, the miraculous, and they have had to give way to the school representing the normal, the historical, the rational. . . . Is not all probability, all analogy, all the past, so to speak, on our side, when we prophesy a like fate for those schools of the present, which, in the school of Christian origins, represent the exceptional, the traditional, the miraculous."

And again :²—

"I say to myself, it has taken some thirty years for German critical science to conquer English opinion in the matter of the Old Testament. But, except in the regions of an either illiterate or mystical prejudice, that conquest is now complete. How much longer will it take before we feel the victory of the same science, carried on by the same methods and with the same ends, in a field of knowledge infinitely more precious and vital to English popular religion than the field of the Old Testament—before Germany imposes upon us not only her conceptions with regard to the history and literature of the Jews, but also those which she has been elaborating for half a century with regard to that history which is the natural heir and successor of the Jewish—the history of Christian origins?"

These are two instances, out of many that might be cited, of the position taken up by Mrs. Humphry Ward on the present state and prospects of Christianity. Nor is there any

doubt what the writer wishes us to understand when she speaks of the approaching victory of German views on Christian origins. It is clear from the whole tenor of the article that she refers to the downfall of belief in the supernatural both in Christ and His religion; in fact, nothing will make it clearer than her statement that she regards Rénan as still “the main expounder of German theological *Wissenschaft* for the world in general.”¹ Rénan is, in fact, the main expounder of the views that will prevail in future years.

In the passages we have quoted from *The New Reformation* there are two points to be considered, to each of which we shall devote some little space. It is laid down, in the first place, that the results of German critical science in regard to the Old Testament, having been long resisted in the Anglican Church, are now practically accepted by all; and, secondly, that according to all analogy, the destructive criticism now at work in the field of the New Testament will, though now vigorously resisted, be in due time received. To take these points in order.

Mrs. Humphry Ward begins her attack by pointing to the position taken up some years ago by the Anglican clergy in regard to *Essays and Reviews*, and more especially in reference to the work published by Bishop Colenso on the Pentateuch. “Thirty years ago the bishops and high-churchmen prosecuted *Essays and Reviews* in two ecclesiastical courts;”² and further on she calls attention to the fact that twenty-five years ago there was a “synodical condemnation of Colenso and of *Essays and Reviews*.” In conjunction with the previous attitude taken up by Anglicans, Mrs. Ward contrasts the Scripture debate that took place in the Church Congress, held at Manchester in 1888. “The distinctive note of its most distinctive debate, as it seems to me, was the glorification of ‘criticism,’ especially, no doubt, in relation to the Old Testament.”³ Then comes a quotation from the Dean of Peterborough: “I hold it to be established beyond all controversy, that the Pentateuch, in its present form, was not written by Moses.” Other speakers

¹ Page 469.

² Page 463.

³ *Ibid.*

followed, who maintained that the results of modern criticism in regard to the authorship and dates of other books of the Old Testament, both historical and prophetic, had been fully established. In fine, still speaking of the Church Congress, she says: "Its subject is whether 'critical results' (especially in connection with the Old Testament) are to be taught from the pulpits of the Church of England."

Now it is obvious to point out that we are not concerned to defend either the orthodoxy or the consistency of the Church of England. Its orthodoxy, probably, no Catholic would care to defend. Few persons, no matter what their views might be, would have the hardihood to defend the consistency of its attitude in regard to Sacred Scripture within the last half century. We are concerned in the controversy only so far as the Anglican change of front is taken by Mrs. Humphry Ward to supply an argument for the imminent downfall of Christianity. From this point of view we must certainly say that the conclusion drawn from the recent pronouncements at Congress in regard to the Old Testament seems altogether too sweeping, and to be assigning a quite disproportionate importance to the matter.

Mrs. Ward has lapsed into a very obvious fallacy, owing to want of exactness in the use of terms; she has, in fact, employed what is technically called an "undistributed middle." The fallacy, in fact, of her whole argument lies in her use of such terms as "criticism," "critical results," "the results of German critical science," "modern criticism," and the like. With many of the "critical results" acquiesced in by Anglican divines we are far from agreeing; but, on the other hand, is it clear that the "results of German criticism," as understood by them and Mrs. Humphry Ward, mean quite the same thing? And, let it be understood, we do not now refer to any mere details, but to the broad and general results of criticism. Mrs. Humphry Ward is apparently a great admirer of Rénan. She regards him as still "the main expounder of German *Wissenschaft* for the world in general." That being so, to find out the results of German criticism in the domain of the Old Testament, we, of course, turn to the pages of Rénan's *History of Israel*. What do we find there?

There can be no doubt as to the answer. With him the Old Testament has been shown to be a curious and highly interesting collection of documents, illustrative of the history of the people of Israel. Nothing more. The Old Testament is apparently a happy hunting-ground on which to exercise his sarcasm, and from which to level the shafts of ridicule against everything sacred and divine. But has the Anglican Church accepted such results as these from German critics? Archdeacon Farrar may, perhaps, be taken as a fair representative of the Broad Church; and, indeed, the views that he holds may be found repeated, perhaps in other words, but still repeated in the writings of all the leaders of the more advanced party in the Church. As illustrative, then, of the position he takes in regard to the Old Testament, we quote the following passage, taken from the preface to his *History of Interpretation*, a work published in 1886. The book is really a reprint of the Bampton lectures, which he delivered in 1885, and he is explaining how he desires to carry out the design of the founder, in the work which he has undertaken. He has already pointed out two ways in which this is to be done; then he continues:—

“Thirdly, by robbing of all their force the objections of infidels and freethinkers to the historical details and particular narrations of the Old Testament. This endeavour has an importance that those only will appreciate who have tried to understand the thoughts of many hearts. ‘There are things in the Old Testament,’ says Professor Drummond, ‘cast in the teeth of the apologist by sceptics, to which he has simply no answer. These are the things, the miserable things, the masses have laid hold of. They are the stock-in-trade of the freethought platform and the secularist pamphleteer. A new exegesis, a reconsideration of the historical setting, and a clearer view of the moral purposes of God, would change them from barriers into bulwarks of the faith.’”

From these words some idea may be obtained of the Archdeacon’s view, of the Broad Church view, in regard to the Old Testament. We do not for a moment pretend to be in sympathy with it, but we ask what has it in common with the “results of criticism” as set forth by Rénan, the

¹ The lectures were intended to be apologetic.

² Page 10.

approved "expounder of German *Wissenschaft*." Does not the Archdeacon, on the contrary, seem as much opposed to Rénan and his "results," as an earlier generation is said to have been to Colenso? Who, in fact, if not Rénan and such as he, are referred to as the "infidels" and "free-thinkers," whose objections are to be robbed of their force?

To us, then, Mrs. Humphry Ward seems to be arguing fallaciously. It is true, the Anglican Church, whilst opposing, some years ago, Bishop Colenso's views on the Pentateuch, has now taken up the results of modern criticism on many points, such as the Mosaic authorship, and the dates of many of the books of the Old Testament. It is true also, it has accepted a looser view in regard to inspiration; but that it has accepted the "results of German criticism" in Rénan's sense is far from being the case. How, then, does it follow by analogy that in the near future the Established Church is to accept not certain "results," as to the New Testament, but the most infidel views of the same Rénan and of the most infidel school; that, in fact, it is to reject the supernatural altogether, to reject the divinity of Christ, to entirely give up Christianity?

So much upon the first point contained in the quotation from *The New Reformation*. In regard to the second, there is not much to say. Apart altogether from the conduct of the Anglican Church towards the Old Testament, what is to be thought of Mrs. Humphry Ward's prophecy as to the approaching downfall of the Christian religion? That prophecy has been made before. The infidel philosophical school of the last century in France decided upon destroying the Church of Christ. When Strauss published his *Leben Jesu*, great scandal was caused, and many thought he had explained away the supernatural in the life of Christ. Later on, Baur and the Tübingen school traced to their own satisfaction and that of their friends the early formation of the Church, showing how "the Catholic Church of the second century is but the product of a great compromise come to under the pressure of heresy by the two primitive opposing parties, the Petrine

and the Pauline.”¹ All these attacks have been delivered, and upon each occasion writers have prophesied the approaching dissolution of the Church of God. It is true Mrs. Ward indignantly repudiates the notion that the attack has failed: “could any description be more ludicrous,” she asks, “than the common English label applied to a great and so far triumphant movement of thought?” Our reply is simple. We are far from supposing the enemy has desisted from the attack. But, so far, the Church goes on triumphant. Voltaire, Strauss, Baur, have passed away. Others, no doubt, carry on their work, and other prophets, no doubt, will in times to come fill up the chair left vacant by Mrs. Ward. But, all this notwithstanding, we feel an assured confidence that Macaulay was right when he said of the Catholic Church, what we can say of Christianity, that it will exist and flourish even in far-off days when, perhaps, the splendid capital of Britain may be in ruins.

We have dealt at some length with the philosophical basis, if we might so term it, upon which *Robert Elsmere* is built, and this because that is the chief thing we have to find fault with in the work of Mrs. Humphry Ward. There is, however, another defect which, as it seems to us, we have a right to complain of in *Robert Elsmere*.

“So ably [says the reviewer in *The Athenæum*] are the problems developed, that different readers may quite reasonably form quite opposite conclusions as to the particular view which Mrs. Ward may hold or may have wished to urge.”

This indefiniteness, which cannot fail to attract the notice of the reader, may, indeed, be a sign of ability, but on one point, at least, it seems to indicate a kind of cleverness altogether out of place in a work of this character. The writer, as we have seen, leaves no doubt on the mind as to her view of the present position and prospect of Christianity in the world. Its influence for good, its power over the mass of men, are things of the past. So far, her views are clear enough. Surely we have a right to expect that, having

¹ Page. 471.

² March 31, 1888.

done her utmost to undermine the influence of one agency for doing good to man, she would bring out with equal clearness the system by which she would replace it. Is this the case? Far from it. The ability referred to by the reviewer in *The Athenæum* is given free scope, and we are left very much in the dark on the subject. On the one hand, there is the old squire, whose views we are taught to regard as containing the most approved results of modern science. He makes no secret of his opinions. He laughs at philanthropy, and all attempts at working for the good of the democracy. The rich man's business in regard to poverty is to keep his money safe from its clutches; the object of the poor is to extort all they can from the rich.¹ So much for the squire's views of social and religious problems. On the other hand, Elsmere, who has taken up the teachings of the new learning, is enthusiastic for, and works hard for, the regeneration of the labouring classes. What influence he can bring to bear on them is but faintly portrayed. What inducement he can hold out to them to enable them to bear hardships with patience and fortitude, we are not informed. He can hold before them no hope of reward nor fear of punishment in a future life; in this their lot is anything but enviable. However, at least he devotes his time and energy to the poor. But are we to take him as a type of the new apostles to arise when the new reformation takes place? That point is left in obscurity. He does not pursue his labours without having many a sarcastic remark directed at him, so that we remain in doubt whether he is to be regarded as a man working in accordance with the author's views, or a mere youthful enthusiast a man of sentiment, giving himself useless trouble, having, in fact, failed to apprehend the true nature of the problem of life. Whether Mrs. Ward

¹ These are the squire's words:—

"When I see you, and people like you, throwing yourselves at the heads of the people, I always think of Scaliger's remark about the Basques. 'They say they understand one another; I don't believe a word of it.' All that the lower class *wants* to understand, at any rate, is the shortest way to the pockets of you and me; all that you and I need understand, according to me, is how to keep 'em off! There you have the sum and substance of *my* political philosophy." (*Robert Elsmere*, page 380.) The italics are Mrs. Ward's.

leans to the squire's view or that of Elsmere, or whether she favours some third system different from both, we cannot say; on that subject the reader is left to speculate according to his inclination and natural bent of mind.

Are we then to say that *Robert Elsmere* is a book entirely without merit? Such an opinion will be held by none. We recognise the ability, even the brilliancy of the author, and we can say, that notwithstanding the main incident, the story is very interesting. The outcome of Elsmere's studies haunts the book like the skeleton at the feast; but still with a large portion of the book it has but little connection. Nothing could be more dramatic, or full of pathos, than some passages in the tale, and there are not wanting descriptions of the Lake Country full of picturesque beauty. In the latter part of the book the pictures drawn of Rose's capricious conduct, and the sketches of London society are full of life and interest, and show that the writer possesses many of the powers that go to make up the good novelist.

On the other hand, from an artistic point of view, the book is not without its faults. It is tedious, and too long in parts, and though not wanting in genuine passion, it is pervaded by a good deal of maudlin sentiment. We are constantly being favoured with the embraces and endearments that pass between Elsmere and his wife. Such things as these might well be omitted; repeated as they are, they before long become tiresome, and end by being ridiculous.

We read in the history of the struggle between Pompey and Cæsar, that when Cæsar's veterans, after the battle of Pharsalia, entered the camp of the enemy, they found the tent of Lentulus Spinther adorned with festoons of Bacchic ivy, and with the tables groaning under the weight of the services of plate which were set out for the banquet to celebrate the coming victory. Instead of the expected victory, there came disastrous defeat. *Robert Elsmere* is a book built upon the assumption of the coming victory of rationalism. Mrs. Humphry Ward, both there and in *The New Reformation* is already preparing to celebrate with due solemnity the defeat of the enemy. It is all premature. *Robert Elsmere* has already been some time

before the public. It is even now beginning to be forgotten. It has had little effect. It will have still less in the future. It is noticeable, that in the days of the new reformation, in the new reformed Church, Mrs. Humphry Ward finds a place¹ for the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, the Independents, and the Unitarians; the Catholic Church alone is left outside in the exterior darkness. Perhaps—we do not say it will be so—but perhaps, when all that remains of these bodies will have made terms with the foe, the Catholic Church *alone* will be left to fight for the Christian Faith. Everything points towards a struggle in the future, and a struggle in which there will be arrayed on the one side the true Church of Christ, on the other all the forces of rationalism and unbelief. We fear it not. We are confident that as before, so in the future, the Church of God will emerge triumphant from the struggle.

J. A. HOWLETT.

HEROES, TRUE AND FALSE.

“It is the very joy of man’s heart to admire, where he can; nothing so lifts him from all his mean imprisonments, were it but for moments, as true admiration.”—T. CARLYLE.

MEN are readily impressed by whatever is grand and noble and generous. Even those who are timid and spiritless themselves cannot help paying an inward tribute of honour and respect to the high courage and daring self-sacrifice they witness in others. In fact, a great soul, and a noble character, command respect and attention wherever they are found, whether in Church or State. Hence the world has its heroes just as the Church has hers. It points with pride to its Wellingtons, its Nelsons, its Stanleys, and its Livingstones; points to them as to men who have deserved well of their country, and done much and dared much for

the public good; whether it be by conquering hostile bands, discovering unknown regions, or opening out new channels for commerce and industry. Their praises are sounded far and wide; their names become household words, and while living they are fêted and applauded whersoever they go. We do not wish to detract one iota from their fair fame. On the contrary, all honour be to them for their generosity and daring. All we wish is to remind you that these are the heroes of this world; and that all their greatness is but small and contemptible when compared with that of the heroes whom the Church commemorates, viz., the glorious saints of God. These alone will be found worthy of our unmixed admiration.

Indeed, the heroes of this earth are but the heroes of a day. Their fame endures but for an hour. Vanity is written upon all their works, and the mould that covers their bones will soon also hide their glory from us. History may, indeed, chronicle their deeds; nations may prate and prattle of them for a period; but they themselves are passed away. Gone! Aye, gone where neither the praises nor the blame of men can follow them; gone where neither flattery can elate nor calumny disturb. Who was once so famed as the great Alexander, king of Macedon? Two thousand years ago the whole earth was ringing with his praises. Where is he now? Who now thinks or speaks of this great soldier who subdued the Greeks, defeated the Persians, and conquered Syria and Egypt, Parthia and Media, and India, and then sighed for other lands to conquer? Where is Cæsar, that mighty general and warrior, who led his victorious troops through Gaul, and invaded Britain, and made himself master of the whole Roman world, and entered triumphantly into Rome with all the glory of a dictator, and who was styled by his enthusiastic countrymen "Father of his nation?" What is now left of all his greatness? What bath pride profitted him?

Or to come to more modern times. Where is the most notorious man that this century has produced, Napoleon the First? Where is that marvellous genius, who by sheer force of character raised himself from a position of obscurity to the very highest pinnacle of worldly glory and ambition: he

who routed the best armies of Europe, and placed almost the entire civilized world under his feet; who had himself crowned Emperor of France, and King of Italy, and parcelled out kingdoms among his brothers, as though they had been provinces; and made his very name a terror and a curse in every land?

Where are these, and the hundreds and thousands of lesser fame? Where are now the mighty, the rich, the powerful, the prosperous, the wise? Where are they, who once kept the world in awe; they at whose voice nations stood still and held their breath, and at whose presence the earth itself was troubled? Where are they now? Their bodies have long since mingled with the dust; but their souls, their spiritual and imperishable souls! where are they now? *Where?* I ask, and the echo murmurs back a dismal "*where?*" That is, indeed, a matter we cannot determine. This alone we may say, and let this suffice: they have entered into that land where pride, and ambition, and lust of conquest, and earthly grandeur, are no passports to eternal glory. They dwell in a region where mere human wisdom and cunning are powerless to aid, and where humility and charity, and patience and forbearance, and purity and innocence profit more than all the treasures that the earth contains. No! the heroes of this world have little in them of what is truly great.

To whom then may this epithet be more justly applied? To those surely who have conquered not kingdoms, but themselves; who have vanquished and subdued not peoples and nations, but their own rebellious appetites, unruly passions, and wayward propensities. In one word, they alone deserve the name of hero, who have fought the good fight, under the banner of the Cross, and emulated the heroic life and sublime example of Him who was crucified thereon. The noblest characters in all history are the virgins, the confessors, and the martyrs; in short, the saints of God, whose names are emblazoned in the book of life. *Their* glory shall never fade! It is as imperishable as heaven itself. It is not dependent upon the fickle judgment of a silly fastidious world. It is neither made nor marred by the

breath of the multitude, nor by the applause of the masses. It is as far above and beyond the reach of envious tongues as heaven is above earth. It is more enduring than the very ground upon which we tread, more firmly rooted and established than the very foundations of the world; for these shall crumble away, but it will remain. The stars of heaven shine not with so bright a lustre; the noonday sun itself is not so resplendent as the least of God's saints: for all these mighty orbs shall grow dim, and their fires will be spent, but the souls of the just are in the hands of God, and their thrones are established for ever and ever, and nothing shall ever come to dim their matchless glory, or to cast so much as a passing shadow over their beauty and unclouded happiness. But so long as God is God, so long shall they exult in His possession and bask in the brightness of His presence.

These are our models and our examples. These alone are worthy of our imitation. But, alas! how few amongst us are making any serious and sustained effort to resemble them. With what little earnestness we struggle, and how weak and spasmodic are all our attempts. No wonder then that the chasm which separates us from these champions of the faith is so wide and deep. Yet, considering that both we and they were made for the same sublime end, the contrast between us and them is terrible to contemplate. That a vast difference really exists is clear. That there must be some adequate cause to account for this difference is equally clear. Our first duty, therefore, must be to find it out. We must get a distinct view of it, that we may then proceed at once to remove the obstacle from our path. The saints run along the way of God's commandments; we can scarcely keep our footing. They advance with giant's strides; we do but totter and fall, and rise to fall again, like infants just beginning to walk. Why is this? We must strive to search out the genuine cause, for unless we can, as it were, lay our finger on the sore, and say: "there is the root of the malady," we may hardly dare to hope to apply a suitable remedy, and all our labour will be in vain.

What reason shall we assign? Perhaps, kind readers,

you will reply: it is entirely due to our surroundings; it is all owing to the cankered state of society at the present day. The world is so wicked, so steeped in every form of vice and villainy: even people who are not downright iniquitous are yet so worldly, so selfish, so indifferent: there is so much bad example, bad literature, bad plays, and immodest representations. The seeds of infidelity, of atheism, of agnosticism, and of scepticism are sown broadcast up and down the land, by means of papers, periodicals, books, pamphlets, reviews, and magazines. The very air is impregnated with a thousand noxious vapours of false doctrines. Why, every breeze comes laden with the murmurs of some new doubt or some fresh sophism against the faith. It is hard, you will urge, to live through all this unaffected and unscathed. To exercise heroic virtue amid such a deluge of evil, were as impossible as to live in the depths of the ocean and not to be drowned, or to walk through the midst of the fire and not be scorched by the flames. But woe to us if we flatter ourselves with such vain, if specious, excuses. The true reason of our spiritual lethargy is not the general state of the world, bad though it undoubtedly is, for history gives the lie to such an assumption at once. It informs us that there have been saints, and great saints, living at times and in places much worse than ours; yea, even amidst idolaters and pagans, and all the corruptions and dissoluteness of morals that disgraced the effete civilisations of ancient Greece and Rome. To seek to excuse our want of fervour on the plea of our surroundings and the corruptions of the world, is to put a bandage on our eyes, and wilfully to court deception. This is but a baseless excuse and an unworthy pretext.

Then you will, perhaps, exclaim: It is all the fault of my profession, or my trade, or the peculiar nature of my employment, or of my position in life. What scope have I, forsooth, for the exercise of heroic virtue? How can I attain to true sanctity while discharging my ordinary and very homely and commonplace duties? Such representations may, at first glance, seem very plausible; but here, again, history itself testifies in the most emphatic way that sanctity, even in its more heroic forms, is absolutely independent of position and

station, and may be attained in any rank and condition. It proves for our encouragement and consolation not merely that there *may* be, but that there *have actually been*, saints and chosen servants of God in every possible walk of life, from that of the great St. Louis, King of France, ruling over a mighty empire, and swaying the destinies of an entire nation, down to that of a St. Benedict Labré, clothed in rags and tatters, and begging from door to door a crust of bread for the love of God. Between these two canonized saints how great is the contrast! Yet every intermediate stage has its representatives among the saints of God's Church: yes, kings and queens, princes and princesses, warriors, statesmen, priests, monks, artisans, farm-labourers, servants, paupers, beggars, and slaves have all furnished splendid proofs of the ubiquity of divine grace, and the power of the abiding presence of God in every faithful heart. From this it is clear that the second excuse is no better than the first, and that no more justification can be found in one plea than in the other.

Deeper and further must we probe into the subtle windings of the heart and character of the saints, if we would learn their secret, and understand the essential distinction between them and ourselves. It is something far more personal and intrinsic than any chance disparity of state or employment. Sanctity itself has little, if anything, to do with what is external. "The kingdom of God is within you." "All the beauty of the King's daughter is within," says the Holy Ghost. The difference between one who is, and one who is not a saint, is to be sought not in the things done, but in the manner in which they are done. It is the perfect purity of heart, the uprightness of intention, and the singleness of purpose; or, in other words, the internal disposition of will that marks the saint, and separates him from the sinner. The saints did very much what we do; their duties were almost exactly what ours are; but they went about them in a totally different spirit, impelled by a different impulse, and in obedience to a different motive. They measured every act and event of life by a different standard, and directed all their actions, however humble and

commonplace, by the maxims of the Gospel, and the teaching of Christ.

Such is a brief and incomplete statement of the difference between a saint and a sinner; but how shall we now account for this internal difference? whence does it proceed? Well, it appears to me, that we may reduce it entirely to one simple cause; and though it be an extremely simple one, I believe it will be found influential enough fully to account for the contrast. The ultimate cause of the difference between a saint and a sinner will be found to lie in the difference in the *quality* of their faith. The light of divine faith illuminating the mind and warming the heart of a true disciple of Christ, is full, bright, and clear; whereas in most of us it is blurred, obscured, and dull. It is not that we accept a different doctrine, but that our mode of apprehending it is so different. All Catholics, of course, profess the selfsame truths; the dogmas and definitions of the Catholic Church are common to us as to them. But how differently they are received. The saints realized their meaning, and were intimately conscious of their truth; we seem but vaguely to suspect it. Our belief is all but dead, theirs is ever full of the sap of divine strength and vigour. We may illustrate our meaning by an example. Thus, we are taught the awful doctrine of hell; and firmly do we believe that an eternal punishment of the most agonizing kind awaits the commission of even one mortal deliberate sin. Nay, more; we openly and unhesitatingly confess it, and we acknowledge its justice as well as its truth. But in what manner do we bring this most terrible fact home to our minds? What is the nature of our belief? Well, we must judge from the effects: Does the thought of hell, when we have deserved it by our sins, make our blood run cold with abject terror? Does it clothe sin with a malice and heinousness that nothing else possesses in our eyes? Does it excite within us a strong revulsion and hatred against sin which surpasses every other hatred? Does the contemplation of those raging fires, and of the bottomless pit, and of the worm that never dies, cause us to fly away from the very shadow of sin as from the jaws of a hissing serpent? Does this thought invest our wills with a giant's strength when

wrestling with temptation, and confer firmness and stability upon our holy purposes and good resolutions? Does the doctrine of everlasting damnation, in fine, exercise a practical effect upon our daily lives? If not, if it does nothing of the kind, then what is hell to us, but a painted fire? What are all its terrors but the fevered imaginations and inane ravings of a deluded brain? What are its most excruciating tortures but an idle, empty tale, or a foolish and baseless dream, signifying nothing? It was not in that way that the saints understood the infallible warnings of the Son of God, who holds the keys of the abyss, and the reins of life and of death in His hands. Look, for instance, at St. Jerome, in the vast solitude of the Egyptian desert, the companion, as he himself informs us, of scorpions and wild beasts. Consider him clad in his penitential garb of sackcloth and ashes, his cheeks wet with tears, and his eyes red with weeping. In his right hand he grasps a jagged stone, with which he beats his naked breast till the blood flows and trickles freely down to the ground. Why this solitude? Why this life of prayer and penance? We give the answer in his own words:—“*Ob gehennae metum tali me carceri damnaveram*”—“Through fear of hell, I condemn myself to this lonely prison.” So, too, of St. Peter Damian it is stated that the colour would fade away from his cheeks, and the very hair of his head would stand up on end at the bare remembrance of the eternity of untold pain and anguish. Or, to take another instance. When St. Francis Borgia was one day questioned as to the cause of his excessive gloominess and depression, his all-sufficient reply was:—“My meditation this morning was on the judgments of God on impenitent sinners.” Even the great St. Paul, who was raised to the third heavens, and whose entire life was spent in heroic labours for God, was not without fear. So far from confiding in his good works, he tells us that he chastised his body, and brought it into subjection, “lest having preached to others” he himself might have become “a castaway;” in other words, lest he might be eternally damned. Yes, to the saints hell bore an awful significance. To them it was a greater reality than the sun shining in the heavens, and more intimately

present than the earth upon which they trod ; it is only by the sinner and the thoughtless man of the world—by those in a word, who have most cause to tremble, that it is disregarded, or, perhaps, even made a subject of idle jest or unseemly merriment.

So is it precisely of all the other stupendous truths of divine revelation. What we have remarked concerning the doctrine of hell, is every bit as true of the doctrine of heaven. Call to mind what we are taught regarding the rewards of the just ; read what the Scriptures tell us of Paradise. Its beauty we know is matchless, its glory beyond compare, its joys unknown to earth, its peace surpassing all hope or thought, its happiness inexpressible and unthinkable, and its duration endless and unfailing. Now, observe, we know all this, and we acknowledge all this ; and then ? Well, then, we fling it all away in a moment, without one pang of remorse, and for the sake of any sinful pleasure or unclean delight. Such is the vividness of our faith ! We believe heaven to be all that I have described, and immeasurably more, one instant, and the next we proceed to barter it away without compunction in exchange for some senseless gratification or sordid satisfaction that vanishes almost as soon as it is grasped. Would that degree of folly and wickedness be likely, yea rather, let us ask, would it be so much as possible, were our faith vigorous and vivid ? Alas ! what manner of faith is this ? Does it deserve the name ? Oh ! call it by some other word ; let us not prostitute language by speaking of this as “ faith.” Men blame Esau, and declare him to have been a fool because he sold his earthly birthright for a mess of pottage ; but Esau was a prodigy of learning, a Solon of wisdom, a perfect Solomon, compared to a Catholic who sells his birthright to the devil for an unclean pleasure, or the sensual delight of an hour.

How differently the idea of heaven affected the saints. Listen to St. Teresa, for instance, breaking her heart for the possession of God in the beatific vision, and longing, if she could not die at once and be with Him, at least to suffer more that she might merit more : “ *aut mori, aut pati.*” Such value did she set on the least delights of God’s eternal kingdom,

that she used to declare her readiness to remain amid all the torments of hell till the end of time, to merit not heaven (to which she was certainly entitled already), but to merit, were it possible, merely one additional degree of glory there. And so it was in different measure with all the great servants of God. The hope and anticipation of the endless beatitude of heaven, shed a glow of happiness and peace over their whole lives, and urged them to deeds of heroic virtue.

Similar considerations may be made concerning our faith in God's love. He is our Creator, our Benefactor, our Father, and our nearest and dearest Friend. To Him, we must acknowledge we owe, without a single exception, all that we possess and enjoy, in fact all that makes life worth living; and not only all that we enjoy, but the very capacity of enjoyment; or, in other words, the very sensibility to the impressions of joy-provoking causes. This is evidently the case; yet what return of love does this astounding truth awaken within our breasts? It is certainly a most mysterious psychological fact (though unhappily a very common one), that it hardly awakens any.

Let us calmly state the case. Thus, we verily believe Him to be the all-powerful and irresistible God, infinitely removed above us, yet so passionately fond of us, and so devoted to our interests, that He goes to the unheard-of lengths of positively dying the most cruel of deaths for our sakes. We acknowledge—did we refuse to acknowledge this, our conduct would not be so utterly inexplicable and indefensible—we acknowledge, not merely that He loves us with a love which is verily distracting and bewildering in its mysterious intensity, but likewise that He can do all things, and that everything depends upon Him: that, for example, He has the power of life and death over us, and the supreme and absolute control of all our concerns; and that though He might indeed make us eternally wretched, that yet He ardently yearns to render us eternally happy, if only we will not persistently hinder and impede Him at every turn, by our folly and sin. We acknowledge that He comes to us with His hands full of heavenly treasures, and that He longs to surround us hereafter with every honour, dignity, glory and

happiness, if only we will exercise a little patience. So much for our belief: now for our extraordinary behaviour. Though we believe all that I have stated concerning God, we nevertheless offend Him, insult Him, and treat Him as we would not treat a sworn enemy. We sin against Him, wilfully, knowingly, deliberately, and in His very presence, as though He were powerless to avenge! Before His very face we mock Him, deny Him, cover Him with derision and scorn. We prefer a miserable trifle before Him; choose in preference the vilest and most degrading indulgences; and willingly renounce all claim to His possession for ever in heaven for the sake of the first bauble that chance or the devil flings in our way!

Now, I ask, would such conduct be possible were our faith strong, deep, and thoroughly sound? No! most undoubtedly: such intolerable insolence and ingratitude is never and can never be found save where faith in God's power and goodness and love is vague, dim, and obfuscated. This, then, seems to be the fundamental distinction between the saint and the ordinary Christian. The one lives rooted to the earth, with the sublime and heavenly truths hidden from him: the other moves in a totally different world; his mind is habitually filled with a profound sense of the intense reality and nearness of what is beyond the reach of the material eye. To the latter, heaven and hell, God and the saints, and the eternal life of the blessed, and the whole invisible creation, are little more than abstractions or empty speculations; to the former, on the contrary, they are more actual, more intimately present, and far more influential factors in his life's history than any of the changing and shifting scenes of the world around him can ever be. The unknown can never be an object either of fear or of desire. No man can reasonably hope to be deterred from the commission of sin by the thought of hell, unless he has tried to understand its nature, and the pains and penalties it involves; nor can anyone sincerely long for heaven who has not taken the trouble to learn something of its worth and blessedness. And, assuredly, no one can rightly love God and yearn to serve Him loyally who has not often dwelt in thought upon His

infinite beauty, unparalleled goodness, ineffable love, and His other divine perfections. And, conversely, the more we reflect upon such subjects, and read and study and apply ourselves, the greater will be their influence upon us. If, therefore, we would draw closer to God before life is done; if we would serve Him with greater constancy and generosity, and render our salvation more secure, and our future life more glorious and blessed, we must not begrudge time spent in earnest thought and silent contemplation. The extraordinary thing is that we find time to do a thousand things of no importance whatever, but no time to devote to this. We visit our friends, we read our newspapers, we take our strolls, we travel about, we amuse and recreate ourselves in a thousand ways. Time is found for all that; but of time to spare for meditation on the sublime and eternal truths we can find none. Man is, indeed, as Carlyle somewhere quaintly observes, "somewhat of an owl."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE MUSIC OF THE TEMPLE.

THE origin of music is involved in a haze which has baffled all the attempts of archæologists, and which only leaves us conjectures and legends. Toph, Hermes, or Mercury, is fabled to have invented the lyre, and we read how the god "soon after his birth found a mountain tortoise grazing near his grotto on Mount Kyllen. He disembowelled it, took its shell, and out of the back of the shell he formed the lyre." On a par with this may be classed the fable of Orpheus, and "his transmitting his knowledge of music to Thamyris and Linus;" but certain it is that some form of music existed from the very beginning.

We are told that Enos, the grandson of Adam, "began to call upon the name of the Lord;" that is, "sing unto the Lord;" and in Gen. iv. 21, it is stated that Jubal, son of Lamech (seventh in descent from, yet contemporaneous

with, Adam) "was the father of them that play upon the harp and the organs"—the Lutheran version of which reads: "And his brother was named Jubal, from whom are descended *fiddlers and pipers.*" Here it is as well to state that *organ*, in the Vulgate, always means "a pipe," but in the Septuagint it expresses any musical instrument. In Chaucer's "Dreme" we read:—

"Lamech's son, Jubal,
That found out first the arte of song;
For as his brother's hammers rong
Upon his anvell up and down,
Thereof he took the firste rown."

In the Waltham Abbey MS. (written in 1360, by John Wylde, Precenter of that Church) it is stated that "Jubal Cain kept a smith's shop, and invented music; moreover, he found out the proportions of consonances by the sound of hammers used by his brother." However, it is beyond any cavil that the "divine art of music" preceded the introduction of any other art by over fifteen hundred years. Plato tells us that the religious music of the Egyptians had existed the same for three thousand years; and he lays it down as a principle that "the right motive of music is to imitate and resemble the words that are sung. Wherefore," he concludes, "if anyone sing any music but the sacred song, let him be chastised by the law and by the priests."

Vocal music was, for thousands of years, the medium of introducing literature, history, law, philosophy, and religion. About the year B.C. 1730, we find mention made of serenading distinguished visitors "with joy, and with songs, and with timbrels, and with harps" (Gen. xxxi. 27). Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, says that the Egyptian priests invented *seven* vowels, and gave to each of them a sound approaching our notes of music. "To preserve this beautiful discovery, they repeated at certain periods these vowels in the form of hymns; and their various tones, successively modulated, formed an agreeable melody. This, doubtless, is the reason why they banished from the temple of Osiris all musical instruments." Jablonski assures us that these seven vowels were consecrated to the seven planets, and

that the statue of Amenophis repeated them at certain epochs. The priests, by making this colossal statue of Memnon repeat the seven sounds, were desirous of immortalizing the most beautiful of their discoveries.¹

The nations of Chaldea, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, &c., also cultivated music. In China, Fohi (whom some regard as Noah) is said to have invented music B.C. 1500, and he is also credited with the invention of the symbols which gave rise to the forty thousand characters of the Chinese alphabet. The Phoenicians, under Cadmus (B.C. 1510), brought literature and music to Greece.

Naumbourg gives us a fragment of Gen. xxii., in which he illustrates the meaning of the traditional musical accents attached to the text of the Pentateuch. The rendition of those accents by the Egyptian and Syrian Jews is almost identical, and it is remarkable that other Jewish sects in Egypt, though differing in doctrine and ceremonial, closely agree as regards the musical accents. Pharaoh was drowned in the year B.C. 1580, and all readers are familiar with the glorious canticle which our Irish poet Moore paraphrased so beautifully in "Sound the loud timbrel." De Sola gives the veritable melody which was sung by Miriam and her companions (Exod. xv. 21, 22), and it was rendered antiphonally by two millions of voices in unison. Moses mentions a great number of canticles, *e. g.* Num. xxi. 14, 17, 18, 27, &c.; and God Himself taught him a song of praise, "that the Israelites may know it by heart, and sing it by mouth, and this song may be for a testimony among the children of Israel" (Deut. xxxi. 19).² Even before the time of Moses, the Hebrew

¹ Some say that the vocal statue of Memnon was a speaking head, the springs of which were so arranged that it would intone the seven vowels at sunrise—likely at seven o'clock. Anyhow, from the commencement of the fourth century, we hear no more of the voice of Amenophis. In the Hermetic writings (which date probably from the first half of the third century), we find Hermes Trismegistus prophesying to his son Asclepius: "A time will come when it will appear that it is in vain that the Egyptians have honoured their Godhead with pious zeal. This sacred land, the site of temples and of holy things, will become filled with sepulchres and the bodies of the dead."

² In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we read: "As a signet of an emerald in a work of gold, so is the melody of music with pleasant and moderate wine" (xxxii. 8).

children were wont "to dance, and play, and perform on the timbrel, the harp, and the organ" (Job xxi. 11, 12). It is natural to suppose that the intercourse for four hundred years in Egypt materially influenced the music of the Israelites; but the wanderings through the desert, and the succeeding five hundred years of strife with neighbouring nations, left the chosen people in a rather primitive condition as regards music. Baruch, Jephtha, Samson, Judas Macchabeus, Saul, Deborah, Judith, &c., improved the psalmody and hymns of the Hebrews.

David (B.C. 1050) was the royal prophet and sweet singer, and the psalms were accompanied with trumpets, timbrels, and other instruments. He had four thousand Levite singers and two hundred and eighty-eight choir-masters, the priests and Levites being musicians *by office* and *by inheritance*. Music had an essential connection with the spirit of prophecy, and exercised a great influence on evil spirits, as may be proved by numerous passages in the Old Testament. We read that the company of prophets whom Saul met "coming down from the high place with a *psaltery*, and a *timbrel*, and a *pipe*, and a *harp* before them," were found prophesying; and how Saul himself, smitten with the same spirit, prophesied among them (1 Kings x. 5-10). Again, the prophet Elias, when excited with holy zeal, ordered a musician to be brought to calm his soul; and "when the minstrel played, the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he obtained favours in abundance" (4 Kings iii. 13-15).

David, before his death, gave the most minute directions to Solomon regarding the building of the Temple and its adornment, with special reference to the musical arrangements—all of which the wise King Solomon faithfully carried out. The music of the Temple was of the most colossal kind; and the Albert Hall, or Handel festival choirs, pale into insignificance before the monster choral and instrumental services that we read of. We have it on the authority of Josephus that under Solomon (who is credited with the composition of one thousand and five sacred songs), the musical services were truly magnificent; and it sounds like a legend to read of the two hundred thousand priests with

trumpets, and the two hundred thousand garments of fine linen for the Levitical choirs. Foreign workmen were employed for the finer and more delicate work of the Temple, as well as to construct some of the instruments: "And the king made of the thyine-trees [almug-trees or sandal-wood] the rails of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house, and citterns and harps [harps and psalteries] for singers: there were no such thyine-trees as these brought, nor seen unto this day" (3 Kings x. 12). Divided into three monster choirs, the singers of the Temple presented themselves morning and evening before the sanctuary, and praised God in psalms and hymns, "because He is good, and because His mercy endureth for ever." Truly does the sacred text say that "the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God."

Some writers assert that there were but seven kinds of musical instruments employed in Solomon's Temple, whilst, on the other hand, the Rabbins record the number as thirty-four; but modern critics agree that the Jews had nineteen *wind* and *string* instruments, as follows:—

HEBREW.	VULGATE.
Kinnor.	Cithara.
Nebel.	Psalterium.
Nebel-azor.	Psalterium decem chordarum.
Khalil.	Tibia.
Nekeb.	Foramen
Shophar.	Buccina.
Khatsotsrah.	Tuba.
Keren.	Cornu.
Ghugab.	Organum.
Toph.	Tympanum.
Tselts-Lim.	Tibia.
M'Tsil-Tayim.	Cymbalum.
Man-Ghan-Ghim.	Sistra.
Shalish.	Sistrum.
Mashrokitha.	Fistula.
Kithros.	Cithara.
Sabca.	Sambuca.
Psandherin.	Psalterium.
Sumponyah.	Symphonia.

The *kinnor* or *cithara* was a lyre of eight, nine, or ten strings, played by the hand, and was a Syriac instrument.

Its antiquity is very great, and it is the only stringed instrument mentioned in the Pentateuch. Josephus says that it had *ten* strings, and was played on with a *plectrum* or bow; but he errs in both statements, as we read that David "played with his hand" (1 Kings xvi. 23). It was very popular, and was employed on all festive occasions.

The *nebel* was, according to St. Jerome, Cassiodorus, &c., a simple form of harp, and has been variously rendered as psaltery, psalm, lute, viol, bagpipe, &c.; but the most probable translation is, "a portable harp," such as the Irish ecclesiastics of the tenth and eleventh centuries were wont to play on. The *nebel-azor* was "the ten-stringed harp."

The *khalil* was an *oboe* or *pipe*, whilst the *nekeb* was the double flute. Modern synagogues employ the *shophar* or *horn*; and the *keren* was a *trumpet*, of which the *khatsothrah* was a large form. It is to be observed that the *khalil* or *hahil* was brought from Egypt, and Bishop Lightfoot says that *oboes* were used once a month in the Temple services.

The *ghugab* or *ugab* was the primitive wind-organ; whilst the *mashrokitha* was a large form of *pan-pipes*. The *toph* was a *timbrel*; and the *tselts-lim*, as also the *n'tsil-tayim* signified *cymbals*. We find the *machol* or *mahhol* used in conjunction with the *toph*, meaning *dances* or *dancing*. Some authors regard it as signifying a *small flute*, from the fact that the *pipe* and *tabor* were for centuries used in conjunction; but the more probable derivation of the word is from *hhalal*, "to dance."

The *shalish* was a *sistrum* or triangle. As regards the *kithros*, it is now understood as a *guitar*—whilst the *psandherin* is our present *dulcimer*. The *sabca* was a *sackbut* or trombone, but others regard it as the *sambuca* or large harp. Finally, the *sumponyah* or *symphonia* (erroneously translated "dulcimer" in the Protestant Bible) was the bagpipe.

One of the most pathetic passages in the Old Testament is where the Israelites hung their harps on willow-trees by the waters of Babylon, and how they wept remembering fair Zion. They could not tune their *kinnors*, nor could they sing the songs of Israel in a strange land; yet, in private, they kept alive their traditional chants. Those of the Jews who

returned from the captivity, encouraged by the prophecies of Daniel, began to renew, in its pristine splendour, the ceremonial of Moses. We are told that *one hundred and twenty-eight singing men*, the children of Asaph, returned to Jerusalem, as also seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven men and maid-servants, and “among them singing men and singing women, two hundred.”

At the building of the second Temple:—“The priests stood in their ornaments with trumpets, and the Levites, the sons of Asaph, with cymbals, to praise God by the hands of David, king of Israel. And they sung together hymns and praise to the Lord. . . . But many of the priests and the Levites, and the chief of the fathers, and the ancients that had seen the former Temple, when they had the foundation of this Temple before their eyes, wept with a loud voice.” The reader will bear in mind that before the tribes of Juda and Benjamin had gone to join Israel in captivity, the rich treasures of the magnificent Temple of Solomon went to fill the coffers of the Assyrian kings; but, after the return to Jerusalem, the sad element which pervaded the jubilation in connection with the foundation of the second Temple, was not so much attributable to the want of proportion between the dimensions of the new building (for the second Temple was even more imposing than Solomon’s), as to the lamentable fact that the glory of those days, when the ancients could remember an army of almost half a million and a colossal choir of singing men, had departed—leaving only a moiety to represent their country and creed.

The dedication of the wall of Jerusalem took place “with singing, and with cymbals, and psalteries, and harps.” We learn that on this occasion all the available choral resources were employed, and “the singing men had built themselves villages around about Jerusalem.” The form of singing was *antiphonal*, “and the singers sung loud, and Jezraia was their overseer (choir-master) . . . and the joy of Jerusalem was heard afar off.” The sacred chronicler adds that all Israel “gave portions to the singing men day by day”—a fact which shows how highly their services were appreciated.

In reference to the form of psalm-singing in Solomon's Temple, very little can be said with any degree of certainty, and even the illustrations given by Kircher, Fétis, &c., are of a most imaginary character. We can only say, with Stainer, that the instruments previously described "were used in whole, or in portions, and that *dancing* of a solemn character formed an accompaniment to the rhythm of the music. It may also be added that the ancient Hebrew melodies were mostly in the *minor mode*. In a previous paper,¹ I gave the Talmudic traditions as to the psalm-singing of the second Temple, but here it may be stated that the *pauses* of the Psalm, *i. e.*, the divisions indicated in our choral books by an asterisk, were well defined, being notified by blasts of trumpets by the priests at either side of the cymbalists.

Now as to the *inscriptions* of the Psalms.² Very many of the titles were added by the Septuagint translators, whilst a few others were inserted by the Hellenistic Jews, both before and after the birth of Christ. It is worthy of note that the Jews themselves to this day sing the titles as an integral portion of the Psalm. All the Psalms except thirty-three have titles. St. Augustine thus writes of Psalm l. :— "Hoc non in Psalmo legitur, sed in titulo; in libro autem Regnorum plenius legitur; utraque autem Scriptura canonica est." Again, in his exposition of Psalm lxiv., the title of which is not found in the Hebrew, the Septuagint, nor the Hexapla, he says:—"Agnoscenda est vox sanctae Prophetiae ex ipso titulo Psalmi hujus." In many cases the titles are quite incongruous with the style of the Psalm—a subject which has been exhaustively treated by St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, &c.

The inscriptions are of a threefold character—viz., concerning (1) the author, (2) the circumstances under which the Psalm was written, and (3) its liturgical signification.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, Vol. ix., No. 11, p. 1012.

² David was the author of the greater portion of the Psalms, or as they are called by the Hebrews, *Tehillim*, *i. e.*, songs of praise, but most commentators agree that some twenty of these exquisite productions were composed by Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Idithun, &c.

Bossuet says:—"Qui titulos non uno modo intelligat, video esse quam plurimos: qui de titulorum auctoritate dubitant, ex antiquis omnino neminem." It would appear that the meaning of the liturgical directions was lost during the captivity in Babylon, and the allusion to them in the Book of Chronicles is in reference to the original arrangement of the music of the Temple of David (1 Paralip. xv. 19-22). We read: "Now the singers, Hemam, Asaph, and Ethan, sounded with cymbals of brass," and eight others "sung mysteries upon psalteries," and six other vocalists "sung a song of victory for the octave upon harps," with Chonenias as Precentor. Most the psalm-titles were absolutely unintelligible to the translators of the Septuagint, and we instance the fact that the well-known formula "for the Precentor," which occurs at least fifty times, is invariably rendered: *εἰς τὸ τέλος*. *Lamnazeach* is rendered by Aquila as *victoriam dante*; by St. Jerome, as *victori*; by Theodoret, as *in victoriam*; and by Symmachus, as *carmen victoriae*: but all modern commentators agree that *Praefecto Musicae* is the true meaning. Other terms still unintelligible to us were even more so to those early translators; e.g., Psalm v. 1 (upon *Nehiloth*) appears in the Septuagint as *ὑπερ της κληρονομουης*. Again, Psalm lxxxvii. 1 (upon *Mahalath Leannoith*) appears as *ὑπερ μαελεθ του αποκριθῆναι*.

We may almost take it as an axiom that "the older the Psalm, the more confidently do we look for a title." As a few examples of the most ancient Psalms with titles:—

Psalm vii. "*Shiggaion*—the Psalm of David, which he sung to the Lord, for the words of Chusi the son of Jemini." (*Shiggaion* has also been rendered *moestus fuit*.)

Psalm xxxiii. "For David, when he changed his countenance before Achimelech, who dismissed him, and he went his way."

The title of Psalm lv., in the Douay version is:—"From the sanctuary: for David, for an inscription of a title, when the Philistines held him in Geth;" but St. Jerome renders it: "To the victor for the dumb dove."

Psalm lix. *Michtam of David* "for doctrine, when he set fire to Mesopotamia of Syria and Sobal; and Joab returned

and slew of Edom, in the vale of the salt-pits, twelve thousand men."

I shall now treat of the various phrases to be found in the psalm-titles, which may be regarded as having a musical reference of some sort.

The title of Psalm iv. is given:—"Unto the end in verses;" or, as St. Jerome renders it: "Victory to him that overcometh;" but more correctly: "To the Precentor or Chief Musician"—allegorically referring to Christ. *Neginoth*, in the Hebrew is properly translated "in verses."

Nehiloth, which occurs in the title of Psalm v., is given in the Douay version as:—"For her that obtaineth the inheritance;" *i. e.*, for the Church of Christ; but more probably it signifies that the Psalm was to be sung with some form of wind instrument.

Gittith, or *Ha-Gittith*, is found in the inscription of Psalms viii., lxxx., and lxxxiii., and is translated in the Septuagint by *ληνοι*; in the Vulgate, as *torcularia*; and in the Douay version, as "for the wine-presses." Some regard the word as referring to a musical instrument from the city of Gath, just as we now speak of a *Cremona*; whilst others regard it as denoting that the Psalm was to be sung to the tune of a vintage song. It has also been interpreted as the Psalm which was sung on the Feast of the Tabernacles, and has even been translated in reference to Goliath. However, the learned Calmet suggests: "*Praefecto musices, qui choro cantatricium Gethaeorum praeerat,*" assigning as a reason that the ladies of Geth were highly skilled in singing, and that females were employed on the Feast of the Tabernacles, in conjunction with a male choir, in order to heighten the effect of the ceremonial. Females were permitted on exceptional occasions to co-operate in the festival celebrations, and were also set apart for the lamentations incidental to a house of mourning.¹ At the funerals in Greece, even in our own day, there are female hired mourners, called *myrologystres*, who remain in the house of mourning, and sing the praises of the deceased. "These melancholy chants, like the *lamento* and the *vocero*

¹ See article on "The Liturgical Chant of the Apostolic Age," in the I. E. RECORD, Vol. ix, No. 11, p. 1012.

are partly improvised, partly recited by heart. They seem for the most part incomprehensible, but some of them are very fine. They are called *myrologia*, and are the ancient linos (funeral laments) attributed to a mythical personage of that name—the Ardes Linos, which were in use in the time of Homer and Hesiod” (Maury).¹

Chaldaeus, Symmachus, and St. Jerome render the title of Psalm ix., “Praefecto musices puellarum pro filio;” but the Douay version is: “For the hidden things of the Son,” typical of the sufferings and death of the Son of God. Others translate it: “To the Precentor in *Halmath ipsi Laben;*” *i. e.*, Laben, an anagram for Nabel, the husband of Abigail. However, the best interpretation is: “Psalmus David ad Ben, praefectum chori puellarum cantatricium,” Ben being the celebrated singer referred to in 1 Paralip. xv. 18.

Higgaion (Septuagint, ὠδῆ) is found in verse 17 of Psalm ix.: “The Lord shall be known when he executeth judgments; the sinner hath been caught in the works of his own hands. *Higgaion, Selah.*” If we regard *higgaion* as “meditation” or “murmuring,” there would seem to be no affinity towards a musical direction; but a reference to verse 4 of Psalm xci., where it again occurs, will explain its musical significance: “Upon an instrument of ten strings, upon the psaltery; *with a canticle upon the harp*”—more correctly, “upon the *higgaion* [*i. e.*, solemn sound] with the harp.” Bellarmine remarks truly that the word *and* in the Hebrew [and on the *nebel*] was only explanatory, and, therefore, redundant. Sir John Stainer is of opinion that *higgaion* alludes to “a solemn and deep-toned performance on harps, which was found conducive to private meditation,” and he corroborates it by his explanation of *Selah*.

Selah is undoubtedly a musical direction, and occurs

¹ The most probable interpretation is, that *Gittith* was a direction implying that the Psalm was sung to a vintage song, and this is strengthened by a reference to Judges ix. 27, Isai. xvi. 8-10, and Jerem. xlvi. This custom of vintage songs was also prevalent among the Greeks, as we learn from Anacreon (Od. 52):—

“Viri tantum calcant
Uvam, vinum exprimentes,
Multum Deum laudantes
Hymnis in torcularibus cani solitis.”

seventy-one times in the Psalter. A learned commentator remarks: "It is frequent in the first three books, is never found in the fourth, and only four times in the fifth—and these four times in liturgical psalms attributed to David, viz., Psalm cxxxix. and Psalm cxlii." Outside the Psalter, it only occurs three times in the Prophecy of Habacuc (chap. iii.). St. Jerome follows Aquila in interpreting *selah* as equivalent to *semper*, i. e., a psalm always to be remembered; but Theodoret understands it as a *pause*. However, it is altogether omitted in the Vulgate. Many able authorities say that the value of *selah* is exactly that of the cabalistic word *euouae* in our choral books (a mnemonic for *saeculorum Amen*), never intended to be sung, but merely a guide for the Precentor. Others regard it as a musical direction in reference to the Psalm, whether it was to be sung *allegro* or *andante*, &c. Not a few think that it may mean *Amen*; but the true rendering is an indication for a pause, or instrumental symphony. Stainer agrees with Sir F. Ouseley in regarding it as "a short recurring symphony," and this is strengthened by the fact that out of the thirty-nine Psalms in which this word occurs, twenty-eight have musical inscriptions.

Neginoth is found in the titles of several Psalms, and is regarded as a generic term for stringed instruments, being derived from a root akin to the Latin *psaltere*, "to strike a chord." Dr. Jebb conjectures that *neginoth*, *sheminith*, and *kinnor*, "all refer to the same instrument; the first, as to the *mode* of playing it; the second, as to its *compass*; the last, as to its *specific designation*."

Shushan may be also included in the words of a musical signification, and though some translate it as "change," yet the more common version is "the lily," as referring to the symmetrical and graceful shape of the lyre. Those who consider it as of a numerical meaning, viz., denoting *six*, adduce the fact that it is frequently found in conjunction with *eduth*, or "testimony," and thus susceptible of translation, "the hexachord of testimony." Anyhow, as against this rendering of Schlensner and Jebb, I am inclined to agree with Stainer, who gives as a probable opinion, that the reference of *shushan eduth*, in 1 Paralip. xvi. 37-42, means "a harp of six strings."

Ajeleth lishahar, in the title of Psalm xxi., is variously rendered, "hind of the morning," "dawn of day," "morning twilight;" and in the Douay version, "for the morning protection;" but most probably is the first line of a popular tune with which this Psalm was formerly associated. Calmet translates it: "Praesidi classis cantorum quae *cerva matutina* dicitur," as referring to a section of the choir called *cerva matutina*, just as we read: "For the eighth or octave choir," "for the choir of Geth," "for the choir *columbae mutae*," &c. Others understand it as a "psalm sung at the morning service." Dr. Jebb gives as a plausible interpretation, "a harp of Aijelon," or a harp constructed or improved by some Levite of the city of Aijelon. There is, however, no reason for not admitting the reference as "an adaptation of a well-known tune." From a very early period we find many Jewish hymns sung to popular secular melodies; and even amongst those Jews who migrated to Egypt (B.C. 190), from the persecution of the Selucidæ of Syria, the traditional psalm-tunes were coloured by the local associations. No better authority can be quoted on this obscure question than Rev. D. J. Sola: "When the Sephardic ritual became fixed and generally established in Spain, and was enriched by the solemn hymns of Gabirol, Judah Ha-Levi, and other celebrated Hebrew poets, chants or melodies were composed, or adapted to them, and were soon generally adopted. . . . In most printed editions we find directions prefixed to hymns replete with piety and devotion—that they are to be sung to the tune of 'Permetid bella Amaryllis,' 'Tres colores in una,' 'Temprano naçes, Almendro,' and similar Spanish or Moorish songs—a practice, no doubt, very objectionable, for obvious reasons, and from which the better taste of the present age would shrink."¹

Adaptations are not by any means a modern idea. The Apostles themselves adapted the psalm-tunes of the Temple, as well as the melodious Greek modes, to the requirements of the Christian Church.¹ The work of St. Ambrose was in

¹ St. Paul tells how the Synagogue was buried with honour, and we read: "You observe days [Sabbath days and the like], and months [new moons, and the seventh month], and times [the four epochs of the year, viz., Pasch, Pentecost, Expiation, and Encoenia], and years [the seventh year of remission, and the fiftieth or Jubilee year]". (Gal. iv. 10.)

great part an adaptation, and we find the great hymnist, St. Venantius Fortunatus, setting some vintage songs to religious words. Hence, I think, it is not rash to assume that the phrases *ajeleth hishahar* and *gittith* denote an adaptation of the Psalm to popular tunes.

Origen translated the title of Psalm xxxviii. as *victori Idithun*, but the Douay version is: "Unto the end, for Idithun himself." There is no title to Psalm xlii. in the Hebrew, best known as the "Judica me Deus," which is said at the commencement of Mass; but in the celebrated Utrecht Psalter (which dates from the sixth or seventh century) verse 5 is illustrated by a beautiful representation of a *kinnor* or harp. It is formed of a long stem terminating in a triple leaf, and a vase-shaped base or shell.

Alamoth or *Halmoth* is found in the title of Psalm xlvi., and also in verse 26 of Psalm lxvii., and has been variously translated as "virgins," "things pertaining to youths," "trebles," "female singers," "and "hidden things," or "mysteries." In the passage previously quoted from 1 Paralip. xv. 19-22, the words "with psalteries on *Alamoth*," are given in our Douay version as "*mysteries upon psalteries.*" St. Augustine favours the translation, "hidden things," as referring to the mysteries of the New Dispensation; but the Vulgate translation of Psalm lxvii. 26 is: "Princes went before joined with singers, in the midst of *young damsels playing on timbrels*," *i.e.*, princes or the apostles and newly-converted Christians singing the divine praises, attended by virgins consecrated to God. Dr. Jebb thus interprets this passage: "First go the *sharim* (singers), then follow the *neginim* (kinnors); in the midst are the *alamoth*." If we adopt the version "damsels playing on timbrels," it must be only on the supposition that females were permitted to sing in the Temple on exceptional occasions; but in the passage cited we find *men* as being *the players on nebel on alamoth*. Some would understand this as *trebles*; whilst others (and, I fancy, more correctly) interpret it as signifying "male alti," *i.e.*, men having "vox clara et acuta quasi virginum."

Sheminith or *Haschminith* is found in connection with

alamoth, and is translated "for the octave." It is difficult, however, to understand its force in a literal sense as connected with *kinnors*. The Douay version refers it to "an instrument of eight strings," but St. Augustine adopts the mystical signification of "the general resurrection," which will be on the octave day after the seven days of our mortal existence. However, the most probable interpretation is that *sheminith* means the number of strings to be employed whether on *nebels* or *kinnors*; *i.e.*, eight strings.

Mahalath or *Machalath* occurs in the titles of Psalm lii. and Psalm lxxxvii., and is translated: "Unto the end, for Maeleth, understandings for David;" also "to answer understanding;" *i.e.*, a psalm of instruction. Aquila renders it: "for dancing," but St. Jerome gives it as "*per chorum*," or a chorus of musicians.¹ If, however, this word be traced to the same root as *khalil* ("bored," *i.e.*, a flute or pipe), we must regard it as signifying a *khalil* accompaniment to the Psalm. The phrase *machalath bannoth*, "to answer understanding" was likely a direction for the Precentor to have the Psalm sung *antiphonally* with flute accompaniment.

Psalm lxxviii. has the title: "To the chief musician upon Shoshannim," which the Douay version renders: "Unto the end, for them that shall be changed; for David."

In the title of Psalm lxxiv. we read: Unto the end, corrupt not; a psalm of a canticle for Asaph," and an explanatory note is given in Dr. Denvir's issue of the Douay Bible, to the effect that "corrupt not" is believed to have been the name of a hymn, to the tune of which this Psalm was to be sung. This view strengthens what I have previously stated in reference to *aijeleth heshahar* and *gittith*, as signifying adaptations of the Psalm to popular tunes. St. Augustine and the Fathers interpret it mystically as an exhortation not to fail, but to persevere with constancy to the end. It seems to have been sung antiphonally.

Psalm xciv. has the title: "Praise of a canticle for David

¹ The Greek chorus was so called from the place where the theatrical performances took place in Sparta, and consisted of a primitive form of chant to the accompaniment of flutes. However, the original form of chorus was certainly Terpsichorean, the dance being afterwards replaced by singing.

himself," and is the Psalm which has been sung from Apostolic ages as the hymn at the commencement of matins. I may also observe that it is the older form of this Psalm which is retained in the Church offices, and not the Vulgate version.

From Psalm cxii. to Psalm cxvii., inclusively, was called by the Jews "the great Hallil," being sung after eating the Paschal Lamb, and the title of each of these five Psalms is given as "Alleluia."

In the most ancient Psalter of St. Caimin of Inniskeltra (d. 653) there is given a beautiful explanation of the letter *Aleph*, occurring at commencement of Psalm cxviii., which the reader will find in Cardinal Moran's brochure on Irish Biblical MSS. The Church employs this Psalm in her daily office, but divides it into eleven portions, and it is an embodiment of the whole Psalter. The succeeding fifteen Psalms are termed "Gradual," the exact meaning of which is uncertain, but very probably from the *gradual* inflection of the voice¹ on *each of the fifteen steps* which led to the court of the priests in the Temple.

The magnificent Psalm cxxxv. was sung at the dedication of the Temple; and the refrain to each verse of "For His mercy endureth for ever" must have been heart-stirring, rendered as it was by the entire congregation responsively to the chanters.

As the Jews had no musical notation, the synagogal chants and melodies, which must have been simple, were handed down traditionally. Very little is actually known of even the shape of the Jewish instruments, as not a single *bas-relief* exists by which we can accurately judge. However, in regard to the vocal department, we can assume that a monotonous recitative developed into occasional modulations, and gradually worked up to an ambitious form of *roulade*. An irregular form of chant, designated *cantillation*, was the primitive system of psalm-singing, and it is worthy of note that the modern Arabs recite the Koran in this

¹ Somewhat analogous to this is the inflection of voice still used at the singing of the "Alleluia" at Easter-tide—three different pitches being taken and responded to by the choir.

manner. Many elaborate essays have been written on Hebrew accents, but unfortunately it seems that these accents expressed both the *interval* or movement of the voice, and also the *melodic succession* of notes with an array of embellishments. Moreover, as Stainer says, "some of the vowel accents of Hebrew became tonal accents if placed in a particular place with regard to the letters forming the words"—which, of course, increases our difficulty in attempting any translation. The *pentatonic* scale was the most ancient, and is found among all Eastern nations. This form of scale, with its minor tonality,¹ and within the compass of a sixth, is strikingly exemplified in very many old Irish melodies. Harmony, too, was not unknown to the Hebrews, as they had a regulated use of chords, but still nothing approaching our modern harmony, as only one melody at a time was permissible.

After the death of Jannaeus (B.C. 78), who was the last in whom the hereditary titles of king and high priest was vested, Aristobulus II. made war on his brother Hyrcanus for the throne, which had been held by Alexandra Salome as regent, B.C. 78-80 ; but the internal feuds left the way open for Pompey, who stormed Jerusalem (B. C. 63), profaned the Holy of Holies, and carried off Aristobulus, leaving Hyrcanus as high priest. Philo, who was sent as a delegate from the Alexandrine Jews to Rome (B.C. 40), gives us the following description of the nocturnal meetings of the primitive ascetics:—

"After supper their sacred songs began. When all were arisen they selected two choirs, one of men and one of women, and from each of these a person of majestic form, and well-skilled in music, was chosen to lead the band. They then chanted hymns in honour of God, composed in different measures and modulations, now singing together [unison], and again answering each other by turns [antiphonally]."

After the death of Antipater the Idumean, Herod the Great was appointed king of Judea (B.C. 40). Herod was a

¹ As a specimen of the most ancient Greek melody which is yet preserved, we may confidently quote the first Pythian Ode of Pindar, which is in the minor mode.

consummate master of duplicity and intrigue, a tyrant, a profligate, and a relentless foe; but, though endeavouring to stamp out the manners and customs of the Jews, he gratified his own vanity by rebuilding the Temple of Jerusalem (B.C. 25). He certainly spent immense sums in this undertaking. On the north, east, and west were three rows of pillars, forty-five feet wide, whilst the pillars of the porticoes were over thirty-six feet high; the east portico being named "Solomon's Porch." The Holy of Holies was thirty feet long, thirty feet broad, and ninety feet high, and was separated from the Holy Place by a veil. The principal entrance was one hundred and fifty feet in height and breadth, and was covered with plates of gold. Eighteen thousand workmen were employed at this colossal work for eight years.¹

It was in this Temple that our Lord was presented, where holy Simeon chanted the glorious "Nunc dimittis," and where holy Anna the prophetess was wont to be present. We read that the Saviour Himself entered the Synagogue at Nazareth on a certain Sabbath day, and took part in the service—fulfilling the office of *lector*. He took up the *megillah*, or roll of the Prophet Isaias, which contained the *haphtarah* peculiar to the day, and expounded it to the favoured congregation. Here, I may observe, that for hundreds of years, in the Western Church—in fact, until the sixteenth century—the prophecies on Holy Saturday were always sung from a large parchment roll, magnificently illuminated, almost similar to the *megillah* of the Jews. Again, we read of the Sabbath at Capernaum, where the Blessed Virgin was present during the discourse of her dear Son. But, in connection with the Temple, we find our Lord celebrating the Feast of Tabernacles—the most important of all Jewish feasts—which was observed from the 15th to the 21st of Tisri, ending with a solemn thanksgiving on the eighth day. On each of the seven days the trumpets sounded jubilantly; whilst, on the eighth, the musical services were most elaborate. It was on this occasion that our Blessed

¹ Sir Charles Warren, by excavations made in Jerusalem, in 1868, showed that the Temple was 1,000 feet long, and 200 feet high, enclosed in an area of 30 acres.

Lord addressed the assembled people in one of the courts of the Temple, and spoke to them as never man spoke before ; that He informed them of His divine mission, and that before their father Abraham was, He had always been. St. John tells us that the furious Jews "took up stones to cast at Him," evidently showing that stones for the completion of the Temple were lying around; but Jesus departed from their midst unseen. Once more do we find the Redeemer in the Temple, "in Solomon's porch," at the Feast of the Dedication—when, again the wicked Jews sought to stone Him, but "He escaped out of their hands." Lastly, we find our Lord, after a mock trial before Annas and Caiphas—and after being accused by false witnesses of proclaiming His power to destroy that cherished Temple, led into the south-east hall of the Temple to be tried before the Sanhedrim. Aye, in that same Temple, where the songs of praise to the Expected of Nations had for so long resounded—He to whose honour this glorious Temple had been erected, and within the walls of which, generations of the chosen people had chanted "For His mercy endureth for ever"—was condemned by His own creatures!

In conclusion, we can safely assert that the choral and orchestral performances of the Temple were most awe-inspiring and effective, aided materially by the magnificent Jewish ceremonial. Some writers say this sort of music was barbarous, but Almighty God specially honoured the chant and the singers, and was gratified by the outpourings of praise from His fervent worshippers. No form of concerted music --no harmonious combinations of mere sounds selected for effect sake—no arrangement which obtains its end by complicated devices, or Wagnerian innovations, can ever approach the sublimity of an inspired melody sung with fervour "and understanding" by a numerous body of singers. The songs of Israel were undoubtedly pleasing to the great Jehovah, and appealed irresistibly to the Divine mercy ; and, therefore, justly does the Royal Psalmist sing : "Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia ejus : et veritas Domini manet in aeternum."

WILLIAM H. G. FLOOD.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART, AND FINAL PERSEVERANCE.

“VERY REV. SIR,—May I ask for a solution in the I. E. RECORD of a difficulty which I know has occurred to some, and may have occurred to many, Directors of the Arch-Confraternity of the Sacred Heart.

“The difficulty is contained in one of the promises made to the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. These are the words: “I promise thee in the excessive mercy of My Heart, that My all-powerful love will grant to all those who communicate on the first Friday in nine consecutive months, the grace of final perseverance; they shall not die in My disgrace, nor without receiving the Sacraments; My Divine Heart shall be their safe refuge in their last moment.” Here, final perseverance is exhibited, it appears to me, as an object of *meritum de condigno*, for there is a divine promise. But theology teaches that we cannot merit final perseverance either *de condigno*, or even *de congruo infallibili*. Hence I would like to know how to reconcile the promise with the teaching of theology, and also whether the action of the Church in beatifying B. Margaret Mary implies the authenticity of the revelations ascribed to her.—Yours faithfully,
“SACERDOS.”

1. Theologians distinguish three kinds of perseverance—purely active, purely passive, and mixed perseverance. Perseverance is *purely active* when an adult continues for some time after his justification in the state of grace, then falls, and is damned. *Purely passive* perseverance is the grace of death after justification, without any further appreciable term of probation: it occurs in the case of baptized infants who die before they attain the use of reason, and in adults who die immediately, or very soon after their justification. Finally, perseverance is called *mixed*, when a person continues in the practice of virtue for some considerable time after his justification, and dies in the state of grace.

2. We need not treat further of *purely active* perseverance. *Purely passive* perseverance is entirely the work and gift of Almighty God: “Vocatur autem passiva,” writes Dr. Murray: “quia homo nihil in ea habenda operatur aut

cooperatur, sed se pure passive tenet: purum opus est Dei clementis et miserentis, ut hominem e vivis eo tempore eripiat quo justus est; nec antea eripuerit dum in peccato erat; nec in aliud tempus eripiendum lapsum distulerit." (De Gratia Disp. v. n. 50^a.)

3. Again; as our correspondent writes, we cannot merit *active final* perseverance either *de condigno* or *de congruo infallibili*. How, then, do we reconcile the promise referred to in our correspondent's letter with the teaching of theology? While theologians teach that we cannot merit final perseverance, they also point out many *means* whereby we may infallibly attain eternal happiness, and *signs* whereby we may conjecture whether we shall persevere or not. The following are given by Dr. Murray¹:—(a) a tender conscience; (b) sincere humility of the heart and of the intellect, with its accompanying virtues, meekness, patience, &c.; (c) the frequentation of the sacraments of penance and the Blessed Eucharist; (d) devotion to the Blessed Virgin; (e) prayer; (f) in the case of priests, zeal for souls. To these we might add devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

By the practice of these devotions we shall infallibly obtain the grace of perseverance. This does not mean that the exercise of these devotions for a year, or for ten years, or for twenty years, will infallibly secure our salvation, and that thenceforward we might take our ease, and fold our arms, as far as our spiritual interests are concerned. No, "Qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit." But by fervent prayer continuously from day to day, by the constant exercise of some of the pious practices referred to, by co-operation with divine grace, we shall obtain successively from day to day abundant graces to observe the commandments, to overcome temptations, and to persevere to the end in our pious practices. Hence St. Liguori writes: "Si oraveris certo salvaberis, si non oraveris certo damnaberis."

Now, if the promise referred to by our correspondent be authentic, we would regard it not as an absolute promise of final perseverance, but as a *means* and a *sign* of attaining perseverance. It would be altogether opposed to the provi-

¹ Disp. xii., nn. 167, et seq.

dence of God, as revealed to us in the Scripture, to expect that the temporary practice of any devotion, no matter how sublime and sacred, would infallibly seal a man's eternal happiness. To all persons are addressed the words of the awful and solemn warning: "With fear and trembling work out your salvation." Efficacious and powerful as we believe devotion to the Sacred Heart to be, we cannot believe that it will make its clients more devoted to God, more faithful to divine grace, or more sure of their salvation, than was the Apostle of the Gentiles. Yet St. Paul says: "But I chastise my body, and bring it into subjection; lest, perhaps, when I have preached to others I myself should become a castaway." (1 Cor. ix. 27.)

We think, therefore, that if the promise referred to in our correspondent's letter be authentic, it must be understood and explained somewhat in the same sense as the promises contained, *e. g.*, in the beatitudes: "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," &c.; or as the promises contained in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of St. John: "If any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever" (v. 52); "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life; and I will raise him up on the last day" (v. 55); "He that eateth this bread shall live for ever" (v. 59). But these, of course, do not imply that we can merit final perseverance *de condigno*. They are only means of attaining final perseverance, and signs of our eternal happiness hereafter.

4. "Does the action of the Church in beatifying Blessed Margaret Mary imply the authenticity of the revelations ascribed to her?"

When the Church does not approve private revelations in themselves, it does not imply their authenticity by beatifying their author. What, though, if the Church approve the revelations themselves? Frauzelin answers:—

"Quod pertinet ad Ecclesiae iudicium quo hujusmodi revelationes privatae aliquando approbantur, illud non eo spectat, ut revelationes proponantur fidelibus fide divina credendae; sed ut declaretur, (a) in iis nihil esse quod fidei catholicae, bonis moribus et disciplinae christianae adversetur; (b) sufficientia esse indicia veritatis, ut hujusmodi revelationes fide humana pie et

prudenter ac sine superstitione credi, et ad aedificationem fidelibus legi possint. 'Sermonem instituendo de earum approbatione, inquit Benedictus XIV. de Canoniz. S.S. L. ii., c. 32, n. 11, sciendum est approbationem istam nihil esse aliud quam permissionem ut edantur ad fidelium institutionem et utilitatem post maturum examen.' . . . (c) Post Ecclesiae hujusmodi approbationem, vel si etiam nullo adhuc lato judicio graves adsint genuinitatis rationes, certe fas non est tales revelationes contemnere." (De Divina Traditione. Thesis, xxii.)

A QUESTION ABOUT HONORARIA.

"DEAR SIR,—When a *parochus* is unable from sickness or any other cause to celebrate Mass, *pro populo*, on Sundays and Holy Days, is he bound to give more than the ordinary stipend to his curate whom he deposes to perform this sacred function ?

"An answer in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige—Yours faithfully, "AN INTERESTED CURATE."

The parish priest, we think, is not bound to give more than the ordinary stipend ; for when the theologians treat of this subject, they make no reference to any obligation of giving a larger honorarium than is usually given. Lehmkuhl, for example, writes : "Si parochus impeditus est, quominus die obligato celebret, curare debet ut per alterum in parochia Missa pro populo applicetur, *etiam collato stipendio*." (Vol. ii., page 144.) There is, therefore, no law ; nor, as far as we are aware, any custom which requires a parish priest to give his curate, in those circumstances, more than the ordinary stipend.

D. COGHLAN.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I. THE INDULGENCE OF THE LITANY OF THE HOLY NAME.

II. THE USE OF THE SHORT FORM IN BLESSING THE BAPTISMAL FONT.

I. "In a Manual of Devotion compiled for a Religious Community in Ireland, the Litany of the Holy Name, which differs in many respects from the form in general use, has the following prefatory notice :—

" 'An Indulgence of three hundred days was granted by Rescript, dated April 28th, 1864, to the faithful in England, for the devout recitation of the Litany of the Most Holy Name, by our most Holy Father Pope Pius IX., who at the same time prohibited any form but that of which the following is a translation, authorized by the bishops.'

" Please state has such a Rescript ever been granted. If it has, ought not publishers of prayer-books be very careful to select only the authorized version ?

II. "May priests in Ireland use the short form of blessing the Baptismal Font during the year, that is, at other times than on Easter and Pentecost Saturdays? My reason for putting the question is that, in the edition of the *Ritual* brought out by Father M'Neece, under the direction of his Grace the Primate, the following rubric is prefixed to the short form: . . . '*et non nisi in iis locis adhibenda ad quae speciali Apostolicae Sedis indulto extensa fuit.*'

" PAROCHUS."

I. The Litany of the Holy Name has existed in one form or another for a very long time, but it was only in 1862 that it received the formal approval of the Church, or was enriched with an indulgence. In that year Pius IX., acceding to the request of a large number of bishops, granted an indulgence of three hundred days, to be gained once a day. But the Holy Father made the gaining of this indulgence subject to these two conditions. First, that the Litany recited should be that to which he on the same occasion gave his approval; and second, that the indulgence could be gained only by the faithful of those dioceses whose Ordinaries should

have asked the Congregation to extend this favour to them.¹ The bishops of England fulfilled this latter condition, and the Rescript to which reference is made in our correspondent's question was the official concession of their prayer. Though we have not seen this Rescript, we have no doubt of its authenticity. For, in the first place, there existed the *a priori* necessity for such a document. Secondly, similar Rescripts were granted to many countries, provinces, and dioceses; and finally, the authenticity of this particular Rescript has not hitherto been questioned. There can be no doubt, then, that the indulgence attached to the Litany was extended to the faithful of England at the time mentioned, as the date of the Rescript; neither can there be a doubt that an exact copy of the approved form of the Litany was procured, and a translation authorized by the bishops published. The only question, then, is whether the form of the Litany which has attracted the attention of our correspondent is an exact copy of this authorized translation, or even an accurate translation of the original.

Manifestly this question cannot be decided without instituting a comparison between the copy in question and the original, and as our correspondent has not favoured us with the former we cannot, of course, make the necessary comparison. We may, however, refer our correspondent to the *Raccolta*, where he will find an authentic copy of the original Latin. We may state moreover, that, having examined the Litany, as given in more than a dozen different manuals of devotion now in common use, we did not find any notable variation from the original in any of them except in the prayer at the end of the Litany; and in several of these the prefatory note about the Rescript was printed. The following, taken from an old prayer-book, presents a sufficiently accurate version of the prayer to be said after the invocations of the Litany:—

“ O Lord Jesus Christ! who hast said: ‘ Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened

¹ Maurel, Part 2, Art. 1, n. 26, *The New Raccolta*, page 91. (English Translation, Philadelphia, 1889.)

unto you; grant we beseech Thee, to our most humble supplications, the gift of Thy divine love, that we may ever love Thee with our whole hearts, and never cease from praising and glorifying Thy holy name. Amen."

"Give us, O Lord, a perpetual fear and love of Thy holy name, for Thou never ceasest to direct and govern by Thy grace those whom Thou instructest in the solidity of Thy love; who livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen."

Having thus, we hope, fully satisfied our esteemed correspondent, we may now state that the second of the two conditions already mentioned as being necessary for gaining the indulgence attached to this Litany, has been withdrawn by our present Holy Father.¹ The other still remains. Hence, as our correspondent insinuates, publishers of prayer-books should be very careful to give only versions of the original, which have been approved by some competent ecclesiastical authority.

For an answer to his second question, we beg to refer our correspondent to Father O'Kane's valuable work, *Notes on the Rubrics*, n. 391. That eminent author thus states his opinion: "We may conclude, then, that in any diocese or district where an abbreviated form of blessing is in use, with the knowledge and approval of the bishop, it may be used; while in other places the form given in the Roman Ritual must be adhered to."²

III. IS AN "ORATIO IMPERATA" TO BE SAID IN THE VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART ON THE FIRST FRIDAY OF THE MONTH?

"REV. SIR,—Will you please state in next issue of the I. E. RECORD whether the words *unica oratione* in the following *dubium* exclude the *oratio imperata* where otherwise prescribed. Yours faithfully,

"PASTOR."

. "Dubium. Missa votiva SSmi. Cordis Jesu, per Decretum

¹ His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. by a decree of the S. Cong. of Indulgences, January 16th, 1886, extended to all the faithful who with at least contrite heart and devotion shall recite the Litany and the prayers, the indulgence of three hundred days, once a day, which the Sovereign Pontiff Pius IX., June 8th, 1862, had granted to the faithful of those dioceses whose Ordinaries had asked this favour of the S. Congregation. *Raccolta, ibid.*

² N. 394.

diei xxviii. Junii, 1889, pro Ecclesiis in quibus de mane exercitia pietatis in honorem ejusdem Divini Cordis peraguntur, concessa, celebrari debet sine *Gloria* sine *Credo* et cum tribus orationibus; an ritu quo celebrantur Missae Votivae solemniter, cum *Gloria* et *Credo* et unica oratione?

“ Ad dubium Resp. *Negative* ad primam partem; *affirmative* ad secundam.

“ ✠ Caj. Card. ALOISI MASELLA,
“ S.R.C. *Praef.*”

In order to answer this question fully it will be necessary to say a word about the two classes into which Votive Masses are divided. These are called Solemn and Private Votive Masses. To constitute a solemn Votive Mass three things are required—1, a grave cause; 2, the command of the Pope, or of the bishop of the diocese; 3, that the Mass be at least sung by the celebrant—that is, that if it be not a solemn Mass in the strict sense, it be at least a *Missa cantata*. A Votive Mass wanting any one of these conditions is merely a private Votive Mass. Now, the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart, of which there is here question, if not a solemn Votive Mass, is, at least, to be celebrated as if it were. Hence the rules regarding solemn Votive Masses apply to it. And from the Rubricists we learn that solemn Votive Masses exclude the *oratio imperata*.¹ So, therefore, does this Mass of the Sacred Heart.

IV. THE “DE PROFUNDIS” AND THE “PAPAL PRAYERS” AFTER MASS.

“ REV. SIR,—You will oblige many readers of the I. E. RECORD by kindly saying in the next issue of it, whether we Irish priests are to say the three Aves, *Salve Regina*, and the other prayers prescribed by His Holiness Leo XIII., to be recited ‘*Finita Missa*’ immediately after the last Gospel or after the ‘*De Profundis*.’ ”

“ P.P.”

The practice of Irish priests seems to have long since solved our correspondent’s question. As far as we know, the universal practice is to recite the prayers immediately after

¹ “ Omittenda est (oratio imperata) . . . in votivis solemnibus quia celebrantur sub ritu 1 cl.” (De Herdt., tom. 1, n. 72, 5^o.)

the *De Profundis*, and not immediately after the last Gospel, as some of the decrees on the subject would seem to command. To justify our departure from the strict letter of the directions given for the recital of these prayers, we need only appeal to the long-standing custom of reciting the *De Profundis* immediately after the last Gospel. About the origin of this custom there is much disagreement among archæologists, but all are agreed as to its antiquity. Some say it was introduced as some compensation for the innumerable "foundation Masses" for deceased persons, the celebration of which was rendered impossible by the plunderings and persecutions of the so-called Reformers. Others, again, say that this custom dates from the time of Cromwell, and was intended to supply the place of the burial service of which so many of the pious Oliver's victims were deprived. The defenders of each opinion say that a Rescript from Rome approving of the practice was early obtained, and one writer whom we have seen quoted declared that he had seen a copy of this Rescript. At any rate, apart altogether from any formal sanction by the Holy See, a custom equivalent to an ecclesiastical law has determined the time and manner of reciting the *De Profundis* in this country at the end of Mass, and this custom is not interfered with by any law in which express mention of it is not made. The *finita missa*, or *in fine missae* of the official documents is, therefore, to be interpreted in accordance with legitimate customs that may be found to exist in certain countries or parts of countries.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE IRISH "ORDO RECITANDI OFFICIUM DURNUM."

"REV. DEAR SIR,—As some improvements in the Directory or Ordo are, I understand, contemplated, permit me to make the following suggestions:—

"When there is a transferred office it would be convenient to have the proper to it printed in the end of the Ordo. I have a French Ordo in which this is done. It would occupy only a few

pages and would obviate the necessity of carrying about more than one part of the Breviary.

“ Whenever a new Mass or Office is ordered, it would be very desirable to find it printed in the Ordo of the subsequent year. We should then have it in due time ; many of us now, through inadvertence or difficulty of getting it fail to obtain it for some years—most of us forget all about it the first year until reminded by the Ordo on the eve of the day—too late to procure it.

“ It would be very useful to give each year in the Directory a summary of new Decrees or other such matters of practical importance. The I. E. RECORD, no doubt, supplies us with such information, but there it is scattered throughout many numbers and given *in extenso*. It would be well to have it summarised and all together each year—with references, *e.g.*, to the pages of the I. E. RECORD, where it could be studied at length by those with leisure. Thus public almanacks each year give a summary of Acts of Parliament.

“ While making these suggestions, I agree with what has before been said by others, that the Ordo is entirely too bulky ; but I think that many less useful matters might be omitted to make room for the above.—Yours truly,

“ M. O'D.”

DOCUMENTS.

PASTORAL ADDRESS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND, TO THE CLERGY, SECULAR AND REGULAR, AND THE LAITY OF THEIR FLOCKS.

DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

Assembled in Dublin for our Autumn Meeting, we feel bound, in the present critical condition of the country, not to separate without giving expression to the convictions which we unanimously entertain on certain subjects that now deeply interest our people. Our abiding solicitude for the spiritual and temporal well-being of our flocks urges us to address to them in this trying time a few words of heartfelt sympathy and salutary instruction.

First of all, we feel called upon to bear testimony to the seriousness of the calamity now impending. From close personal

observation, and from the trustworthy reports of those in daily contact with the people, we have ample evidence of a disastrous failure of the potato crop over large districts of the country. We feel it therefore an imperative duty to call upon the Government to take effective means, whilst there is yet time, to prevent the deplorable consequences that more especially in the poorer parts of the country, must inevitably follow from so large a failure of that crop on which the people mainly subsist.

We have seen with regret that attempts have been made to deny the seriousness of the impending danger. The history of former periods of distress in Ireland furnishes but too many examples of similar denials. That history also records the deplorable consequences of such denials in hindering the timely adoption of remedial measures by the Executive.

Most useful measures for the employment of the people, and for the permanent development of the resources of the country, have been clearly outlined by leading public men, and by representative bodies enjoying the confidence of the people. The means of averting, at all events, many of the worst consequences of the impending calamity are manifestly within reach. There can be no reason why the adoption of remedial measures should be delayed. We are the more urgent in pressing for the immediate employment of the poor at remunerative work from the sad experience we have had of the demoralising effect of wholesale eleemosynary relief.

We fully recognise the relief that may be afforded by means of the construction of Railways under the scheme already sanctioned by Parliament. But it is manifest that whatever benefit is to be derived from that scheme, as a remedial measure, must largely depend upon the provisions that may be made for the employment of as many as possible of the poor inhabitants of the districts through which the projected lines are to pass. It must also be kept in view that, outside the areas of projected railway extension, there are many other districts for which it is of no less urgent necessity to make provision. We must raise our voices in protest against the notion that adequate provision can be made for such districts by throwing the people upon Poor-law Relief.

Bearing upon this question of the impending distress, there is another point to which we must not omit to direct attention.

The crisis now before us is one that, if it be not effectively dealt with, must bring upon our people a disaster far-reaching in its fatal results, even in future years. It is, on this score, of obvious importance that measures should be taken to enable them to provide themselves for next season with potato seed less likely to be affected by disease.

Whilst we suggest these means of alleviating the distress of our suffering poor we should fail in our duty if we did not remind you, dearly beloved, that visitations such as that with which we are now threatened come from God, and that to Him above all we should have recourse for help. "Our God is our refuge and strength; a helper in troubles which have found us exceedingly." (Psalm xlv. 1.) "Arise, O Lord God, let Thy hand be exalted; forget not the poor." (Psalm ix. 12.)

Also, dearly beloved, we take this as a fitting occasion to discharge another duty of our pastoral office.

From some recent events, as well as from the comments of certain newspapers no less hostile to the faith than to the national aspirations of the Irish people, we find with regret that the attitude of the Bishops of Ireland on some important questions has been misrepresented and misunderstood. Moreover, certain undoubted principles of Catholic doctrine have frequently been called in question. We deem it our imperative duty, then, to reiterate the instruction already publicly given by us to our flocks with reference to these questions and these points of doctrine.

In that instruction, issued two years ago from a general meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in Dublin, we warned our people, as it was our duty to warn them, "against the use of any hasty or irreverent language with reference to the Sovereign Pontiff, or to any of the Sacred Congregations through which he usually issues his Decrees to the faithful." Furthermore, in obedience to the commands of the Holy See, and in willing discharge of the duty thus placed upon us, we put it on public record that the Decree of the Holy Office which had then recently been issued to the Irish Hierarchy had been issued in reference to the domain, not of politics, as such, but of morals alone. And we emphatically reminded our flocks that "on all questions appertaining to morals," as on those that appertain to faith, the Sovereign Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on

earth, has "an inalienable and divine right to speak with authority."

This instruction of the assembled Bishops of Ireland was followed up by a statement from the Archbishop of Dublin, in which the scope and binding force of the Decree were most fully and most lucidly explained.

In that statement it was pointed out, first of all, that the Decree was "a decision strictly and exclusively on a question of morals;" that the point dealt with in it was as to the lawfulness, "the moral lawfulness," of employing, in the agrarian struggle described in the question, the methods of action known as the Plan of Campaign and Boycotting; and that the decision was in the negative; that is to say, "that in the struggle in question those methods of action could not lawfully be employed."

It was also pointed out by the Archbishop that whilst the matter so dealt with by the Sacred Congregation had, no doubt, a most important political aspect, "this aspect does not, and cannot, alter the essential character of the question itself."

This point was developed by his Grace as follows:—"Every question as to whether a particular action, or line of action, is morally right or morally wrong, is a question of morals. As such, it comes within the sphere of the authority of the Church. The action, or line of action, in question, may, if considered from a worldly point of view, be political, or social, or medical, or legal. But the question whether that action or line of action, is, or is not, in accordance with the principles of morality—that is to say, with the natural law—is not a question of political, or of social, or of medical, or of legal science. It is essentially and exclusively a question of morals."

Every such question, the Archbishop went on to explain, "is to be dealt with by that tribunal which is competent to deal with it on moral grounds." "Persons who are not Catholics have to examine such questions conscientiously for themselves, each man according to the lights of his own private judgment as to what is right or wrong. In matters not decided by the authority of the Church, Catholics are left free to do the same. But when such a question is decided by that authority, mere private judgment is called upon to give way.

"When there is question of the moral lawfulness of an action, or line of action, which is productive, it may be, of some enormous

advantage—an advantage, for instance, in politics—the question of moral lawfulness manifestly stands altogether apart from the question of political utility.

“Those questions belong to different spheres. Politicians may deal with one. The Church deals with the other. The Church has no more to do with the political advantage or disadvantage of a given line of action than the constituencies, or the Houses of Parliament have to do with its morality. She deals with the moral aspect of the case, and with that only. Her decision may, of course, be set at naught, either by those who repudiate her authority, or by those who, without formally repudiating that authority, disregard it. The Church can only declare what is the moral law. She cannot always hinder men from breaking it.”

Similar expositions of the scope and authority of the Decree were given by other Bishops, as occasion required, in their respective dioceses.

In conclusion, we deem it our duty to express our deep sympathy with those unhappy tenants who, from various causes, have been evicted from their farms and their homes, and have been thus deprived of the means of procuring subsistence for themselves and their families.

Proposals designed to procure the restoration of these poor people to their homes have already been made in Parliament, and appear to have been favourably received in the most influential quarters. We earnestly hope that the wisdom of Parliament may be able to devise some means of effecting this most desirable object. It is indispensable for securing the peace of the country. For there can be no hope of peace or harmony in Ireland so long as these unhappy families are left thus homeless, and depending for their daily bread on the generosity of their fellow-countrymen.

Neither can we deem it consistent with justice or humanity that evictions should now be carried out, especially in the distressed districts, where, by a visitation of Providence, the poor tenants have become unable not only to pay any rents, but even to procure from the soil the absolute necessities of life.

For the rest, dearly beloved, let us unite in earnest prayer to the Almighty Ruler, by whom kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things. May He vouchsafe to grant to this long-troubled land the blessings of an abiding peace!

“Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord ; the people whom He hath chosen for His inheritance . . .

“The king is not saved by a great army, nor shall the giant be saved by his own great strength . . .

“Behold the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear Him : and on them that hope in His mercy.

“To deliver their souls from death : and feed them in famine . . .

“Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon upon us, as we have hoped in Thee.” (Psalm xxxii. 12-22.)

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

- ✠ MICHAEL, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland.
- ✠ JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam.
- ✠ LAURENCE, Bishop of Elphin.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Meath.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Clogher.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- ✠ FRANCIS, Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh.
- ✠ HUGH, Bishop of Killala.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Cloyne.
- ✠ WILLIAM, Bishop of Ross.
- ✠ BARTHOLOMEW, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacdonise.
- ✠ THOMAS ALPHONSUS, Bishop of Cork.
- ✠ JAMES, Bishop of Ferns.
- ✠ ABRAHAM, Bishop of Ossory.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- ✠ EDWARD THOMAS, Bishop of Limerick.
- ✠ PATRICK, Bishop of Raphoe.
- ✠ EDWARD, Bishop of Kilmore.
- ✠ THOMAS, Bishop of Dromore
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Derry.
- ✠ JOHN, Bishop of Waterford.
- ✠ JOHN, Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert.
- ✠ MICHAEL, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- ✠ THOMAS, Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe.
- ✠ NICHOLAS, Bishop of Canea.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY. By the Rev. T. Gilmartin
Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Maynooth College.

THE Rev. Professor Gilmartin has rendered a valuable service to the students of Church History by the publication of this volume. When completed the work will meet an urgent need, for although we have some useful popular Church histories in English, we have had no really scientific book treating of the general history of the Church from the pen of any Catholic writer in the English language. In Maynooth, itself, the authorised class-book is a rather bald and not very elegant translation of Dr. Alzog's German volumes. No doubt, it is a very learned work; but we think that its pages are rather overcrowded with names and dates; and, moreover, whilst treating fully of almost all those topics especially interesting to the German mind, the author either omits altogether or passes very lightly over several important questions, which are of great utility and interest for Irish students.

This first volume of Professor Gilmartin's *Manual* brings the history of the Church down to the pontificate of Gregory VII., so that a second volume on the same lines will complete the work. A book of this character, specially designed for the use of students, should, above all things, be clear and orderly. A wordy and confused narrative will always beget in the mind of the reader a confusion of thought similar to that from which it sprang in the mind of the writer. Now, lucid simplicity is certainly the most striking quality of Professor Gilmartin's style. No person will ever find it necessary to read a sentence a second time in order to catch its meaning. He never uses any useless or merely ornamental words in his perspicuous narrative. Strictly adhering to the synthetic method, which he has adopted, the professor groups his characters and events in their philosophic sequence, thus presenting to the mind a well-defined and striking outline of the subject of which he treats. The picture, however, is only in water-colours; no attempt is made at word-painting or character-sketching in life-coloured tints. This outline, however, is to be filled in by the professor in his lectures, or by the student in his private study. The special value of this work is

that the outline is traced with so much clearness and precision that even a man of sluggish mind need never lose his bearings in the great ocean of general Church history. How well the professor can unravel a tangled skein of history, in which facts, fiction, and dogma are closely interwoven, may be seen in his admirable sketch of the origin and development of Arianism.

Although the author goes over half the history of the Church in this first volume, he contrives to introduce almost everything of real importance, and furnishes many an excellent summary of the most complicated historical controversies. It has been said that a very learned member of the Maynooth staff once undertook to write a History of the Church, but that he never could get beyond the controversies surrounding the question of the exact year of the birth of Christ. Professor Gilmartin begins his history proper with this very question; and in four or five pages goes over the whole ground, and certainly puts all the elements for the solution of the problem in a clearer light than we have seen before.

In like manner the chapter on the introduction of Christianity into Ireland, at page 297, gives, in a brief space, a very complete account of the early history of the Irish Church. It is only those who are familiar with the history of those times, that can best realize what few things have been left unsaid by the learned professor. This chapter is followed by another, shorter but equally interesting, chapter on Columcille's apostolic labours in Scotland. Whoever compares Professor Gilmartin's narrative, so full and so accurate, with the meagre references to these important questions in Alzog's history will easily perceive how much more valuable, at least for Irish students, is the Manual of the Maynooth Professor.

We have some reason to know from experience how difficult it is to produce a first edition without typographical errors. Hence we are not surprised to find that there are some few slips of this kind in the present volume. But they are altogether unimportant; and we have no doubt the Professor will soon find an opportunity of correcting them in a second edition. This volume is so convenient, and so complete in every respect, that it is certain to have a large circulation not only amongst the students of Maynooth, but also amongst the students of other colleges as well as amongst the clergy generally.

Professor Gilmartin has not been installed many years in the important Chair of History in Maynooth, yet he has already

accomplished the first part of his laborious task by producing this excellent volume. He is still young in years, and vigorous in health, so that we have every reason to hope that Providence will spare him not only to complete this work, but also to give to the public the fruit of his mature studies in many special departments of ecclesiastical history. ✕ J. H.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS. By His Eminence Cardinal Moran.
Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

It is barely necessary for us to say a word in praise of these admirable lectures and papers just published by his Eminence Cardinal Moran; the name of their illustrious author will commend them to all Irishmen. Those who know the painstaking reputation of the Cardinal in matters of historical research and of religious polemics will feel perfectly safe in accepting the information with which these papers abound. They are, indeed, models of popular lectures, and we have only to mention some of the subjects treated in order to give an idea of their variety and utility. Chief amongst them are "The Church and Social Progress," "Julian the Apostate," "The Civilization of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman Invasion," "Joan of Arc," "The Massacre of St. Bartholomew," "Religion in Education," "The Fruits of Self-Culture." We should wish to direct special attention to the last-mentioned of these papers, and to the large number of examples there quoted of men who by their own industry, intelligence, and perseverance rose from obscure origin and poor beginnings to the highest grades of honour and fame. In this interesting list we find the names of Pope Sixtus V., Cardinal Wolsey, Cardinal Mezzofanti; the painters Giotto, Claude Lorraine, Hogarth, Turner; the sculptors Canova and Benzoni; Haydn, the musician; George Kemp, the architect; Louis Veuillot, the journalist; the poets Shakespeare and Robert Burns; the astronomers Copernicus and Herschel; Cuvier, the naturalist; Faraday, the scientist; Charles Bianconi, of the Coaches; and finally, three examples are taken from Ireland itself: they are Eugene O'Curry, the archaeologist; Father Burke, the great Dominican preacher; and the late Sir John O'Shannassy, prime minister of Victoria, who was born in the town of Tipperary. We trust that his Eminence may long be spared to continue the great traditions of apostolic Ireland, and, notwithstanding his many pastoral cares, to add still further, if possible, to the interesting and valuable collection of papers in this volume.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LATIN LANGUAGE. By Maurice C. Hime, M.A., LL.D. Dublin: Sullivan Brothers, Marlborough-street.

THIS being the *second* edition of a useful work not unknown to the comparatively large number of the readers of the I. E. RECORD, who are concerned directly or indirectly with the teaching of the ancient classics, it is utterly superfluous to specify minutely its acknowledged merits; while it would be manifestly unfair to cull out for animadversion, either from the re-written or newly-added sections, isolated expressions with which many teachers would undoubtedly not concur. To a trained eye a glance is enough to show that it is eminently practical, and that its author must be a man of ripe scholarship and of great experience in teaching. Indeed, his name is a sufficient passport for his book to the class-halls of many Irish and foreign grammar-schools. Hence, it is with unfeigned diffidence and reluctance that the present reviewer undertakes to give his own candid estimate of the work, cognisant as he is, moreover, of the vast diversity of academic training that best qualifies for the various university, professional, and other public examinations. Two things he can assert at once and unhesitatingly—that the work is a masterly and fairly exhaustive one, and that those who admired the first edition as entitled to supersede Roby, Kennedy, Madvig, Abbott, &c., cannot fail to welcome its successor as the *ne plus ultra* of book assistance to students in Latin Grammar and Composition.

For the interest of the general reader, it may be observed that the *Introduction to Latin*, in its present form, consists of two very unequally sized volumes; the first comprising the Accidence and Prosody, interlarded with numerous exercises, and containing 156 pages; and the second, mainly devoted to Syntax, extending over the balance of the total 778. The size and distinctness of type, and the quality of paper, are everything teacher or pupil could desire, while the binding and general appearance of the companion volumes claim for them a conspicuous place in any ordinary school library. Common justice demands that the author be credited with the most praiseworthy motives in stereotyping for his own boys, and still more so in presenting in a permanent form to the public, the elements that most signally contributed to his success, the matured results of his long experience, and his judicious garnerings from favourite

works. The twofold object he proposed to himself was to save time and to save money. Well, in the north-west of Ireland, few will believe that either time or money is the most pressing necessity for the vast majority of the Foyle College students. Hence the intended beneficiaries from the promised economy must have been those who had no strong claim on his literary bounty. Many, however, will be ungrateful enough not to believe with him that "boys will learn more Latin, and learn it, too, more soundly, in one year from this *Introduction* to the language than in two from any other grammar with which I am acquainted." The work contains an immense deal of accurate information; but it lacks attraction for the young pupil; it lacks method; it lacks brevity in the enunciation of rules; while it too strikingly exhibits the pet views and methods of its enterprising hard-working, scholarly author. He cannot resist the temptation to diverge in text or footnote wherever his personal predilections are even apparently or remotely contravened. "What virtue," he sapiently observes, "there is in such names as *hypothetical, conditional, consecutive*, and so forth, I have never been able to discover, either as boy or man." Yet, after all the worse than African darkness of classic literature has been eternally dissipated by his magic wand, he asks us to accept, as commonly understood, the terms "trajective," "predicative dative," "imparisyllabic," "locative case of time when," &c. He directs us to pronounce Latin words as we would English, and subsequently treats us to the famous "Syllabus," without offering a word of explanation in regard to the proper sound of *i, au, &c.*

His selection of Virgil, to illustrate the rules of Syntax, will be approved by the same circumscribed circle of personal admirers, who are likely to become ecstasied over his chapters on *Double Translation* and on *The Plot of the First Book of the Æneid*. In his *Hint to the Teacher*, at the conclusion of this latter deeply philosophical lucubration, which, by the way, extends over fifteen pages, half prose, half poetry, and written in Johnsonian style, he confidently asserts, that the "little boy," who has carefully read it, will find the *Æneid* a hundred times more intelligible than he would after poring over the ordinary prefaces. The "little boy," who would thoroughly understand the typical *résumé*, couched as it is in such grandiloquent diction, must be a veritable phenomenon.

It is only fair to give a specimen of the work under review,

selected at random, and accurately reproduced. Some of our readers might for the moment doubt the correctness, and still more of them might fail to see the consistency of the quantity-marks in the following words, all of which appear on page 43 :— “ *Dives, divitis, tērēs, terētis ; concors, concōrdis ; sollers*, neut. plur. *sollertia*,” &c. E. M.

ST. JOSEPH'S MANUAL OF A HAPPY ETERNITY. By Father Sebastian, Passionist. Dublin : Duffy & Co.

MANY, especially the devout clients of St. Joseph, will be pleased to learn that Father Sebastian, Passionist, has published a new edition of his *Manual of a Happy Eternity*.

This is a prayer-book and a good deal more. While supplying the ordinary prayer and exercises of piety found in the approved books of devotion, *St. Joseph's Manual of a Happy Eternity* takes the place also of an excellent book of meditation and spiritual reading. In the first part of the work there are nearly two hundred considerations on the great topics which engage attention during a Retreat, each of which may serve as a meditation and a spiritual instruction.

The *Manual* is already a favourite *vade mecum* with the clients of St. Joseph, and we need only express our pleasure that the demand is such as to require the issue of a new edition.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY.

THIS admirable Society continues its life of useful activity. Month after month it is publishing excellent Catholic cheap literature. The field of its labours extends to books of devotion, history, biography, science, controversy—in fact to almost every department of literature.

In this month's bundle, just come to hand, we notice Cardinal Newman's eighth *Lecture on the Present Position of Catholics in England* (price 2d.); *The Temperance Movement*, by Canon Murnane; *Thrift*, by Rev. Edward Nolan (price 1d.); *Church Defence*, containing three essays (price 1d.); and a handsome volume containing all the papers read at the recent Catholic Conference held in Birmingham.

The priest who helps to make the literature of the Catholic Truth Society known in his parish will be doing much for the religious and intellectual progress of his people.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1890.

PROFESSOR STOKES ON THE EARLY IRISH CHURCH.

THE announcement, a few years ago, that Professor Stokes was about to publish Lectures on Irish Ecclesiastical History was gladly welcomed by Irish scholars. A great deal was expected from him. His character is high; his opportunities singularly favourable. He has under his own control, or within easy reach, some of the most rare and precious documents that bear upon the early Christian history of Ireland, and his position as Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in a richly-endowed university, fully warranted the belief that now, at least, new light would be cast on many obscure parts of our history, and a scholarly, impartial judgment passed on our history as a whole. Whatever may have been the feeling within Trinity College, this feeling was very general without. Well, two handsome volumes of Dr. Stokes' promised work have appeared. They comprise a number of lectures delivered to the clerical aspirants in Trinity College. The type, paper, and general appearance of the volumes are excellent. The style is simple and pleasing. The tone is decidedly better than we are accustomed to in Protestant historians. No "Papist," no "Romish," none of the rusty terms in which vulgar Protestantism was wont to give expression to its hatred of the Catholic Church can be found in Dr. Stokes' book. He is too much of a gentleman to soil his pen or his pages with

vulgarisms of that class. He speaks highly of the zeal and learning of some of our early Irish saints, of the efficiency and worth of some of our early Irish schools. He extols the work done by our early Irish missionaries in converting the heathen. He admits, what, indeed, no one who has seen the *Tara Broach* or *The Book of Kells* can deny, that Irish artists, both in design and execution, were among the first of their day. But with all this, the work is, as even a cursory reader can see, a failure; and those who expected great things from Dr. Stokes are doomed to disappointment. No new fact in our history is brought to light; no new light is let in on any of the known facts of our history in these two volumes. The dissertations read more like instructions given to "Junior Grade" boys than like lectures addressed to educated young men, who in a year or two are to be the lights of Irish Protestantism. If these lectures be a fair measure of the knowledge of Irish ecclesiastical history acquired by clerical students in Trinity College, there certainly is ample room for improvement.

The picture of Irish Christianity given by Dr. Stokes is a very unsightly one, indeed. His saints are well-meaning, but very often eccentric and erratic individuals, in whom we look in vain for those supernatural virtues, that angelic purity, that heroic zeal, that spirit of self-denial, and that intense love of God, and childlike submission to His will, which go to make up the Catholic idea of a saint. Instead of Christian schools and scholars, instead of churches filled with pious worshippers, a land illumined by the light of faith, we are rather shown a battle-ground, in which all the worst of human passions revel without restraint, in which crimes that would disgrace paganism are the order of the day. In speaking of St. Columba's time, which he says is "the golden age" of Ireland's history, Dr. Stokes thus describes the influence of Christianity on our forefathers:—

"Christianity, indeed, had spread itself through Ireland, but it was as yet only a thin veneer over the Celtic nature, rash, hot, passionate, revengeful. It had, indeed, conquered some of the grosser vices, and made them disgraceful. It had elevated somewhat the tone of morals, but it had scarce touched the fiery

unforgiving spirit which lay beneath, and still exhibits itself in the fierce and prolonged faction-fights in Limerick and Tipperary. In the sixth century the tribal organization of the Irish people intensified this spirit. The very women, and monks, and clergy yielded themselves up to its fascination. Just as in the days of the *Land League*, and of the tithe agitation, and of the Belfast riots, and at many an election contest in bygone times, the women were the fiercest combatants, so in the sixth century the women went to battle as regularly as the men. . . . But we cannot wonder at the weaker sex going to battle when their spiritual guides set them the example. . . . When left to themselves the monasteries often diversified the monotony of their existence by a vigorous fight." (*Celtic Church*, pages 108, 109.)

Indeed, if we are to believe Dr. Stokes, Ireland enjoyed a bad prominence among the nations in the *eighth century*. Though he says that the eighth century is "unmarked and almost unknown," yet he knows this of it, that

"The man who plundered another's cattle last night, would meet the plundered person at a fair to-day, and joke, and gamble, and drink with him, though quite ready to cut his throat, rather than surrender the cattle to the lawful owner. . . . Ireland gets credit for lightly estimating human life at the close of the nineteenth century. If so, she learned her lesson ages ago. The agrarian murders, and the savage faction-fights we sometimes hear of, and so graphically pictured by Carleton [a very high authority], are only survivals of ancient customs, proving how hard it is with nations, as with men, to eradicate a hereditary taint." (*Celtic Church*, pages 198, 200.)

There are many other such passages which go to show that Professor Stokes was actually thinking of current events, whilst lecturing on times and events long gone by. Of Caelestius, the friend of Pelagius, he says:—"He had developed even in that early age a *true Irish* faculty for agitation" (page 21), which "shows us that the *national character* and national tendencies were much the same in the fourth and fifth as in the nineteenth centuries." (Page 23.) In speaking of the followers of Earl Haco, he says:—"They were, indeed, nominal Christians, but their Christianity had as little moral power over them . . . as that of a Connaught or Italian bandit of our own time, who says his prayers most devoutly before he shoots his victim." (Page 274.) Thus we have the old story of the Irishman "voting agin the

government," and shouting for the "ould stock." And we are assured

"The *long nights* are famous in the annals of modern Irish disturbances for many a sad tale of assassination and bloodshed. . . . If a party of *moonlighters* wish to attack a house twenty or thirty miles distant, a good road serves their purpose, as well as that of the merchant or honest labourer." (*Anglo-Norman Church*, page 66.)

And he tells us of a "murderer who was thin and active as a greyhound, escaped all pursuit, and *like many a similar offender since, was hailed as a champion of independence by his countrymen.*" (Page 169.) In thus introducing the politics of the nineteenth century to illustrate the religion of the fifth, Dr. Stokes degrades history, and disqualifies himself as an Irish Ecclesiastical historian. And this is all the more surprising in one who promulgates his own impartiality in those lofty, high-sounding words: "In this chair I know no politics and hope to pander to no prejudices." (*Anglo-Norman Church*, page 9.) Perhaps it was his peculiar circumstances that led the professor to forget in practice this principle so excellent in theory. He says:—

"As Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Dublin, I am bound to lecture twice a week, during two terms of the academic year, but no one is obliged to attend my classes. If I wish, therefore, to have an audience I must attract one." (*Celtic Church*, Preface, page i.)

Probably it was to "attract" an audience that Professor Stokes indulged in would-be witticisms and in pointed political allusions. No doubt young Trinity men would enjoy such remarks. Some of them may be even so profane as to smile when they hear their Professor of Ecclesiastical History accounting for one of St. Patrick's visions as follows:—

"Evidently the poor man's digestion was out of order, or he had fasted too much, and was in some such state as Luther when he flung his ink-bottle at the devil, who was making faces at him across the table." (*Celtic Church*, page 90.)

However desirable it may be to "attract" an audience, to do so by lowering one's subject and one's self is too high

a price to pay. Better far that "his lecture-room should be a howling wilderness, and he himself the voice of one crying therein" (*Anglo-Norman Church*, Preface, page vii.) than that his "young University audience," attracted in such a fashion, should carry away from his lecture-room the idea that Irish ecclesiastical history is a thing to be laughed at—not to be learned.

From the writer of such passages as those quoted it would be vain to expect anything like a worthy treatment of our ancient ecclesiastical history. Clearly he is not in a proper state of mind for such a work. While delivering his lectures he was a martyr to circumstances, the slave of his audience; and in publishing them to the world, he is still under the yoke. Another serious difficulty also stands in his way. He says, "I am no profound Irish or Celtic scholar, qualified to deal with the recondite mysteries of ancient dialects, or well-nigh illegible manuscripts." (*Celtic Church*, page 1.) But his vindication is that "the most diligent student of Celtic annals or Celtic philology would not necessarily be the most competent historian of the Celtic Church;" for he may "yet be wholly wanting in that broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history which sheds light on many a perplexing passage." (Page 2.) Quite true. A man may be a good Celtic scholar, and yet a very unreliable historian of the Celtic Church, and Trinity College affords us some examples. But it is unquestionably true that to be a good historian of the Celtic Church one must be a Celtic scholar. That "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" (the possession of which Professor Stokes so confidently assumes) is, no doubt, necessary; but so, too, is a knowledge of the language and literature in which those "perplexing passages" are written necessary to shed light upon them.

Professor Stokes tells us that he has "endeavoured to avoid controversy as far as possible:" and he is entitled to credit for his good intentions. Nevertheless, his version of our ancient ecclesiastical history is the old, old story, the eternal ding-dong of Protestant historians; told, it is true, less offensively than it used to be, but still in substance the

same. St. Patrick had no commission from, no connection with Rome. And even though he had, yet the Irish Church would be, as it actually was, we are told, independent of Rome—Protestant, in fact, from its cradle. And this view is proved, strangely enough, by the utter absence of all proof. This Irish Protestant Church maintained its independence for some centuries, as is shown by certain discrepancies in matters of discipline between it and the Church of Rome. But Roman influence, stealthily introduced, gradually extended, and became stronger with time, until the coming of the English, when the invaders completely enslaved and Romanised the Irish Church. This theory is the groundwork of Professor Stokes' two professedly uncontroversial volumes. The present writer has no intention of following the professor through all the *disjecta membra* which make up these volumes. His aim is to examine the theory stated above. It is an old theory, often stated, and as often refuted, and the present writer's intention is to see whether it derives any stability from the advocacy of Professor Stokes.

The ancient Lives of St. Patrick all assert, or imply, that he had a *mission* from Rome. The Scholiast on Fiac's Hymn, *The Annotations of Tirchan*, *The Leabar Breac*, *The Canons and Dicta*, and other documents in *The Book of Armagh*, as well as *The Tripartite* and *Lives*, given by Colgan, all affirm the Roman mission of St. Patrick. Dr. Stokes admits that "documents and traditions which date from the seventh century appear more or less to favour such a view." (*Celtic Church*, page 47.) But the *Lives*, and documents, and traditions, are easily disposed of by the professor. He has a "canon of criticism" of universal application which puts them quite out of court. He says:—

"There is one test for such documents which admits of easy application in this case. In studying the acts of martyrs and saints, one universal canon of criticism is this—the more genuine and primitive the document, the more simple and natural, and above all, the less miraculous; the later the document, the more of legend and miracle is introduced." (*Celtic Church*, page 31.)

He then proceeds to give some instances of the applica-

tion of his "canon," and concludes that, "valuable as these lives may be for folk-lore, they have no claim whatsoever to the position of real historical records." (Page 35.) By the aid of this "canon" most of the ancient documents referring to St. Patrick are set aside as untrustworthy. The hymns of Fiac and St. Secundinus, as well as the Tripartite, are set aside because "they simply teem with miracles." It is not easy to see how far Professor Stokes is prepared to carry his dislike of miracles. His language seems to exclude them altogether from the region of the credible; the more of miracle the less of truth, is clearly the meaning of his "canon;" and he seems to carry the "canon" to its logical consequence when he says that "the writings of St. Patrick himself contain no miraculous stories: they are simple and natural histories." (Page 32.) And for that reason he takes them with the collection in *The Book of Armagh*, as "the only documents upon which we can rely as historical materials for the life of St. Patrick." (Page 30.) Now if this "canon" be "universal" will Professor Stokes apply it to the books of Josue and Exodus, or to the Acts of the Apostles? Is he prepared for the logical consequences of his headlong dogmatism? The fact is, that he has scarcely announced his "universal canon" when he quite abandons it. After stating (page 32) that "the hymns of Fiac and Secundinus teem with miracles," and are therefore excluded from the list of real historical documents, he says at (page 35): "Let us, however, take the writings of St. Patrick himself . . . with the hymns of SS. Fiac and Secundinus as our guides to investigate the personal history of our national saint." What! use as *guides*, documents that he himself by his "canon" has rejected as untrustworthy! And he does use freely in his sketch of St. Patrick, those very documents which he has so unsparingly condemned. Beautifully consistent! But let us apply the "canon" even to St. Patrick's *Confession*. Dr. Stokes says it contains no miraculous stories, they are simple and natural histories. Well, in the *Confession* St. Patrick says that one night in his sleep he heard a voice saying "thou shalt soon go to thy country." And again: "behold, thy ship is ready," and the ship was two hundred

miles away in a place where he had never been, and where he knew no one. Yet he proceeded immediately, and found the ship as indicated to him, and he sailed for his own country. And he adds that, after leaving the ship, he and his companions travelled many days through a desert place, and were famishing for want of food. But St. Patrick prayed to God, and immediately a herd of swine appeared before them, and they killed some, and refreshed themselves. Are these everyday occurrences, "simple and natural histories"? With this before him in the *Confession*, Dr. Stokes coolly tells us that "St. Patrick's writings contain no miraculous stories." Thus, then, if his "canon" were applied to St. Patrick's *Confession*, that, too, would disappear from the list of "real historical documents," and the Professor would have to construct his sketch of the saint's life on the same foundation on which he has raised his *Celtic Church*—his own imagination. The youthful historians of Trinity had their imaginations so excited by the picture of the "Land League," "moonlighters," "Connaught bandits," "midnight assassins," and the "battle of Carrickshock," that they probably failed to see the beauty of their professor's logic, or to notice the wholesale destruction which he deals around him with his two-edged sword.

Professor Stokes does not believe in the *Roman Mission* of St. Patrick; and, indeed, so averse is he to controversy, that he is unwilling to discuss the question at all. Nevertheless he says:—

"I must say a few words concerning it. I do not believe in the *Roman mission* of our national apostle, not only because his own language appears inconsistent with it, but also upon broader grounds. People who read Church history through the spectacles of the nineteenth century are very apt to fancy that the Pope occupied then for the whole Western Church the same position as he does now in the Roman Communion. . . . But in the beginning of the fifth century it was not so. The Pope then neither exercised the control nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." (*Celtic Church*, pages 48, 49.)

In the "few words," which cover about two pages, Dr. Stokes—this professedly uncontroversial writer—gives a synopsis of nearly all that has been said against the *Roman mission* of St. Patrick; and it would be difficult to compress

into the same space so many illogical blunders, so many distortions of the plain facts of history. He admits that "documents and traditions which date from the seventh century appear more or less to favour such a view." (Page 48.) He might have said, and he should have said, if he were candid, that such "documents and traditions" positively affirm the *Roman mission*. The writers of such documents put on record a tradition which they found existing among the faithful in Ireland at that time. Now, when did that tradition originate? Dr. Stokes himself tells us, truly, that the Irish are very tenacious of their traditions:—

"Indeed, the more you investigate the more will you be struck with the firm tenacious grasp tradition, traditional scenes, traditional history, . . . take of the popular mind. . . . *In the course of my investigations for these lectures I have been greatly struck by the perpetuity and accuracy of Irish traditions.*" (Page 57.)

Now, amongst the Irish traditions, those that concerned St. Patrick must be reckoned the most cherished and important; and therefore the least likely to be forgotten, or to be altered without protest. And on the theory held by Dr. Stokes, St. Patrick, at the close of the fifth century, must have left to his Irish children a tradition that neither he nor they had any connection with Rome. Now with a people remarkable for "the perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, it is not too much to say that this tradition of *independence*, if it existed at the close of the fifth, must have endured far into the sixth century. And yet in the *next century* we find this tradition has disappeared, and its direct contradictory is held with proverbial Irish tenacity! That is, a people remarkable for the "perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, forget the most cherished and venerable of them all, and embrace its contradictory in the lifetime of one generation. They are known to have clung tenaciously to traditions of minor importance for more than a thousand years (page 58), and yet the most cherished of all their traditions vanishes in little more than half a century! This is an extraordinary phenomenon which Dr. Stokes presents to us in his anxiety to disprove the Roman mission

of St. Patrick. It is really so extraordinary that it calls imperatively for the application of his own celebrated 'canon of criticism.' According to Professor Stokes the same Irish documents are historical and unhistorical, reliable and unreliable, and the same Irish people are remarkable for the "perpetuity and accuracy" of their traditions, and at the same time the most fickle-minded people known to history! And into this dilemma is he forced by his denial that the tradition of *St. Patrick's Roman mission*, certainly existing in the seventh century, did not come down from the saint's own time. The history of the Paschal controversy—a mere matter of discipline—shows us the spirit in which early Irish Christians would have met any attempt to force on them a doctrine repudiated by their great apostle. And the universal uncontradicted tradition confessedly existing in the seventh century is a conclusive proof that the truths involved in that tradition, the Roman primacy and the Roman mission of St. Patrick, were part of the inheritance left to his spiritual children by St. Patrick himself little more than a century before.

If "documents and traditions," dating "from the seventh century," denying the Roman primacy and Roman mission of St. Patrick could be produced by Professor Stokes, what use would he make of them? No doubt he would proclaim that the controversy was set at rest; that a whole host of writers reaching back to within a century and a-half of St. Patrick's own time explicitly repudiated both the doctrine and the fact; and that such evidence was conclusive. He would appeal, and rightly, to the "perpetuity and accuracy" of Irish traditions, to the proverbial tenacity with which we cling to such traditions, to show that this special one must have come down unaltered from St. Patrick's own time. This argument he would insist on, if the evidence afforded by seventh-century documents had been favourable to his cherished theory; and this argument he must admit now that the evidence of such documents is fatal to his theory.

Mr. Whitley Stokes has had all the evidence bearing on this point before him, and it has been his duty to consider it carefully, while preparing his splendid edition of the *Tripartite*

Life, and other Patrician documents, recently published by him under the direction of the English Master of the Rolls. He is a man of varied and extensive learning, and a distinguished Celtic scholar. He is, therefore, better able to form an opinion on this point than our Trinity College professor. And his verdict, given at page cxxxv. of his Introduction, is this:—

“He [St. Patrick] had a reverent affection for the Church of Rome; and there is no ground for disbelieving his desire to obtain Roman authority for his mission, or for questioning the authenticity of his decrees (in pages 356, 506, *infra*) that difficult questions arising in Ireland should ultimately be referred to the Apostolic See.”

He then gives a long extract from Probas, and comments on it thus:—

“The kernel of fact in this story seems to be that St. Patrick returned to Ireland on or soon after his ordination as priest (say in A.D. 397), and without any commission from Rome; that he laboured for thirty years in converting the pagan Irish, but met with little or no success; that he attributed his failure to the want of episcopal consecration, and Roman authority; that, in order to have these defects supplied, he went back to Gaul (say in A.D. 427) intending ultimately to proceed to Rome; that he spent some time in study with Germanus of Auxerre; that hearing of the failure and death of Palladius, who had been sent on a mission to Ireland by Pope Celestinus, in A.D. 431, he was directed by Germanus to take, at once, the place of the deceased missionary; that Patrick thereupon relinquished his journey to Rome, received episcopal consecration from a Gaulish bishop, Matorix, and returned a second time to Ireland, about the year 432, when he was sixty years old, as a missionary from the Gaulish Church, and supplied with Gaulish assistants, and funds for his mission.” (Page cxli.)

Now, even this, though Dr. Whitley Stokes may not be aware of it, is all that is necessary to establish the *Roman mission* of St. Patrick on Catholic principles. For the “Gaulish Church” was then, as now, a loyal, faithful daughter of the Church of Rome, with Germanus as Papal legate, whose commission to St. Patrick would be a commission from Rome.

But it is when arguing against the primacy and Roman mission, that Professor Stokes’ logical acumen and “broad

knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" become conspicuous. He says St. Patrick's own language appears inconsistent with it. No doubt the professor is alluding to the silence of St. Patrick in his *Confession* and *Letters to Caroticus*. But his language is grossly misleading. His words would convey to his hearers the idea that St. Patrick said something that "appears inconsistent" with his having a Roman mission. But St. Patrick has said nothing to justify any such inference. The professor speaks of St. Patrick's "language;" that is, something that *the saint said*; but he means St. Patrick's silence; that is, something which *the saint did not say*; and this thing which the saint *did not say*, he calls his "language;" and on this imaginary basis he builds an argument against the *Roman mission*! Professor Stokes is either very illogical or very uncandid here. And what, after all, is the value of this argument from silence? It is worthless, as the professor himself tells us in his article on "St. Patrick," in *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography*. "*The argument from silence is notoriously an unsafe one, there are so many reasons which may lead a writer to pass over even a burning topic in his day.*" Dr. Gargan, Vice-President of Maynooth College, in his reply to Dr. Todd, has effectually disposed of this argument from silence. He has shown in a manner that cannot be improved upon, that there was no call for any reference to his Roman mission in such of St. Patrick's writings as we possess. The *Confession* was written when St. Patrick's extraordinary career was drawing to its close, when the "blessed vision of peace" was already opening to him. In every line it breathes the spirit of the saint. In it he extols the work of God's grace in his own soul, as St. Paul and St. Augustine did before him. He extols the mercy of God in accomplishing so great a work through one so ignorant and so unworthy as he was. From first to last it is one grand act of humility, which no one can read without a feeling of reverence and admiration for its saintly author. With perfect truth does Father Morris say in his beautiful *Life of St. Patrick* :—

"The man who, coming to Ireland in his old age, turned the current of her national life, and in the evening of his days

converted a nation of warriors into a nation of saints, carrying men with him, not by flattering, but by extinguishing their passions; who, looking back on his work, at the end of his life, saw nothing of his own in it; so that, dazzled by the light and oppressed by the mystery, he was fain to cry out: 'Who am I, or what is my prayer, oh! Lord, who hast laid bare to me so much of Thy Divinity?'—such an one is the master, not the subject of reason." (Page 14.)

Professor Stokes says that persons "who read history through the spectacles of the nineteenth century" fancy that the Pope had in the fifth century the same authority as he has now. Not so, however, we are assured. He then gives some instances, which shall be considered later on, and which are supposed to disprove Papal supremacy in the fifth century, and he concludes his reference to the question by saying that after all it matters nothing whether St. Patrick had or had not a commission from Rome, inasmuch as such commission would be no proof of dependence of the Irish Church on the Roman. And to those who venture to hold the contrary, he says:—"A parallel instance is a sufficient reply. Everyone admits that the first bishop who ministered in the United States derived his orders from the Church of Scotland. Does that fact imply the supremacy of the Scotch bishops over the American Church?" (Page 51.) The Professor has not given sufficient consideration to his parallel. He must find a Scotch Protestant Pope, claiming and exercising universal jurisdiction, and having his claim recognised throughout Christendom. This is all that is required to complete his parallel, and little as it is, it will tax the professor's ingenuity for some time yet.

Professor Stokes says that "at the beginning of the fifth century . . . the Pope neither exercised the control, nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." (Page 49.) It is, of course, his "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history," that makes the Professor so confident. He gives no authority for his statements, satisfied, of course, that he is himself an authority above suspicion. But let us see: At the beginning of the fifth century Innocent I. was Pope. He was elected in A.D. 402, and in February 15th, A.D. 404, he addressed a letter of advice and direction to Victorius,

Bishop of Rouen. The Pope lays down salutary rules to regulate the conduct of the clergy, both of the higher and lower orders. He says that disputes amongst them are to be settled by a council of provincial bishops, "without prejudice, however, to the Roman Church, to which in all causes due regard must be shown." The following year he wrote to the Spanish bishops a long letter calling on them to correct certain abuses that existed in their dioceses, directing them to examine certain charges made against some of their body, and laying down rules which they were to follow in selecting candidates for Holy Orders. In A.D. 414, he wrote to the bishops of Macedonia, urging on them certain disciplinary reforms which he found to be necessary for them. Again, in A.D. 415, he wrote to Alexander, Bishop of Antioch, explaining to him the rank and dignity of his See, and the extent of his jurisdiction. He directs him as to how he is to act towards certain Arian priests, and he directs him also to make this letter known to the bishops of his province, either by holding a synod, or by sending an authenticated copy of it to each bishop. Again, in A.D. 416, he wrote to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, a letter which Professor Stokes should have read before he undertook so confidently to decide the question of St. Patrick's Roman mission. After referring to certain corruptions of the Liturgy, which the Pope prohibited as tending to scandalize the faithful, he says:—

"For who does not know, that what was first given to the Roman Church by Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and is still held by her, ought to be observed by all; and that nothing should be introduced without authority, nor the example of any others followed, especially since *it is well known* that no one has founded Churches throughout Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the Islands lying between, except those whom the venerable Apostle Peter or his successors made priests?"

In the same year the Councils of Carthage and Milevis addressed letters to Pope Innocent, requesting him to confirm this condemnation of Pelagius, and his heresy. Both letters appeal to the Pope, in virtue of his Apostolic authority, to anathematize the heresy and its authors. The replies to both letters would be unpleasant reading for Professor Stokes

though a perusal of them would have saved him from his childish blundering about the authority of the Pope in the fifth century. In both letters the Pope extols the zeal of the Fathers, and their fidelity to the tradition of the Church, according to which "whatever is decreed in the remote provinces is not considered final until the Apostolic See is consulted, and its judgment given, so that all may be guided by its decision." It was on the receipt of this reply that St. Augustine said: "*Causa finita est, utinam finiatur aliquando error.*" Here then we have the Pope who ruled the Church at the beginning of the fifth century exercising his authority in Italy, in France, in Spain, in Greece, in Africa, in Asia; and we find the bishops of these countries not resisting his authority, nor merely submitting in silence, but actually calling for the exercise of that authority. And yet Professor Stokes tells us, that at that precise time the Pope had no such authority at all. Evidently his "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history" has not descended to such minute details. Pope Innocent was succeeded by Zozimus, March 18th, 417. Celestius, the friend and colleague of Pelagius, appealed to the new Pope against the sentence pronounced on him by the African bishops, and, by feigned professions of orthodoxy, led the Pope to believe that he was unjustly condemned. Zozimus wrote to the African bishops informing them that, unless within two months they would send his accusers to confront Celestius, he himself would annul their sentence against him. And he commanded them, in virtue of the authority of the Apostolic See, to obey. And they did obey, inasmuch as they took immediate steps to inform the Pope as to the real character of Celestius and Pelagius, whereupon the Pope immediately confirmed the condemnation of the heretics. In another letter of this same Pope we find a most remarkable assertion of Papal authority. Hesychius, of Salona, an African bishop asked him for authoritative instruction (*preceptum apostolicæ sedis*) as to how he should deal with certain refractory monks in his diocese, who were aspiring to dignities of which they were unworthy. The Pope, in his reply, says that he had to deal with like irregularities in France and Spain, and as he

had already given to the bishops of these countries, so now does he give to him in Africa, ample instruction and authority to deal with the delinquents; and he concludes as follows:—
“Therefore if there be anything wanting to your authority, we hereby supply it; resist such ordinations; resist pride, and arrogance. On your side are the precepts of the Fathers; on your side is the authority of the Apostolic Sec.” Surely this is a very decided exercise of Papal authority at a time when Dr. Stokes says the Popes exercised no such authority at all.

The next Pope of the fifth century was Boniface I. He became Pope in A.D. 418, and he certainly yields to none of his predecessors in the emphatic assertion and vindication of his authority. Rufus, Bishop of Thessalonica, had been appointed to that See by Innocent I., and was made Vicar-Apostolic for the greater part of Greece. Boniface wrote to him to confirm him in his authority, explained to him the nature of his powers and his duties, and exhorted him to continue fearlessly to discharge these duties. On learning from his Vicar that certain irregularities existed in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Achaia, Boniface wrote to the bishops of these provinces complaining of the gross neglect of ecclesiastical discipline. He lays down for them in the clearest possible way the authority of the Apostolic Sec, from which there is no appeal (*de cuius iudicio non licet retractari*). He reminds them that St. John Chrysostom, Athanasius, Flavian, and others, sought and obtained the protection of the Holy Sec. He cautions a certain number of them, by name, that if they continue their violations of the canons he will exercise his authority over them. He tells them that he has given to Rufus, his delegate, full authority to judge their causes, and he *warns* and *commands* them to obey. Here, again, is a very decided exercise of authority in the fifth century.

Next comes Pope Celestine, who sent St. Patrick to Ireland, and to whom, therefore, Dr. Stokes' negation of authority must be taken as especially applying. Celestine became Pope in A.D. 422. He had been a deacon, and favourite of Innocent I., and may, therefore, be presumed to

have imbibed his patron's spirit. In the very year of his accession St. Augustine wrote to congratulate him, and also to call his attention to the case of Antony, Bishop of Fussala, in Numidia, who had been deposed for his crimes by a synod of African bishops, and had appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine requests the Pope to dismiss the appeal and sustain the action of the bishops, and the Pope did so. Such a recognition of Papal authority, coming from St. Augustine, is specially significant for reasons that shall appear later on. Again, certain troubles arose among the bishops of Illyria and Thessaly, and the Pope ordered them to submit their disputes to his delegate, Rufus of Thessalonica. In A.D. 428 he wrote to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne, in France, correcting abuses that existed amongst them. He sent St. Germain of Auxerre as his legate (*vice sua*) into England, as Prosper tells us in his chronicle. And Prosper's evidence is conclusive, for he was at Gaul at the time, and was in Rome shortly after as Papal secretary. He sent Palladius to Ireland, and this fact would make it probable that he sent St. Patrick, too, when the account of the death of Palladius reached him. In A.D. 430 he made St. Cyril of Alexandria his legate to deal with Nestorius, and authorised him to excommunicate and depose that heresiarch, unless *within ten days* he would recant and condemn his errors. And to Nestorius himself he wrote to the same effect. He also wrote to the clergy and people of Constantinople, warning them against the teachings of Nestorius, and annulling the censures which the arch-heretic had fulminated against so many of his people. Finally, he confirmed the decrees of the Council of Ephesus, and confirmed the appointment of Maximian to the See from which Nestorius had been degraded. Here, again, is the most decided exercise of Pontifical authority at the beginning of the fifth century.

Such has been the mode of action of the Popes who ruled the Church in the early part of the fifth century. They have been selected because they fill up the period of which Dr. Stokes says, "The Pope then neither exercised the control nor received the reverence afterwards yielded to him." The facts and extracts given above are all taken directly from

the Papal letters in the Benedictine collection of Coustant, published in A.D. 1721, which Dr. Stokes could have seen for himself, and which he should have examined carefully if he were as solicitous for historical truth as he was to "attract" an audience. Instead, however, of seeking information at its source, he shuts his eyes to the plainest facts of history, poisons the minds of his hearers by a false version of the history of an important period, and exposes himself to the ridicule of every scholar by the reckless statements he has made. "Broad knowledge" may escape exposure in a lecture-hall, with a sympathetic audience, but when the lecturer addresses the general public in a book, even common sense would suggest the necessity of caution. During the period in question the Popes acted, as they acted previously, and have been acting ever since. They appointed and deposed bishops; they confirmed or annulled the decrees of synods and councils; they received and decided appeals in every country without distinction; they condemned abuses, censured and punished delinquents, and insisted on the observance of ecclesiastical discipline in its most minute details. These are stubborn facts for Dr. Stokes, and they prove indisputably that when St. Patrick came to Ireland, "at the beginning of the fifth century," *the Pope did exercise the control, and did receive the reverence afterwards accorded to him.*

In support of his views of Papal authority Dr. Stokes makes one apparently very strong statement, which merits special consideration. It is this: "The bishops of the province of North Africa flouted the claim of the same Pope Celestine, who is said to have sent St. Patrick, when he attempted to exercise supremacy over the province of Africa." (Page 49.) No doubt he refers to the celebrated appeal of Apiarius, and to the alleged action of the African bishops with reference to it. About A.D. 416, it is said that Urban, Bishop of Sicca, an African diocese, suspended Apiarius, one of his priests, who seems to have richly deserved the punishment. Apiarius went to Rome and appealed to Pope Zozimus, who restored him to communion and excommunicated his bishop for his tyrannical and vindictive action. The Pope, who was completely deceived

by Apiarius, sent legates to Carthage to enforce his decision. In A.D. 418, the matter was discussed at the Council of Carthage, in presence of the legates. The Pope grounded his action, it is said, on the canons of Sardica, which he erroneously attributed to the Council of Nicea. The African bishops, we are told, knew nothing of the Council of Sardica, and saw no such legislation in the canons of Nicea. They accordingly stated that it was against the custom of Africa for priests to appeal to any tribunal outside their own province; but, in deference to the Pope, they would take the law as stated by him, until they would examine whether in reality the Nicene Council had made such a law. Apiarius was restored, but sent to another diocese, and his bishop submitted to the demands of the Pope. The case remained practically in this state till the accession of Pope Celestine. The African bishops had in the meantime procured authentic copies of the decrees of Nicea from the Churches of Alexandria and Antioch, and found no trace of the law stated by the Pope. The Pope too, we are told, got similar copies, and still held on to his own view. Apiarius was again suspended, and again appealed, this time to Pope Celestine, who sent Faustinus his legate with two Roman priests to judge the case with the African bishops at Carthage. The legate exasperated the African bishop by his overbearing conduct, and by seeking to shield Apiarius, even after he had confessed his guilt. And the bishops then wrote to Pope Celestine the letter on which Dr. Stokes basis his statement. They told the Pope that, on his own confession, Apiarius was unfit to exercise priestly functions. They requested the Pope not to accept so readily the statements of such men. They said that such appeals were an infringement on the rights of their province, and that there was nothing in the canons of Nicea to warrant the authority which the Pope claimed; they then requested him to withdraw Faustinus, and not to send such a judge into their province again. This is an abstract of this strange case, as it is usually given. Let us test its force in favour of the contention of Dr. Stokes.

Now, as he has that "broad knowledge of ecclesiastical and general history," he must be aware that some very

learned men have regarded this whole story as a clumsy concoction. And, no doubt, it is weighed down by a load of improbabilities. The African bishops are supposed to be entirely ignorant of the decrees of Sardica, a celebrated Council held some fifty years before. The Pope is supposed to be equally ignorant of Nicea and Sardica, for he confounds both, and his ignorance continues, even after official delegates had brought from Antioch and Alexandria authentic copies of the decrees of Nicea, which he was able to compare with the equally genuine copy in his own possession. This ignorance seems to be incredible, whether we consider the character of the bishops or of the Pope in question.

Again, the case of Apiarius began in A.D. 416, and the controversy was at its height in A.D. 418. Now we have three letters of Zozimus (the Pope who is supposed to have originated this quarrel) addressed to the African bishops—two in A.D. 417 and one in A.D. 418. In these letters he insists on his authority to deal with Celestius, excommunicated by the African bishops. They do not deny his right to receive the appeal; they merely argue that he has been deceived. And in these three long letters there is not one word to indicate that another appeal, a source of equally bitter controversy, was pending just then.

Again, at the very time this extraordinary letter of the bishops is said to have been written, St. Augustine wrote the letter already mentioned about Antony, Bishop of Fussala, who was deposed, and had appealed to the Pope. St. Augustine requests the Pope to confirm the deposition, and the Pope complied. In this letter there is no reference to the alleged extraordinary letter of his brother bishops, nor to the bitter controversy about Apiarius, which must have been at that precise time a source of universal excitement in the African Church. In any of St. Augustine's voluminous works there is no reference to this extraordinary case. And St. Augustine's silence is the more remarkable, because he speaks of Urban of Sicca (the bishop who suspended Apiarius) in language which indicates that they were friends. And in any of St. Celestine's letters there is no reference whatever to this case. This "cold chain of silence" is more

than remarkable. It goes far to brand the case of Apiarius as a forgery pure and simple. But even admitting the ordinary version of this case, it affords no grounds whatever for saying that the authority of the Pope was not admitted in Africa at that time. Before the case of Apiarius was ever heard of, the Pope restored Athanasius to his See. Zozimus, a few years previously, accepted the appeal of Celestius, and the African bishops did not dispute his right to do so. While the case of Apiarius was pending, Antony of Fussala appealed, and his appeal was dismissed at the request of St. Augustine, and the bishops of Africa did not dispute the right or question the decision. And after the alleged letter of the bishops, appeals from Africa were received and decided as before, as we see from the appeal of Lupicinus to Leo the Great, A.D. 446.

Thus then, *before, during, and after* the alleged case of Apiarius, Papal authority was invoked, exercised, and obeyed in Africa, and that with the full knowledge and consent of those very bishops who are said to have addressed this impertinent letter to Pope Celestine. By their own acts they admit what their words seem to deny. They seem to have written this letter (if they wrote it at all) under a feeling of exasperation, caused by what seems to be a fact, that the appeal of Apiarius was received at Rome without due consideration, and decided without due investigation. But an inherent right is not lost by the impudent exercise of it. And, however loudly they proclaim their independence in this letter, their own acts show that they did not mean what they said. The case of Apiarius, then, if it ever occurred at all, is an argument against the consistency and good temper of a number of African bishops; but it is no argument at all against the authority of the Pope at the time. It is a curious commentary on Dr. Stokes' boasted impartiality that he should pass over all the acts of Pope Celestius which demonstrate his primacy, and only record a solitary act which seems to tell against it. However, he is quite welcome to all the aid derivable from the case of Apiarius.

Readers of ecclesiastical history will, no doubt, be surprised to hear St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose set up as witnesses against Papal authority; the former of whom was

shielded by the Pope when all the world was against him, and the latter the author of the celebrated saying, "*ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia.*" Dr. Stokes assures us that "Ambrosius, and the province of North Italy, sent Virgilius and his companions to convert the pagans of the Alps." (Page 50.) Well, there are two of the name Virgilius known to ecclesiastical history. St. Ambrose was a hundred years in his grave before the birth of one, and three hundred years in his grave before the birth of the other. Will the professor tell us which of the two did he send to "convert the pagans of the Alps"? Dr. Stokes must have calculated on the invincible ignorance of his audience when he made such statements as these.

Again, he tells us that St. Columba and St. Columbanus never sought any Roman authority for their mission. How does he know? What authority has he for this statement? None whatever, except the alleged silence of the writers in question; and on his own testimony the argument from silence is a bad one. He thinks it a bad argument when writing for Smith's *Dictionary*, which is sure to be consulted by scholars, but he thinks it quite good enough for clerical students in Trinity College. Really he is not complimentary to them. He will not admit a Roman mission unless we can produce the autograph letters granting it; and even then he would say, "What does it matter? Does that in any way affect the independent claims of 'the Irish Church?'" A most versatile man is this professor, and far-seeing too, for he judges men by *what they did not say*. The acts of the saints named are parts of a system, and what that system was the facts of history prove. The facts and extracts already given show beyond a doubt that the primacy of Rome was universally admitted when St. Patrick came to Ireland. It must have formed part of the system in which he was trained. It was the belief of his teachers, of his acquaintances, of his contemporaries. It was "accepted by St. Martin, who instructed St. Patrick, by St. Germain, with whom he read the canons, and by all the great lights of that age." (I. E. RECORD, March, 1888, page 202.) It must, then, have been part of the system which he brought with him to Ireland—the only system known to him. Dr. Stokes

denies all this, and attributes to St. Patrick theological views that were absolutely unknown to him. If St. Patrick had sought to introduce into Ireland the theology of Dr. Stokes and Dr. Plunket, his departure from the tradition of the Fathers would not have escaped the vigilance of Germanus the Papal legate, or of such Popes as Leo the Great, Hilary, and Gelasius, all of them his contemporaries; and because of his novel doctrine his name would have come down to us in ecclesiastical history, not as our Father in the faith, the glorious apostle of our nation, but as that of a restless innovator—a schismatic who sought to sow amongst us the seeds of spiritual death. It cannot be Professor Stokes' wish to make St. Patrick appear in this character; but it is the inevitable logical outcome of his theory of Irish ecclesiastical history. However, if he lay aside his prejudices, and study the career of our national apostle in the light of contemporary history, seeking earnestly for truth, rather than seeking to "attract an audience," and if he pray for light to guide him, he too may come, like so many others, to condemn what he has embraced, and to embrace what he condemns.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

THE ROMAN CHASUBLE.

IN the November number for last year¹ of the I. E. RECORD I read an article on "The Gothic Chasuble," in which the writer advocates the use of the genuine Roman vestment.

I had prepared a short article in support of this view, which I proposed sending for acceptance in the January number of this year (1890). I have delayed sending it until now, because being then in Rome I had not at hand the references on which my argument depended, and when I returned to England, and began to write the article, I found that I could make what I had to say more complete by look-

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. x., No. 11 (Nov.), page 1035.

ing up some facts, which I knew could be found in Belgium. Accordingly, on my return this year to Rome, I went to Bruges, where, in the Public Library, I found all I wanted. I now send you the result.

My attention had been drawn to the question as to the genuine form of this vestment more than thirty years ago, when in 1852 I was engaged, with the late Father Rinolfi, in preaching a mission in the City of Galway. I was there shown an ancient chasuble, of rich cloth of gold, found in a chest in the muniment room of the (now) Protestant cathedral. It was supposed to have been left there in the time of James II., when Mass was last said in the ancient cathedral. It had been presented by the Protestant warden of Galway (he having no use for it) to the Catholic warden; for it was before the appointment of the first bishop of Galway. It is of the ample and genuine Roman form, such as we see figured in the copper-plate engravings in the large Roman Pontificals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is the form which we see represented in the well-known portrait of St. Philip Neri, in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome, a copy of which may be seen in the London Oratory. A similar vestment is shown on the large silver figure of St. Ignatius, which adorns his altar on great festivals, in the Church of the Gesù in Rome. I was allowed to take the pattern of the Galway vestment, and most of the chasubles used in our Church of St. Etheldreda, Ely-place, London, were made from that pattern.

The Galway vestment has the cross on the back; it is very probably, therefore, of French, not of Roman make; showing, as I shall prove later on, that this use prevailed then, as it does now, everywhere except in Rome and in Italy generally. However, I shall also show that anciently in Rome, as elsewhere, the cross was on the back of the chasuble.

The vestments, vulgarly called *Gothic*, were first introduced into England about fifty years ago, after designs made by that man of eminent genius, the late Augustus Welby Pugin, the father of the revival of mediæval architecture and of Christian art in England and in Ireland. It had always seemed to me,

though I have an unbounded admiration of everything else that Pugin did, that this form of vestment was not a true return to that of the ancient mediæval chasuble. These modern Gothic vestments were, for the most part, cut into a pointed form behind and in front. They had not the ample folds of the ancient examples which we see figured in the old stained glass, and on the recumbent effigies of bishops and priests on monumental tombs and sepulchral brasses.

These vestments, as there represented, come to a point in front. There is no evidence that they came to a point behind, for we never see more than the front of the vestment on these ancient figures. But they fall in front into a point, naturally, because, being lifted up over the arms, and being made of rich but pliable silk or cloth of gold, they must necessarily assume this form, at least in front; for the ancient vestment being circular, that part in front that fell between the arms would fall in ample folds into a somewhat pointed outline. Of the way in which these vestments fell behind, I shall have something to say before I finish.

The modern Gothic vestments being cut into the shape of a point, or at least narrowed to an oval behind, and hanging flat, without folds, present only a poor, superficial imitation of the mediæval vestments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries represented in paintings and sculpture. These so-called Gothic vestments, used in many churches in England, though rather tolerated than permitted by the ecclesiastical authorities, and forbidden by some bishops, are of all sizes and shapes, according to the fancy of the priest, or of some pious benefactress; or they are made according to some traditionary *Pugin pattern* of this or that convent of nuns, or secular vestment-maker. This false departure has, as I believe, been the cause of stopping the restoration of the really majestic and authoritative chasuble of the Roman Pontifical.

The dimensions actually given by St. Charles Borromeo, the great restorer, under the authority of the Council of Trent, of ecclesiastical discipline, and of the solemnity of public worship, produce a much longer and more ample form of vestment than the modern Gothic. The measurements

given by St. Charles and other authorities on ritual prove this, as I shall proceed to show.

The Gothic vestments which were a movement, if mistaken in details, in the right direction, had to go through a period of serious opposition in England and in Belgium, where they had been introduced, as a part of the mediæval revival, in which these countries led the way. We will speak first of what befel them in England.

Some of the English converts, of the *Oxford school*, having become Catholics, thought they could not be too *Roman*, and by Roman they meant anything and every thing which they had seen in use in Rome. I remember an extreme instance of this in a great friend of mine, a typical Oxford convert, who died a universally venerated priest. He had recently been received into the Church, and I met him in Rome in 1854. He had taken the *Roman fever*. He was enchanted with everything he saw; and he saw everything *couleur de rose*, in the lovely halo of his fervid faith and religious imagination.

“How delightful [he said to me] is everything in Rome. I would have no Gothic churches. They remind me of the cold Anglican cathedrals, the burial-places of a dead faith. Here is the living Church, the real link for us, with the saints. I love the glow of colour and gilding; of thousands of candles, offerings of the faithful, which speak to me of the living faith of the people. It is all so unlike Protestant Christianity. Nay, I love to see the dogs running about free, in St. Peter’s, in and out between the legs of the Swiss Guards.¹ It seems as if they too felt at home in their Father’s house.”

“I should like,” he continued, “to see the dogs running in and out of our churches at home.” This was, of course, an extravagance, and in this sense it was spoken; but it indicates a very real undercurrent of sentiment which most of us converts can respect; for many of us have felt it, more or less; a reaction, on our conversion from Protestantism. When these English converts came home, many of them very naturally felt out of sympathy with the mediæval revival, in which before

¹ Since the Italian occupation the dogs no longer frequent the churches. It would seem that they, too, have joined the party of the Quirinal.

they had delighted, the animating idea of which was a return to the forms which we connected with the Catholicity of England before the Protestant *De-formation* of religion in the sixteenth century. That which offended these good people most, was the so-called Gothic vestments; and the very shape adopted in the pointed chasuble, gave a certain handle to their protest against *innovation*. An appeal to Rome was decided on, in order to endeavour to get the Sacred Congregation of Rites to prohibit the new form of vestment. It is said that some of the *ecclesiastical ladies* of the party—*Matriarche*, as such ladies are sometimes termed in Rome—undertook to dress a doll, representing a priest vested in a Gothic chasuble; and, no doubt, without much violation of truth, it was made to look very like a lady dressed in a shawl or fashionable-pointed mantle; and, by a happy accident, there had come in a fashion of making ladies' mantles very like Gothic chasubles and dalmatics.

Whether the bearers of the doll had the courage to present it before the Sacred Congregation, I cannot say; but it was introduced into society in Rome, figured at "4 o'clock teas," at which some Monsignore dropped in; and this served to stir up gossip, and make the Gothic revival laughed at.

Some bishops in England, impressed by what some Roman Monsignore was reported to have said in the precincts of the Vatican, with the probability that something decided was about to be done by the Roman authorities, began to speak in condemnation of the Gothic vestments, if not to prohibit them.

Rome, however, moves slowly, and nothing was done by authority there until 1863, when the Pope having been informed that in the revival of mediæval taste, in which Belgium took a leading part, the mediæval vestment had been restored in some churches, Cardinal Patrizi, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, by command of His Holiness Pope Pius IX., wrote a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines, Primate of Belgium, to the following effect:—

"Information has been received by the Holy See, that in certain dioceses of England, France, Germany, and Belgium, a

change has been made in the form of the sacred vestment used in the celebration of Mass, and that this has been conformed to what is called the Gothic style.

“The Holy See is well aware that this style was in use in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, but that from the sixteenth century (the time of the Council of Trent), without any protest from the Holy See, their use has been given up. Wherefore, this discipline continuing, without consulting the Holy See, no innovation ought to be introduced.

“Yet, since the Sacred Congregation of Rites considers that there may be weight in the reasons that have led to this innovation, the Holy Father Pius IX. invites your Eminence to state the reasons which have led to this change in some churches of your diocese.”

The letter is dated, Rome, 21st August, 1863. From this letter (and nothing later has emanated from the Holy See, except references, in letters to certain bishops, to this letter of Cardinal Patrizi) it is clear:—

1st. That no prohibition has been issued against a return, even to the largest form of the vestment in use previous to the Council of Trent.

2nd. That what is forbidden is to return to the ancient forms, the other form being in possession, seeing that such a return would have the appearance of innovation.

3rd. That the change in the size and form of the vestment, in the sixteenth century, can only claim for itself *toleration* on the part of the Holy See, not authoritative sanction, the words of the letter being *Sede Apostolica minime reclamante*.

4th. That the Sacred Congregation admits that there may be *reasons of some weight*, “*rationes alicujus ponderis*,” in favour of a return to the usage of antiquity, and distinctly invites an inquiry. These reasons could only be, because the Sacred Congregation saw that the unauthorised clipping and cutting had gone on to an extent which the authorities might be disposed to remedy, and to change the attitude of *Sede Apostolica minime reclamante*.

So far as to the pre-Tridentine form of the chasuble, which may be seen figured in all mediæval painting and sculpture, as well in Rome as elsewhere—notably in the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and in a recumbent figure of an English bishop, who died in Rome in the early part of

the sixteenth century, which may be seen in the Church of St. Thomas of Canterbury of the English College, and which is evidently of Roman art of that date.

The more ancient form of the chasuble was circular. It had an opening in the centre to admit the head, and it hung down in graceful folds, like a mantle, reaching almost to the feet. In fact, it was, as we shall see, no less a *vestis talaris* than the cassock. The ancient chasuble, in fact, differed from the cope, only in the latter being less ample, being cut up the front, and being furnished with a cape, which originally could be drawn over the head, like the cowl of a monk. It was called *pluviale*, a garment that could defend the wearer from rain, and was used originally for outdoor processions, and so for processions generally, and for other solemn religious functions. If a modern cope were made ample and of light material, and sewn up the front, with the omission of the cape, it would become an ancient chasuble of the thirteenth century. It is this form of vestment that we see on the ancient figures, falling in graceful folds over the arms, and between them, in front, taking therefore a somewhat pointed outline. But the back part must have been square, like a cope; because the portion raised by the arms, and falling down between them when used in the sacred functions, could not have been more than one-third of the whole vestment, and so the raising of the arms would only slightly disturb the portion hanging like a cope from the shoulders.

The chasuble used in the Oriental Rites, such as we see celebrated in Rome, in the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, during the Octave of the Epiphany, is precisely of this ancient form, once used universally in the Western, as well as in the Eastern Church.

For these reasons it is an absurd misnomer to term this form of vestment *Gothic*, for it was in use ages before Gothic architecture (as it is also improperly called) had been invented by the marvellous genius of the mediæval architects.

The round form of the chasuble, coming down nearly to the feet all round, was what gave it the name of *Casula*,

a little house. Durandus, Cardinal Bona, and other archæological and ritual authorities, say that it symbolized charity, which covers over all that is evil, for "charity covereth a multitude of sins." This meaning is still retained in conferring the order of priesthood, when the bishop lets fall the folded chasuble over the newly-ordained priest, saying: "*Accipe vestem sacerdotalem per quam charitas significatur.*" However, the rite, as originally instituted, and placed in the *Pontifical*, must, when the ancient vestment was still in use, have much more fully expressed the symbolic meaning than it is expressed when the meagre modern chasuble, often stiff with buckram, scarcely wider than a monk's scapular, often not reaching to the knees, and covering nothing, is let to fall over the priest's shoulders. The meaning of the chasuble is still expressed in the words when we say, *Domine qui dixisti*, in putting on the vestment. "O Lord, who hast said, 'My yoke is easy and My burden is light,' grant that I may so bear this vestment that I may obtain Thy grace." What we ask for is that sweet yoke of Christ's charity, which makes all our priestly burdens light.

About the thirteenth century the material of the vestments had become of a richer and heavier kind of silk damask or cloth of gold, and they were often adorned with orphreys and borders of the most exquisite embroidery, heavy with gold, silver, pearls and precious stones. Hence they had often become so heavy that it was difficult to raise the arms from underneath their folds, and to keep them extended in the form of the cross, as is prescribed, during the Holy Sacrifice. Hence came the necessity of the directions we find in the Missal, that the clerk who served, or the deacon at High Mass, should lift the border of the vestment, so as to aid the priest when he raised the Sacred Host at the Elevation. It was about this period that the chasuble began to be cut at the sides, so as to enable the priest more easily to raise his arms.

The orientals and Russians, using the chasuble in its ancient form, raise it up entirely in front, so as to allow no portion to fall between the arms. This may be observed

when those rites are seen in Rome. They also use a lighter silk, without any stiff or heavy lining, so that the vestments, lying in soft plaits on the arms, and being probably secured by some kind of fastening, are no impediment to the use of both hands in the ceremonies of the altar.

I have seen, in Paris, some Russian (non-Catholic) vestments, made of heavy damask or velvet, stiff with massive gold embroidery. These were cut out in the front, so as to resemble a cope, the material being left uncut over the breast, thus leaving the arms free for the ceremonies.

The Roman chasuble, and that used throughout the whole Latin rite, by the time of the Council of Trent, had gradually, by cutting at the sides, assumed the form of an oval, instead of the circular form of antiquity. Yet, it never innovated on the broad square form behind, which is still distinctive of the Roman vestment. It was also made of pliable silk, such as we see figured in the *Roman Pontificals* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, published according to the directions of the Council of Trent. It also hangs over the shoulders nearly to the bend of the arms.

In the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (tom. i., Lugduni, 1683), published by St. Charles Borromeo, for the vast diocese of Milan, which was intended to be, and has in fact been, the model for all dioceses, and which is therefore of the very highest weight, we read, distinctly laid down, the *measure* of the vestment of that period, therefore, in its less ample form, as *tolerated by the Holy See—Sede Apostolica minime repugnante*, to which Cardinal Patrizi, in his letter above quoted, refers. This form of the vestment has therefore the prescription of three centuries, and to make vestments after this measure is plainly no innovation, but a dutiful following out of the prescriptions of the Holy See. This measurement has then the force of law, since in the *Ceremoniale* published by St. Charles, he was following out the order of the Council of Trent, and the work was published with the full Papal authorization.

It may be observed in passing, that St. Charles's directions are addressed to all the churches of his vast diocese following the Roman rite—and they are probably the majority—as well as to those churches which follow the rite of St. Ambrose.

The chasuble is to be "three *cubits*, or somewhat more, in width, and is to fall from the shoulders at least one *palm*, so that it may hang over the arms, with one fold, at least, below each shoulder." It would seem, then, that it is to rest upon the arms, and thus make this fold *complicationem unius saltem palmae*. "Casula (quam alii phenolium et planetam etiam ab *amplitudine* dicunt) cubitas tres et paulo amplius late pendens sit; ita ut ab humeris projecta, *complicationem unius saltem palmae*, infra utrumque humerum recipere possit."

Gavantus gives the less ample measurement of about two cubits in breadth and three in length. This is about the dimensions of the Galway vestment, and much longer and more ample than the so-called Gothic is ever made. In length, St. Charles prescribes the same measure in cubits or something more, so that *it may reach nearly to the heels*.¹ In the measurement of the width of the chasuble, St. Charles is to be understood as giving the *minimum*, for he uses the word *saltem*, at least, and *paulo amplius*. As regards the length of the chasuble, it is distinctly said that it is to "reach nearly to the heels," *paene ad tales pertingat*. This, of course, supposes that a priest should, properly speaking, and where possible, have a vestment in proportion to his height, just as the cassock, which is also a *vestis talaris*, should always be proportioned to the wearer. The words of the *Acta* are: "Longe autem cubitus totidem, aut aliquanto longius demissa sit, ita ut *paene ad tales pertingat*." It is added, that the *fascia* or *orphreys* forming the cross were to be, at least, eight inches wide. The exact words are: "Fasciam item unciis ad minimum quae assuta sit, ab anteriori et posteriori parte, usque ad extremum dependentem habeat; cui altera fascia transversalis ex summa prope parte, et a fronte et a tergo adjuncta, crucem utrumque exprimat."

Thus the *fascia* or *orphrey* is to come down to the bottom of the vestment, and there is to be another *fascia* placed transversely near the upper part, and these are to form a cross before and behind. It would, therefore, appear that the post-Tridentine chasuble described by St. Charles had a

¹The *Roman cubit* was 493 centimètres. The *Roman palm* was 25 centimètres. This can easily be reduced to English feet and inches.

cross before and behind, exactly as it is described in the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis. (Book iv., ch. 5.)

Gavantus says: "The chasuble had formerly a cross behind as well as before [he is speaking of the Roman usage]; but in more recent times the former has taken the shape of a pillar, which also has reference to the Passion of our Lord, as if the priest stood, as it were, between the Pillar of the Scourging and the Cross of Christ." (Gavant. *Thesaur. S. Rit.*, pars. 2, n. 5, p. 85, Lugdani, 1671.) The present Roman use, of the cross in front of the vestment only, is modern, like the cutting and clipping of the vestment, and rests, apparently, on no authority beyond tolerated custom.

From this it is clear that the common way of accounting for the cross being on the front of Roman vestments—because in St. Peter's, when the Pope celebrates at the high altar beneath the dome, and also at ordinary High Mass in certain ancient churches, as at San Clemente of the Irish Dominicans, the celebrant stands behind the altar with his face to the people, showing the cross on his breast—has not a particle of foundation beyond pious imagination. Perhaps the pillar, originally, was a corruption of the cross in the form of the letter T, such as we see generally on vestments of the fourteenth century. It may have originated in the pious imagination of someone, and was one of the many liberties taken by vestment-makers in ancient as in modern times. Let us hear Cardinal Bona, on the subject of the liberties taken by vestment-makers. He says:—

"Ex quo [the testimony of Moroni] et ex pictura supra relata facile conjici potest, quo tempore hujusmodi *scissio* fieri cœperet, et quomodo *sensim* propagata fuerit; *quam nullo Pontificum seu Synodorum Decreto stabilitam invenio.*" (*Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. 1, cap. cxxix., p. 284. Antwerp, 1690.)

The clipping and shaping has gone on, depending on no ecclesiastical tradition or authority, in spite of the measurements prescribed as the *minimum* to which vestments could be reduced, solely on the authority of vestment-makers, or because of the poverty, bad taste, or penuriousness of the clergy or benefactors.

The dimensions of the vestments, however, in France, in

the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and up to the Revolution, followed the measurements and directions given by St. Charles. (See *Le Parfait Ecclesiastique*, Paris, 1685.) The same appears from a French Ritual of 1715.

The chasuble preserved in Galway, of which I have spoken, is probably a French vestment of this period. It has the cross on the back, and I think some trace of a cross on the breast also, in the form of a T.

Who can describe the abortion of the chasuble that pervades France at the present day? Fiddle-shaped in front, not coming down to the knees, stiff with buckram, or paper pasted on the poverty-stricken half-cotton-half-silk material of Lyons manufacture. They are as stiff as tea-boards, and crack if they are bent.

I was told a story lately in Belgium, of a priest who objected to the stiff paper pasted between the flimsy silk and cheap cotton lining. The manufacturer—very likely a Jew, for the Jews are the great vendors of these shabby articles—misunderstanding the objection of the priest, replied: “Yes, M. l’Abbé, we always use paper, in order that they may wear better, and to add to the substantial appearance of our vestments; but I assure you, on this point I have a delicate conscience, and I never put into vestments anything but *des bons journaux Catholiques*.” These Lyons vestments are going every day all over the world. They are cheap, and *Les Dames pieuses* can thus make their collections go a good way in providing vestments for *Les Missions Etrangères*. We have plenty of experience at home of our own *Dames pieuses*, who sometimes thus supply the necessities of *poor missions*, parishes, and convents. We need not wonder that Pius IX. intimated in the letter of Cardinal Patrizi, that there might be good reasons *rationes alicujus ponderis*, in favour of a return to the more ancient form of the vestment.

I think, therefore, I have proved my points:—

1st. That there is no such thing, and never was, as the *Gothic chasuble*.

2nd. That all through the Latin Church the Roman vestment, together with the Roman Liturgy, had come down by tradition; some slight variation in the Missal having been

permitted in certain churches of the Ambrosian rite, in the Archdiocese of Milan, and also some variations in the rite of some of the older religious orders.

3rd. That the Roman chasuble came down to near the heels, and was wide and square behind, almost like a cope. This may be seen in the Galway vestment.

4th. That vestments cut to a point are pure inventions of vestment-makers, and, although more graceful, are as great a departure from the ancient traditionary form, as the vestment reaching hardly to the knees, behind, and in front, cut into the shape of a fiddle, of which France has the sole claim as inventor.

5th. That it would be, strictly speaking, no innovation to restore the Roman vestment to its ancient dimensions, though this would require Papal sanction, but that it requires no special permission to make vestments of the size prescribed by St. Charles, and referred to in Cardinal Patrizi's letter, as the form of the post-Tridentine chasuble, which had become the established discipline of the Western or Latin rite, *Sede Apostolica minime repugnante*.

Lastly. That for Ireland we have the venerable authority of the *Galway chasuble*, which may serve as the best pattern for the making of vestments, even though in deference to modern usage, and the forms to which the eyes of the faithful have been accustomed, we should not venture on the full dimensions of the ancient model.

WILLIAM LOCKHART.

THE POPES, INTERNATIONAL PEACE-MAKERS.—II.

IN the October number of the I. E. RECORD we saw that the Church, in forming Christian society, fulfilled its mission of peace by showing rulers and nations a better and more lasting way of settling quarrels than by the sword. We saw also, as far as we went, that the Popes did not mean that teaching to be a theory and nothing more. Once the place of the Church was acknowledged, they lost no occasion of

shaping society on Christian principles, of teaching nations in their mutual dealings that might does not make right. We followed the history of the Popes in their mission of peace till the restoration of the Western Empire.

When Charlemagne was crowned Emperor of the West, the place into which the Papacy had for a long time been settling began to assume a definite juridical shape. The Pope became president of the Christian republic that was then formed. He was the unifying power that bound together the great community of European nations. He heard the complaints of subjects against rulers, and decided the quarrels of kings. He was, says Schlegel,¹ like the all-embracing vault of heaven, beneath whose kindly shelter those warlike nations began to settle in peace, and gradually to frame their laws and institutions. The Patriciate which Charlemagne had held before his coronation was an office limited to the defence of the Church, and entirely subordinate to the will of the Pope.² His imperial dignity was a primacy of equity and peace. It was not juridical, but moral. It was neither perpetual nor unchangeable, but dependant on circumstances, and circumscribed by the needs of society. It did not infringe on the internal constitution of States; but it was a great social centre around which they gathered—all compact with the supernatural unity of faith, and directed by the Vicar of Christ. The Christian commonwealth thus formed was not imposed by the Popes; it came right from the people. Or, perhaps, it is more true to say that it was begotten of circumstances and events, and of the impulse of the Christian spirit that then permeated the heart and will of Europe; but it was constituted by the free consent of the people. Royalty was looked upon then more as a charge and an office than as an inheritance and patrimony. It was everywhere elective. In England, France, and Spain the king was elected from the members of a dynasty. In Germany, the spirit of individual liberty was more developed, and the authority of the sovereign was limited by the general assembly of the nation. It was universally admitted that the

¹ *Lectures on the Philosophy of History*, Lecture xii.

² Savigny, *Hist. of Roman Law*, vol. i.

people could impose conditions on the king when electing him, and make him a responsible ruler. Christianity taught the people that kingdoms and subjects were not made for princes, but quite the contrary, and that he who used for his own sake the power with which the people invested him was entitled to it no longer, if the people wished it so.¹

Moreover, the Christian religion was taken to be the foundation and the mainstay of civil society—and Christianity at that time meant the Catholic Church. Society, therefore, maintained it as it would its own existence; and to defend it was, therefore, the first duty of kings, as the representatives of the states they ruled. As it was part of the constitution of every state that subjects should faithfully obey their king who faithfully obeyed religion, so all were persuaded that their duty of fealty ceased when a king became faithless to religion. That is the idea of the Christian empire as understood by Fénelon, Hurter, De Maistre, and substantially so by Leibnitz. Hence, from the time of Dionysius, who first collected the Ecclesiastical Canons, the Pontifical Decretals were received into the Civil Collections. The Decretals of Gregory IX., Boniface VIII., and Clement V., were received as part of the civil law. Charlemagne abrogated any laws opposed to ecclesiastical discipline. In Spain, synods confirmed the royal edicts. In England, the statutes of a synod held in 691 were adopted into the code of King Ina. The Emperor Henry II. confirmed as imperial laws the decrees made by Benedict VIII. in the Synod of Pavia, in order to secure their execution. In the middle ages, religion governed all the relations of life, social, civil, and domestic; and the Pope was acknowledged everywhere to be the true interpreter of the natural and the divine law. Wherefore, his teaching was accepted by the state, and was applied in everything, from the punishment of a criminal to the deposition of a king. With this idea before us of the position of the Popes, we can follow with more interest their action with regard to international disputes.

It was Leo IX. cut short the war that broke out between the German Emperor, and Andrew, King of Hungary. The

¹ Cardinal Hegenröther, *Kirsch und Staat*, Dissert. vi.

Pope went in person to Germany for that purpose. His work of intervention was made specially and unnecessarily difficult by the imprudent refusal of the king to agree to conditions for which he afterwards craved when he saw the Emperor's army before the gates of Presburg, and also by unprincipled and self-seeking courtiers who saw their interest in the defeat of the king, and were therefore jealous of the mission of the Pope. But the public good was not to be sacrificed for a German diplomatist, nor was the Pope turned aside by fear of their opposition. He persevered and succeeded.

A few years later, a more difficult task came upon the successor of Leo, and a more important one, for the consequences of failure would have been greater and wider. The Emperor Henry died in A.D. 1056, leaving after him a child five years old, at the head of the state. The Count of Flanders and the Duke of Lorraine saw the opportunity of their ambition, and they seized it. It seems they did not think that personal purposes should weigh less with them than the public good or the public peace. But Pope Victor thought otherwise. The dying Emperor had recommended his son to his care. The Pope, with the supreme influence which he had over Europe, might have made it an occasion of satisfying that greed for power for which the Popes of the middle ages so often get credit. But he did not covet territory for himself, and he would not allow others to gratify their greed for it against the public interest. Faithful to the sacred charge intrusted to him by the dying Emperor, he stayed the ambition of the usurpers grasping for power. He saw the succession of the Emperor's son secured, and he provided a guarantee for peace in a solemn treaty between the parties.

No Popes are better known than Gregory VII. and Innocent III. No Popes have been more praised and more abused, more zealously defended and more wantonly slandered. But anyone acquainted with the state of society in the tenth century, and who has at all studied the nature of the conflict in which their lives were spent, will read their worth more clearly even in the slanders of those who decry

them than in the panegyrics of those who praise them. Never was paradox more true than this, that a pile of contemporary documents written to stain the names of Hildebrand and Innocent III., is a pile of evidence bearing witness to their worth. For never since Christianity began has the antagonism between God and the "world" been more sharply marked than it was in their time; and the "world" does not revile its votaries; but it pursues with a devilish hate whoever gainsays its maxims, or would oppose its work. "If the world hate you, know you that it hath hated Me before you. If you had been of the world, the world would love its own."¹ Even the ablest defenders of Hildebrand have been Protestants; and such a thorough study of the character of Innocent III. as could produce "*Papst Innocenz III. und seine Zeitgenossen*" made Hurter a Catholic. Their work in the Church and in the State was not of a kind that passed away with the pontificate of either, or with their time. The influence which they exercised over Europe then has lived on to the present day. For it was not an influence that swept over the surface of society and crushed out a passing evil. It was a moral force that penetrated deeper, and drew from the public conscience the roots of customs and crimes that had long settled down into principles. In Hildebrand's time many of the rulers of Europe, and these the most powerful, were stateolatrous tyrants and sacrilegious thieves. Too many churchmen were in their own way little better, and, of course, more blamable. Philip I. of France, without shame or concealment, carried on a traffic in ecclesiastical benefices, and robbed the foreign merchants who visited the fair at Soissons. Henry IV. of Germany, had about an equal respect for the husbands whom he deprived of their wives, and for the wives whom, in turn, he handed over to his valets. His will ruled everywhere, and in all things. The Saxons and the Thuringians perished by thousands at his bidding; and opposition or disapproval from any of his subjects meant death. In A.D. 1075, Gregory VII. warned him of the consequences of his despotism. In January, 1076,

¹ John xv. 18, 19.

he threatened him with excommunication; and although Henry answered the threat by calling a Council at Worms to depose the Pope, he was soon made to feel otherwise, and his subjects could breathe more freely. The election of Rudolph by the German princes and the war that arose out of it between himself and Henry, were not the result of Henry's excommunication, but of his faithlessness; and Rudolph, moreover, was elected in spite of the remonstrances of the Pope. And if the excommunication of Henry opened a long struggle between him and the Pope, and divided the people into hostile factions for a time, it was but a temporary disturbance necessary for a permanent peace. Henry's despotism in the State, and his Josephinism in the Church, brought on the excommunication, and his defiance of deserved censure brought on the struggle. Had Henry stood by his acknowledgment of his crimes and by his promises to repair the evils he had caused, the solemn ceremony in Matilda's Chapel at Canossa would have been the beginning and the end of it all. The party accountable for any struggle is not that which is on the side of liberty and right, but that which is on the side of tyranny and wrong. When Gregory was Pontiff-elect he wrote to the Emperor begging him not to approve the election; but he declared if Henry should approve it, "I shall not tolerate your scandalous and notorious excesses."¹ Gregory's purpose throughout the struggle was the independence of the Church and the liberty of the people; and in the struggle for that twofold liberty, says Alzog, he secured the principles for which he fought, and by these principles cities have gained the right of franchise and the foundations of human liberty.²

During his pontificate, Innocent III. settled many quarrels between kings, and he brought several to a sense of their duty in morals and in politics. Very soon after he became Pope the King of Hungary died, and a dispute arose between his two sons. They referred the dispute to Innocent, who, after much anxious labour, reconciled both to his decision. He adjusted similar quarrels in Poland and in Norway.³

¹ Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, vol. v.

² Alzog, *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii., page 215.

³ Hurter, *Papst Innocenz III., und seine Zeitgenossen*, vol. ii.

About this time also another dispute arose, more important in itself and more far-reaching in its consequences than those already mentioned. The princes of Germany promised Henry VI. that, after his death, his son Frederick would be elected to succeed him.¹ But when his death came, it was unexpected and premature, and his son was yet an infant. The princes, therefore, felt that they were not bound to make good their promise: for the nation would be without a head who could guard it; and, besides, the promise was made when Frederick was yet unbaptized. All agreed that the king should be one who could personally watch over the public good, and promote it. But when they set about electing one, they found themselves without any tradition or law to define their choice. Otho of Brunswick, and Philip Duke of Suabia, brother of the late Emperor, were supported by rival factions. The contest revived the party-cries of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, which had been heard for the first time at the battle of Weinsburg, half a century before. The Ghibellines elected Philip. The Guelphs elected Otho. Otho petitioned the Pope to acknowledge his election and to crown him emperor, promising on his part to ratify any conditions to which the Pope and his ambassadors might agree. King Richard of England, Count Baldwin of Flanders, the Counts of Hainault and Metz, and some other powerful Houses were supporters of Otho. The supporters of Philip were more numerous and strong; and on their side also they spared neither prayers nor promises. The storm raged from the North Sea to the Danube, and from the Vistula to the Rhine. The peace of Europe, indeed of the Christian world, depended on the issue. The Pope tried to reconcile the two princes and to get their supporters to come to an understanding. When he found that, instead of coming to an understanding for the sake of the nation, they threw it into a state of civil war, he bade them to restore peace or that he would himself interfere in the election of a king. After much deliberation on the merits of the rival claimants, and patient waiting in vain for peace, he at length decided

¹ *I. e.* as *elective* king, not emperor, for with that they had nothing to do:

in favour of Otho. Philip and his supporters who, by their petitions and promises, had already acknowledged the Pope's right to interfere, now turned over and denied it. The civil war went on. At length the Pope got them to make a year's truce, and in the meantime he tried to arrange matters through their ambassadors in Rome. But, before the year of peace was at an end, Philip was assassinated by Count De Wittelsbach, and a permanent peace began.

Whilst Innocent III. was engaged in that difficult work of reconciliation, he was also occupied arranging disputes between King Richard of England and Leopold of Austria; between Alphonsus 8th, king of Castile, and Alphonsus 9th, king of Granada, and between King John of England and Philip of France. He was always on the side of right against might, maintaining the right of the weak against the tyranny of the strong. He sustained Ingelberga against Philip Augustus, and made him take her back after a separation of twenty years. In the struggle which was closed by *Magna Charta*, he took the part of the English people against the despotism of King John. "He protected their liberties and their laws," says Cardinal Manning, "and he used his power to restrain the violence of the king."¹ Nearer home, also, his intervention in the cause of peace was called for, and it succeeded. The Venetians and the Genoese, the Genoese and the Pisans, were at war; and similar struggles were desolating the cities of Lombardy. He had reconciled some, and was on his way to arrange in person the disputes of others, when he was struck down by a fever at Perugia, and was taken away by death. He died, as it were, a martyr to the work in which so much of his life was spent.²

Honorius III. succeeded Innocent III. During his pontificate the peace that had been effected by Innocent between Philip of France and John of England was interrupted by a quarrel between their successors, Louis and Henry. War was again stopped, and the truce was renewed through the intervention of the Pope. Just twenty years after, Innocent IV. regulated affairs in Portugal, and settled a dispute between

¹ *Miscellanies*, vol. ii., page 261.

A very touching tribute to his influence may be seen in the third volume of his Life by Hurter.

Frederick II. and the King of Hungary. The King of Portugal, a weak-minded man, and controlled by a wife who badly controlled herself, neglected the interests of his people. Seeing their country in disorder, the good suffering wrong with impunity, public morality disregarded, and the Saracens encroaching on the territories of the Christians, the Portuguese turned to the Pope for a remedy. The Pope remonstrated with the king; but, finding that his remonstrance was in vain, and that the evils rather grew than lessened, he bade the people appoint the king's brother to administer the affairs of the nation in his stead. That is only one out of several instances of similar intervention during the pontificate of Honorius—always on the side of freedom and right against oppression and wrong. But we must pass on.

In 1277 Cardinal Orsini became Pope, under the name of Nicholas III. He reigned only three years; but in that short time he did a great deal to crush out the quarrels of rival factions in Italy. He reconciled, through his legate, the Communes of the Romagna, and got the factions of the Geremei and the Lambertazzi of Bologna to accept his proposals of peace. In Florence, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines were at war, and each rival faction was in itself divided by internal quarrels. And the mischief which the Adimari and the Donati made in Florence, other rival families, with their respective partisans, produced through nearly all the cities of Tuscany. The Papal legate visited Florence in October, 1278, and by February, 1279, he had the happiness of seeing his mission crowned with success. The success that attended his mission in Bologna and Florence, crowned his labours also in Genoa, Siena, and in the Marches of Ancona.

We now come to Boniface VIII. Cardinal Wiseman says that "he has scarcely ever found a good word even among modern Catholic writers."¹ Yet it cannot be more truly said

¹ *Essays on Various Subjects*, vol. iii. The essay on Boniface VIII. was written for *The Dublin Review* of November, 1841. But Boniface has found many apologists since then. As far as I am aware, Cardinal Wiseman himself is the first writer of note in the present century who has placed a defence of him within reach of the public. He has been followed since by Abbot Tosti of Monte Cassino, Hefele, Brunengo, Balan, and the late Cardinal Hergenröther.

of any Pope than of Boniface, that the single purpose of all his life was justice and peace. In most cases, too, he succeeded in his purpose: and when he did not succeed, his failure was owing more to the perversity of those whose disputes he desired to settle than to any want of zeal in himself. To trace out fully the work that he did in the cause of peace, would vastly exceed the limits that we can afford. We will, therefore, run over *per summa capita* the leading events of his life, without attempting to trace their historical connection or bearing. Although that must be dry and uninteresting, it is doing him more justice than if we gave the appearance of completeness to what must necessarily be imperfect. The following summary by Guglielmo Audisio of the state of Europe when Boniface became Pope, will give us an idea of the work he had before him:—

“The contest of the Empire between Adolph of Nassau and Albert of Austria divided Germany. Philip the Fair of France, and Edward I. of England began that war which, suspended and renewed, brought France to the verge of ruin. Sicily, still stained with French blood shed in the Sicilian Vespers, defied, under the tutelage of the Aragonesi, both the Neapolitan arms and the censures of the Church, whilst the reaction of rebellion distracted Spain. Genoa, Pisa, and Venice were at war. Tuscany was distracted by the contests of the *Bianchi* and the *Neri*;¹ and from Sicily to the Alps the Guelphs and Ghibellines arose. The war-cry and the threats of the Mussulman sounded in the East and in the South. Pope Boniface’s endeavours in the cause of truce and peace proved that, if the Crescent stormed and held the first bulwark of Europe, the Popes were not to blame.”²

Before he became Pope, he had laboured, as well as after, in the interests of peace, having been sent by his predecessors on several important missions. In 1280, Nicholas III. sent him, with Cardinal Matteo D’Acquasparta, to arrange a dispute between Charles of Anjou and Rudolph of Hapsburg. They succeeded in having it settled by the arbitration of the Pope. In 1283, Martin IV. sent him (now Cardinal Cajetan),

¹ These were two powerful families of Pistoja, by name Cancellieri. They were rivals engaged in incessant quarrels. One party was called the *Bianchi*, the other the *Neri*—party shibboleths, like the *Red* and *White Roses*, or the *Three* and *Four Years*’.

² *Diritto Pubblico della chiesa e delle Genti Cristiane*, vol. ii., tit. 22.

which he became immediately on his return to Rome) to settle a dispute between Peter of Aragon and Charles of Anjou, in which he was also successful. His credentials from the Pope had these words:—"We send our beloved son Benedict, of the title of St. Nicholas in Carcere, a man of profound wisdom, faithful, able, prudent, and zealous for your glory and the majesty of your royalty." During the pontificate of Nicholas IV. he was sent on several important missions of a similar nature to Portugal, Spain, and Sicily. He got a commission also to restore peace between Edward I. of England and Philip the Fair, with the latter of whom his whole pontificate afterwards was spent in conflict.

When he became Pope his zeal in the cause of peace increased with his responsibility and power. In 1296, the three Ecclesiastical Electors of Germany, at his bidding, made Adolph desist from his purpose of invading France. He restored peace in Lombardy, Tuscany, in the Romagna and the Marches, and in other cities and Communes of Italy. He dissuaded Alphonsus, king of the Romans, from invading France, and he brought Charles II. of Sicily, and James King of Aragon, to terms of peace. He made James of Aragon restore to his uncle the kingdom of Majorica, and he restored their independence to the islands that composed it. He intervened also between Adolph of Nassau and Albert of Austria, who contended for the crown of Germany, and between James of Aragon and Philip the Fair, who disputed with each other's title to the Valley of Aragny. If he did not succeed in effecting a permanent peace between Edward I. and Philip the Fair, it was mainly Philip's fault; at any rate, it was not the fault of Boniface. In 1296, 1297, and 1298, he succeeded in making them observe a truce, and they agreed that he should arbitrate between them. He gave his decision; but Philip was not satisfied with it, and accused him of partiality to England. Henceforth, till the end of his pontificate, he defended the independence of the Church and the pontifical rights against the despotic purposes of Philip with a fortitude and patience hardly equalled in the history of the Popes. I do not overlook the fact that, as an adversary, he was always strict and often

severe; but we must at the same time remember that, in dealing with Philip, he was dealing with one who insulted his sacred office, falsified his letters, and claimed to be above all spiritual rule. The Gallicanism of Louis Quatorze began with Philip the Fair; for in 1302, the juridical pretence of a Catholic appealing from a Pope to a General Council was heard for the first time in the history of France. The following words of a Protestant historian will enable us to know more of Philip, and will also help us to understand Boniface better. Christophe writes of him:—

“To carry out his enterprises, he pauperized the people and falsified money. The great vassals of the crown had been subdued and humbled in the preceding reigns; and he, seeing that proud aristocracy kneeling helpless before his throne, overrated his power and made his authority a tyranny. It was not conscience, nor justice, nor morality, but ambition to succeed, that justified for him the means and the end. His contemporaries called him the Fair, from his personal beauty; history ought to call him the Intriguer, he having been the first to bring to light the art of knowing how to do evil.”¹

We need not wonder then when we find his agents and their retainers shouting “Long live the King of France, and down with Boniface” along the streets of Anagni, breaking into the Papal palace, insulting Boniface in his own presence-chamber, and dragging him off to prison. Dante spent his wit’s power in cutting him with bitterness. But, when he found that Philip’s arrogance had come to this, it was too much even for his Ghibelline spite. Wherefore, in the *Divina Commedia*, he makes Hugh Capet exclaim:—

“Veggio in Alagna entrar il fiordaliso
E nel Vicario suo Cristo esser catto.
Veggiolo un altra volta esser deriso,
Veggio rinnovellar l’aceto e’l fele,
E tra’ nuovi ladroni esser anciso.
Veggio il nuovo Pilato si crudele,
Che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto
Porta nel tempio le cupide vele.”²

We will let the words of three eminent writers sum up

¹ *Histoire de la Papauté pendant le 14 Siècle*. Philip’s character is well “taken off” by Audisio. He calls him “*Il coronato Machiavelli della Francia*.” (*Op. cit.*, vol. ii., page 157.)

² *Il Purgatorio*, Canto xx., lines 87-93.

the character of Boniface and his work in the cause of holy Church and in the interest of states. Gregorovius,¹ as unfriendly to Popes as historian could well be, writes of him that he was firm, noble-hearted, and majestic. Audisio² says that, if the spirit of Boniface had lived in his successors, Rome would never have suffered the slavery of Avignon. Cardinal Wiseman tells us, on the strength of authorities which he quotes, that Italy showed its recognition of his services. Velletri named him its chief governor; Pisa voluntarily appointed him ruler of the state, with an annual tribute; and when he sent a governor there, it was with orders to observe the laws of the place, and to spend all his income upon it. Florence, Orvieto, and Bologna erected statues to him at great expense, in token of their obligations and admiration. Of his literary acquirements we do not speak; no one has disputed them; and the Sixth Book of Decretas will attest them as long as Christ's undying Church shall last.³

Papal influence comes nearer home to us when we reach the pontificate of John XXII. He is one of those Popes whose character had to suffer from silly stories which passed for history, until, one by one, they appeared as suspected tales or undoubted fables under the light of later historical research. I have before me two letters written by him on May 30th, 1318. One is addressed to Edward II. of England, in which he upraids him for grievous wrongs which the Irish people were suffering, and warns him to have them redressed. The other is addressed to his two legates, Jocelin D'Ossat and Luca de Fieschi, who were then in Scotland, bidding them to keep before the king the urgent duty set forth in the Apostolic Letters. The letter was called forth by a memorial addressed by the Irish nobles and people to the Papal legates, complaining of the wrongs, and calling for the intervention of the Pope. The Pope, in his letter, having detailed these wrongs, refers to them in connection with the invitation sent to Edward Bruce to become king:—"Verum

¹ *Die Grabmäler der Päpste*, "Aber auch fest hochgesimmet und majestätisch."

² *Diritto pubblico della chiesa*, &c.

³ *Essays on Various Subjects*, &c.

talia ferre nequeunt ulterius, coacti sunt se a dominio tuo subducere et alium in suum regimen advocare."¹ And he ends his letter to the legates with the words:—" *Volumus igitur et mandamus, ut super hiis effectui mancipandis apud regem ipsum cunctis sollicitudinis vestre partes apponere, prout videritis expedire, ut nobis et vobis in hiis exequendis, officii debitum ille prout de celo prospexit, residuum faciat, id cuius manu sunt regum corda et omnia jura regnorum.*"²

This had the desired effect. The king, to use the words of Dr. Lingard, "urged by the repeated remonstrances of the legates, attempted to justify himself by declaring that if the Irish had been oppressed, it was without his knowledge and contrary to his resolution, and promised that he would make it his care that they should be treated with lenity and justice."³

The two legates were in Great Britain at this time on a double mission of peace. They were sent by John XXII. to reconcile Edward II. and Robert Bruce. The struggle between England and Scotland had now been going on for ten years, and the Pope was anxious to inaugurate his pontificate by bringing it to an end. He furnished them with credentials dated March 17th, 1317, with letters to Bruce and Edward, and with a Bull proclaiming a truce for two years as a preparatory step to the permanent peace which the mission was intended to promote. Bruce refused to read the Papal letter because he was addressed in it, not as *king*, but as *ruler (gubernans)* of Scotland.⁴ He continued the struggle in defiance of the Bull of truce which the legates had published, and was excommunicated for disregarding a citation to give reason for his contumacy. But he soon relented, and longed for reconciliation with Rome; and Edward found that he had to fight Bruce with one hand tied by the

¹Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibern. Et Scot. Historiam illustrantia*, page 201, Epist. 422.

²*Ibid.*, page 272, Epist. 423.

³*Hist. of England*, vol. iii., chap. 4.

⁴The Pope explains why he so addressed Bruce. To call him *king* would imply the righteousness of his cause in the question between himself and Edward, whilst the question was *sub jure*. (See Theiner, *op. cit.*, page 208.)

barons. Both sides were weary of the war, and the two years' truce was concluded between them in 1320. After three years more of Papal intervention terms of peace for thirteen years were agreed to, and the war which had, excepting a few pauses, gone on for twenty-three years, was brought to a close. It was the same Pope who persuaded Edward III. to avoid the public scandal of having his mother, Queen Isabella, cited before a public tribunal for her scandalous alliance with Mortimer; and there is a letter¹ from the Pope to the king, written at the request of the latter, containing counsels as to the right government of his kingdom. Pope John also wrote a similar letter² to David, the son of Robert Bruce. He reconciled the Duke of Cracow and the King of Bohemia, who were rival claimants for the throne of Poland; and throughout his pontificate he was occupied in keeping the Guelphs and Ghibellines and other Italian factions in order. That war between England and France, which includes in its history of destruction and bloodshed the battles of Crecy and Poitiers, is so well known that it would be a waste of space to recall its cause. But in order to set the full and proper value on its importance, it will be well to recollect that it involved, besides England and France, the Spanish, Scotch, and Germans, and the other allied forces who sustained Edward and Philip. Benedict XII. was Pope when the war broke out, and he at once and earnestly sought to prevent the dreadful consequences that would necessarily come of it.³ He succeeded in getting them to observe a truce, but it did not last long; and his death also left them without a restraining influence when the war broke out anew. Clement VI. succeeded Benedict XII. In January, 1343, he got them to agree to a truce for three years and eight months, with a proviso also that they should in the meantime co-operate with him on both sides in bringing about a final accommodation. But he intervened in vain. "Each party," says Lingard, "violated the armistice, and the negotiators, instead of settling

¹ 10th August, 1329.

² 23rd August, 1329. *Vid. Theiner, op. cit. ad annum, 1329.*

Lingard, *Hist. of England*, vol. iv., chap. i.

the conditions of peace, were employed in discussing complaints and recriminations." The war was renewed once more; but Clement did not lose hope. The battle of Crecy had helped a good deal to cool the hostile frenzy of both sides. The Pope counselled, exhorted, reproved, and threatened them; and at length, through his mediation, they concluded a treaty of peace for six years.¹ In 1352, Clement died, and was succeeded by Innocent VI. For eight years Innocent negotiated with all the zeal of his predecessors. Bloodshed and destruction soon began also to make Edward and Philip feel that victory for either side really meant defeat for both. When the Pope proposed a reconciliation on the Easter of 1360, they agreed to abide by his arbitration. All that each now cared to stipulate for was peace with honour. Thus the treaty of Bretigny—the "great peace," as it is called—is a crown on the labours of three successive Popes.

Urban V. put down the turbulent Bernabo, Visconti of Milan, and left Avignon to reside in Rome, because it was represented to him that his presence in Italy would restore peace there. Gregory XI., the last of the Avignonese Popes, succeeded Urban in 1370, and during the eight years of his pontificate was engaged in the promotion of international peace. He reconciled Castile, in turn, with Portugal, Aragon, and Navarre. His intervention influenced Frederick of Sicily and John of Naples to conclude a treaty, the terms of which they submitted to him, with power to modify or simply confirm it, according to his judgment. We will pass over the next seventy years, during which the Church was distracted by the pretensions of anti-popes, and the persistent contumacy of the Basilean schismatics.

Nicholas V. became Pope in 1477. He was a man of the highest culture, encouraged the study of classical literature and Christian antiquities. His liberal heart gained for him the respect of all, and he was unanimously recognised as the rightful occupant of the Papal throne. By his conciliatory disposition he drew the Emperor Frederick into his friend-

ship; and to his prudence is owing the Concordat of Aschaffenburg, by which Germany and the Holy See were bound together again in peace. He harmonized the Genoese, Venetians, and Florentines; got Germany and Hungary to conclude a treaty of peace; marked out the confines of Milan and Piedmont, and had the consolation of setting all Italy at peace by the treaty of Lodi. Passing over Callixtus III., Pius II., Paul II., and Sixtus IV., who, according as necessity or occasion came, showed themselves equal to their predecessors in their zeal for peace, we come to Innocent VIII. He reconciled King James of Scotland and his subjects. Through the Bishop of Ely, he united the Red and White Roses in England by the marriage between Henry Earl of Rutland and Elizabeth of York, and thus planed the way to the end of the civil war which had distracted England for thirty years.

We now come to the famous decision of Alexander VI., between Spain and Portugal, with regard to their respective claims over the West Indies. Few Papal acts have been more discussed, more blamed, and less appreciated or understood. A good deal of erudition has been expended on it, and a good deal of ignorance also. It has been one of the chief items in the stock-in-trade of a certain class of writers for whom ecclesiastical history is a preserve over which they run smelling like sleuth-hounds after the iniquities of Popes. "*De tous les crimes des Borgia,*" says Marmontel, "*cette Bulle ut le plus grand.*" He refers to the Bull *Inter Caetera* (4th May, 1493), by which Alexander marked out the limits of the Spanish and Portuguese dominions in the West Indies.¹ By that decision the Pope neither pretended to have power to partition the world, of which he has been often so stupidly accused, nor did he intend to destroy actual titles or to create new ones. He was asked by two Catholic powers to give his decision on this dispute, and he gave it—that is all. If he had refused to interfere or decide, the Spanish and Portuguese would nevertheless have taken possession of the

¹ The map on which Alexander drew the boundary line is still to be seen in the Museum of Propaganda in Rome.

Indies; but they would have defined the limits of their dominions by the sword and marked it out with blood, whilst the Pope did it with ink and paper. Had he refused to arbitrate he would have been spared a good deal of calumny; but blood would have been needlessly shed, which his arbitration prevented, and the defenceless natives would have been a prey to European adventurers, whilst the Pope provided in his Bull for their safety and for their civilisation.¹

We now come to a Pope whose pontificate, if we should credit the popular notion, would be an unmaking of the history of peace which we have hitherto delved out of the career of his predecessors. For that reason, a reference to Julius II. is due of us here. The notion prevails generally outside the Church, and to a certain extent even within it, that Julius was a man whose thoughts were occupied more by war and conquest than by the office of peace in which he succeeded the fisherman of Galilee. Until recent years we were left, for a knowledge of him, at the mercy of writers who took their inspiration, at first or second hand, from Erasmus, Hutten, and Guicciardini. It is no wonder then if the thoughts of many of us have been more or less coloured by such influences in matters in which the individual may at once be separated from the Pope. Putting aside Jungmann, Gosselin, Cantu, Audin, Roherbacher, &c., who may be suspected, we can read his justification sufficiently well in the pages of Ranke.² Ranke says that Julius "had an innate passion for war and conquest;" but he gives no reason to justify that. On the contrary, he gives more than one that help to upset it. He says Julius "found the whole country in the utmost confusion." "Factions," he says, "were on foot everywhere, and they fought their feuds even in the very Borgo of Rome." "The Venetians," he says, "were in possession of the greater part of the coasts of the ecclesiastical

¹ It would be too long to go with any thoroughness into a defence of the Bull *Inter Caetera*, and the action of Alexander VI. A good defence of it may be seen in Jungmann (*Dissertationes in Hist. Eccl.*, tom vi.), and in a work by the late Cardinal Hergenröther (*Kirche und Staat*), in the twelfth Dissertation.

² *History of the Popes, their Church and State in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, page 17, sqq.

states." Louis XII. of France crossed the Alps to avenge the defeat of Charles VIII., and would have reduced Italy to a province of France if he had not Julius to oppose and drive him back. When Louis found himself defeated by his own arms, he tried the spiritual weapons that were manufactured for himself and Maximilian by the *Conciliabulum* of Pisa; but Julius met them with the anathemas of the eighth Council of Lateran, and was victorious again. Under his influence the Guelphs and Ghibellines solemnized a perpetual peace on the Capitol. He subdued the factions that were distracting the Papal dominions, took Bologna from the Bentivogli, Perugia from the Baglioni, and made the Venetians give up Cervia, Faenza, Rimini, and Ravenna. But, in all this, it is not easy to discern an "innate passion for war and conquest." A sovereign cannot be said to have a passion for war and conquest, because he puts down factious princes who embroil the country, and defends the liberty of his people against the intrusion of strangers. One might as well say that a man has a passion for "the ring," because he does not let an aggressive bully blacken his face with impunity. To go to war may happen to be the duty of a peaceful sovereign, as it is the pleasure of a warlike one. More than that, when war becomes inevitable, it is but a way to peace. All the authentic knowledge we have of Julius II. justify us no further than this—that he knew how to use the "two swords," and was able to beat the invaders and factions of the Papal States as well with one as with the other. Rohrbacher brings out his case clearly in the following:—

"That a Pope, old and sickly, should undertake to beat the King of France and the Emperor of Germany, in order to teach them that he was master in his own house, is indeed surprising, but not more so than that French and German writers should represent this act of self-defence as a scandalous abuse of power, probably because he defeated them instead of being defeated by them."

It would remind one of the placards of the London dailies during the campaigns of the last few years. If British soldiers won a battle, it was "A glorious victory!" if the

Madhi or Cetewayo won, it was "A frightful massacre of British soldiers by the savages!" As far as we know from trustworthy evidence, there is no more reason for saying that Julius II. was not a man of peace because he drove intruders from the Papal States than there is for saying that Leo XIII. is ambitious or implacable because he will not bless the robbery of the Piedmontese. I have tried several sources in order to find what kind of man Julius really was. The greater number of the writers I have seen call him warlike; but I have looked out in vain for a single convincing proof that he was driven to the battle-field more by disposition than by the force of circumstances. It must be the absence of such proof that has made one of the greatest historians of the century speak of him thus:—

"When we find him obliged to encamp within the roar of the cannon, we understand that we are in an age very different from that when one word from Gregory VII. was enough to bring humbled kings from the heart of Saxony to kiss his foot in the Castle of Canossa."¹

There is also another consideration that must not be forgotten, and these words of Ranke substantially express it:—

"The re-establishment of the States of the Church was regarded by the world of that day as a glorious enterprise; it even considered it a religious one."²

He left their old privileges to the cities he conquered, or added new ones; and he became the founder of many independent municipalities where the nobles, the bourgeois, and the artisans were bound together by a common interest. Several great works existing in Rome at present bear witness to his munificence. For love of religion he laid the foundation of St. Peter's; his love of country may be read on a fountain in the Via Giulia, which he dedicated to *Italia liberata*. Fea thinks that his age ought rather be associated with him than with Leo X.; and Ranke admits that "He always appeared as a liberator, that he dealt kindly and wisely with his subjects, and gained their good-will and attachment."

¹ Cesare Cantù, *Gli Eretici D'Italia*, vol. i., page 241.

² *Loc. cit.*

We are not well into the sixteenth century—another landmark in the history of the relations between the Church and civil society. But we must stop.

We have observed how, before society became Christian, the Church was engaged quietly preaching its gospel of peace, and making its influence felt. No sooner had the Roman empire begun to be informed by the Christian idea than it was pulled to pieces by internal decay, and by the rude prowess of the barbarians. The action of the Church was then changed. It had to try both to save Europe as well as might be, and at the same time to Christianize and to civilize the new power. Although that meant building up from the foundation, it had its advantages; for in putting the Christian spirit into the old empire, the Church had both to undo and to do. The work of the Church in behalf of social order during that time of transition made its influence great—an influence that went on developing until the harmony between Church and State was perfected in the Christian empire of the Carolingians. The instances of Papal arbitration that we have noted during this epoch of the Church's greatest power are but a sparse selection out of all that are recorded; but they help us nevertheless to see the great influence for good, for liberty and peace, brought to bear on society by the Popes of the Middle Ages. For three centuries we have been going on principles that are quite different from the principles of those days. In the middle ages it was part and parcel of the public law of Europe to look to the Papal authority with reverence; and that not from choice but from duty. We have seen in part the result. For three centuries we have been going on without it; and we know the result, for we have counted the cost. Without going into the statistics of standing armies and taxes, we can read it in the growing disposition to seek arbitration instead of war; that is, the rational principle of peace, of which the spirit of revolt robbed us three hundred years ago. Of course, it is the shell without the kernel; for it is choice more than duty that directs us to it, and the unifying principle of authority is left out. But it is something. It is as natural for nations as it is for

individuals to dispute about rights. But, if a dispute arise, surely the right cannot be determined by a mitrailleuse or a Martini-Henry. If it were so, might and right would be one and the same. To determine right by arbitration, is to act as rational beings. To attempt it by war—well, it might as well be tried by a bull-fight, or by a pair of champion mastiffs. A battle is fought, and might gains; but right is left just where it was before.¹ In war the weaker side is defeated, and is kept quiet. But peace can never come by force, except that peace described by an old Roman writer—*Quum silentium fecerint, pacem appellant*. It is only the consciousness of right that can create peace. All this has been put by Cardinal Manning with his inimitable clearness and force:—

“What [he asks] has preserved Europe, but the principle of obedience, the precept of submission, which has been taught throughout the whole of its circuit by the Church of God, especially through the mouths of its Pontiffs? By them, subjects have been taught obedience, and rulers have learned justice. What has limited monarchy? What has made monarchy a free institution, and supreme power compatible with the personal liberty of the people, but the limitations which the Holy See, acting through its Pontiffs, has imposed upon the princes of the world? Does anybody doubt these propositions? To them I would say, the Pontiffs, with their temporal power, have been accused of despotism; at least, then, let us give them the credit of having taught the people to submit. They have been accused of tyranny over princes; at least, let us give them the honour of having taught kings that their power is limited. The dread chimera at which the English people especially stand in awe, the deposing power of the Pope—what was it but that supreme arbitration whereby the highest power in the world, the Vicar of the Incarnate Son of God, anointed high-priest and supreme temporal ruler, sat in his tribunal, impartially to judge between nation and nation, between people and prince, between sovereign and subject?”

M. O'RIORDAN.

¹ I do not overlook the distinction between *offensive* and *defensive* war. Cf. Cardinal Manning, *Temporal Power of the Pope*, page 62; *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, vol. iii., page 136; *The Fourfold Sovereignty of God*, pages 77, 130, and 164.

² *Temporal Power of the Pope*, Lecture ii., pages 45 and 46.

THE MYSTICAL SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—II.

IT will be remembered that a type is the foundation of the mystical sense. In the previous part¹ mention was made of what is at once the most obvious requirement and the differentiating quality of a Scriptural type; namely, that it must be an objective reality.

We now proceed, according to promise, to develop our consideration of a type under this aspect by comparing it with a symbol. The contrast will enable the reader to understand with ease the nature of the former, because he can see at a glance how far it transcends a symbol. Both indeed are signs; sometimes what is symbolic happens to be, moreover, a real thing; yet wide is the difference between the two. A type must be, a symbol may not be, a reality. Nay, more, the objective reality of even a real symbol has no connection with its significance, whereas it is essential to that of a type. The colossal statue, with head of gold and feet of base materials, seen by Nabuchodonozor in his dream (Dan. ii. 31-33), was as much a symbol as were the actions really performed by Ezechieh (iv. v.). The one in its fall signified the destruction of the world's great empires, the others portended the fate of Jerusalem. As regards their symbolical meaning, the question of objective reality or external existence is purely irrelevant. The respective signification would not be affected, if the prophet had only dreamt that he had cut off his hair, or if a real statue had been displayed to the eyes of the Babylonian king. But, on the contrary, and be it well remembered, the typical nature of Abraham's sacrifice demands the real existence of himself and Isaac, and the historical truth of the event recorded in the twenty-second chapter of Genesis.² Cornely well remarks:—

“Ex illis, quae diximus, consequens est, ut typos a symbolis probe discernamus. Non raro in Jeremia, Ezechiele, aliisque

¹ See I. E. RECORD, 3rd Series, vol. xi., Aug. 1890, page 708.

² “Hircus (Dan. viii.) vel alia hujusmodi, per quae aliae personae a Christo in Scripturis designantur, non fuerunt res aliquae, sed similitudines imaginariae, ad hoc solum ostensae, ut illae personae significarentur; unde illa significatio qua per illas similitudines personae illae, aut regna desig-

Prophetis occurrunt actiones quaedam symbolicae, quae etiam aliquid futuri praesignificarunt, at totam suam existendi rationem ita in hac praefiguratione habuerunt, ut ea sublata jam non essent factae."

Real existence, complete and self-sufficing, is the proximate end of what is ordained, moreover, to be the type of something higher than itself; whereas signification is the Alpha and Omega of a symbol. Of course the symbol must exist in some way—objectively or subjectively; but whether it be an *ens reale* or an *ens rationis*, matters not—for existence is neither its end nor the measure of its effectiveness, but at most a mere *sine qua non*, because if it *was* not, it could not *signify*.

7. Again, a symbol may represent what is past or present; it may be a record or a token, and for this any connection with its object will suffice. Thus the rainbow, the paschal lamb in its retrospective signification (Exodus xii. 14, 26, 27) as the memorial of the deliverance out of Egypt, and the golden plate on the high-priest's forehead—all were symbols. But a type refers exclusively to what is future, and its scope and aim is to convey information on a new subject. It relates to what is otherwise unknown. Hence, the antecedent recognition of a type is impossible, since there is not yet any association of ideas. Its office is prophetic, and this office it cannot fulfil but by the exhibition of its own self, of its peculiar and distinguishing attribute. The type can bear no resemblance to the antitype, except an intrinsic one, and consequently as such they must both belong to the same class. They are respectively, if we may so speak, the protasis and apodosis of reality; and the likeness between them is purposely designed; it is *τελικη*, not *κατ'εκβασιν*. The type must participate in the very attribute or quality which

nantur, non pertinet nisi ad historicum sensum; sed ad Christum designandum etiam illa quae in rei veritate contigerunt, ordinantur sicut umbra ad veritatem; et ideo talis significatio, qua per hujusmodi res Christus aut ejus membra significantur, facit alium sensum praeter historicum, scilicet allegoricum (h.e. spiritualement). Si alicubi vero inveniatur quod Christus significatur per hujusmodi imaginarias similitudines, talis significatio non excedit sensum litteralem; sicut Christus significatur per lapidem, qui excisus est de monte sine manibus, Dan. 2." (S. Thom. Quodl. vii., q. 6, art. 15, ad. 1.)

it foreshadows. Hence Melchisedech was a real priest, and Isaac a real victim. Hence, too, the types of the old law, which all refer in some way to the Incarnate Word, were many, because no one shadow could represent every outline of the substance, no single figure portray the Great One that was to come :—

“Attendere oportet [says Danko]¹ ‘typum’ inter et ‘symbolum’ grande discrimen intercedere; quod ex ipsa definitione utriusque sponte sua sequitur. Symbolum, το συμβολον, est signum pro repræsentatione veritatis cujusdam supersensualis et invisibilis, quæ ad relationem Deum inter et homines spectat. Typus, ο τυπος, est res quæ ex intentione Divina facta est, ad rem aliam futuram indicandam, quæ nondum existit, sed certe aliquando eveniet.”

8. There is, in consequence, a third difference. The mystical, or typical sense, is peculiar to Scripture. No work of man can claim it, though human literature and art may reach a high degree of perfection in symbolism or allegory. We need only call to mind *The Pilgrim's Progress*, or the *Divina Comedia*, the *Lusiad*, and the *Faerie Queene*, or many of the frescoes in Raphael's stanze. True, symbolism is superior to metaphor and simile; yet no mere *figure* can reach the lofty eminence occupied by the *realities* with which on the canvass of sacred history the great Artist depicts the higher ordinances of His everlasting covenant. Man can never rise above words or images; the mystical sense is the language of God. Not only because as prophetic it needs divine prescience, but still more because as signified exclusively by persons, places, events, &c., it demands omnipotence in its author. He must be able to shape the course of history at will, and to work out his own purposes by the free acts of rational creatures. Man's deeds must be his words; man's surroundings, the revealed manifestation of his good pleasure. Whenever this took place of old, then there was *real* prophecy, or the mystical sense of Scripture. But of this peculiarity of the inspired word, which is in the writer's opinion the most beautiful truth in all sacred hermeneutics or Scriptural theology, fuller treatment will be found in its own

¹ *Hist. Div. Revelationis*, part 3, sect. 113. (Vindob. 1867.)

place; here he but marks it for future consideration, for at present we must confine our attention to the symbolical sense, and bring our study of it to a close.

9. In common with all other signs, a symbol implies that he who uses it is himself possessed of intelligence, and that he speaks to man after the fashion of men. The employment of signs is peculiar to man, and necessary for his communication of knowledge as well as for his reception of it, at least in great measure. The lower creation has no idea to express; the higher needs no such manifestation for its wealth of intuition; but he in whose nature matter and spirit combine, in whom the visible and the invisible world meet, can only by spoken word or written character, by bodily gesture or external representation, give expression to his thought. So true is this, that the very science of the laws, operations and results of human reason starts with the considerations of signs.

Among them an important place belongs to the symbol. This emblem of thought, as it may be called, is not so much a picture of an object conceived by the mind, as a representative mark by means of which knowledge may be imparted; or if it be a pictorial image, in its own symbolical function, it is viewed, not as the representation of a physical thing, nor as individual, but as conveying a general notion to the mind. A symbol suggests, or indicates by association of ideas, what we are to think of. For instance, the lion or the eagle on national flags symbolize the valour, courage, and other qualities which the nation boasts; the cross is the symbol of redemption; the circle, of eternity; the anchor, of hope; and the Church's liturgy contains a complete system of the highest symbolism on earth.¹

While the eyes of all look at the symbol, the mind of

¹The Bishop of Rochelle, Mgr. Landriot, in his work *Symbolisme*, thus defines it:—"Le symbolisme est, dans une limite déterminée, la science des rapports, qui unissent Dieu et la création, le monde naturel et le monde surnaturel; la science des harmonies qui existent entre les différentes parties de l'univers, et constituent un tout merveilleux, dont chaque fragment suppose l'autre, dont chaque sphère est pour l'autre, et réciproquement, un centre de clartés, un foyer de lumineuse doctrine."

the initiated sees through it. Such pre-eminently was the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians, and it affords us a perfect example for the additional reason that it holds the same place in respect of the alphabet that metaphorical or figurative language does in regard to plain, direct, literal statement.

10. The symbolical language of numerous portions of Scripture, some of them being of considerable length, as Jacob's blessing, and the beautiful description of old age in the last chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, must be familiar to every reader. Oriental imagery, more in some books, less in others, is found in all, and to a degree which makes our prosaic Western minds feel the need of an interpreter. Thus, according to the vast majority of orthodox writers, that most obscure book *The Canticle of Canticles*, is an allegory pure and simple;¹ it is symbolical, not typical, and means exclusively the union of a Divine person with human nature, and what results from the Incarnation; and does not record, in the first place, as some Jews and modern rationalists would have it, the marriage of Solomon and an Egyptian princess.

11. The symbolism of Scripture presents a wide field to the student. Its extent, which is far greater than would be anticipated, is equalled only by its ever-varying beauty. From the first ages of Christianity, the study has been a favourite one with the saints and doctors of the Church; and may we not say that in great measure they owed their sanctity to it? Those to whom the Scripture is unfortunately a doubly-sealed book, are apt to associate the name of symbolism or verbal allegory with that of Origen, and then to dismiss the whole matter.² So, in a periodical of the day a Protestant writer thus expresses himself:—

“The allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament is, however, first reduced to a system by Philo. This eminent leader of

¹ Honorius of Autun is the first to deny it. He wrote early in the twelfth century. See *1 e Ilir, Grandvaux*.

² Pitra says: “Communis enim hominum opinio est, qua nihil esse posset theologiae symbolicae exitiosius, eam e palaestra Origeniana in campum Christianorum insuluisse” Spicil. Solesmense (vol. iii., Prol.

Alexandrine Judaism lays down a series of rules, both negative and positive, for the regulation of his favourite method. The negative rules appear to have been borrowed directly from the Stoics."

And again:—

"The allegories of Philo and the Alexandrians were only an instance of the use of a method thus widely diffused and deeply rooted in the natural tendencies of the human mind. Philo found the method already largely employed. His immediate predecessors were the Greeks. They, too, had a book [*Homer*], which, if not exactly regarded as sacred in the strict sense of the term, was at least an object of great veneration. They extracted their divinities," &c.

Long ago did Newman (*Hist. of the Arians*, first edition, page 63) expose the shallowness of this false theory, in a passage of such exquisite beauty that it must be transcribed entire:—

"But it is more natural to consider that the Divine Wisdom used on the sublimest of all subjects, media, which we spontaneously select for the expression of solemn thought and elevated emotion, and had no especial regard to the practice in any particular country, which afforded but an instance of the operation of a general law of our nature. When the mind is occupied by some vast and awful subject of contemplation, it is prompted to give utterance to its feelings in a figurative style; for ordinary words will not convey the admiration, nor literal words the reverence, which possesses it; and when dazzled at length with the great sight, it turns away for relief, it still catches in every new object which it encounters glimpses of its former vision, and colours the whole range of thought with this one abiding association. If, however, others have preceded it in the privilege of such contemplations, a well disciplined piety will lead it to adopt the images which they have invented, both from affection to what is familiar to it, and from a fear of using unsanctioned language on a sacred subject. Such are the feelings under which a deeply impressed fancy addresses itself to

page viii.) ; and "Sed alterum est quod Alexandrinis multorum errorum excusationi erit, quibus videlicet fauste contigit praeceptum allegoricae interpretationis fundamentum aptissime tangere, et praeclarius quam sive ante eos sive post, a quocumque factum fuit, proferre et tueri: servari videlicet ab Ecclesia Catholica interpretandae Scripturae regulam, ex Apostolis ad episcopos derivatam; qua, quum non inesse Scripturis sacris mysticos sensus citra impietatem dici nequeat, jubetur quisque eos eruere, insistendo vestigiis Apostolorum, maxime Pauli et Joannis, quin et ipsius Verbi Dei Salvatoris exemplo." (*Ibid.*, p. ix.)

the task of disclosing even its human thoughts; and the description, if we may dare to conjecture, in its measure applies to the case of a mind under the immediate influence of inspiration. Certainly, its contents favour some such hypothetical account of the structure of the sacred volume, in which the divinely instructed imagination of the writers is ever glancing to and fro, connecting past things with future, illuminating God's lower providences and man's humblest services by allusions to the relations of the evangelical covenant, and then, in turn, suddenly leaving the latter to dwell on those past dealings of God with man, which must not be forgotten merely because they have been excelled. No prophet ends his subject; his brethren after him renew, enlarge, transfigure, or reconstruct it; so that the Bible, though various in its parts, forms a whole, grounded on a few distinct principles discernable throughout it, and is, in consequence, though intelligible in its general drift, yet obscure in its text, and even tempts the student to a lax and disrespectful interpretation of it."

They know not the exact position of the great Alexandrine teacher. True, he delighted in allegorical exposition, while recognising the necessity of limits, which in practice, however, he usually exceeded. "Ubi bene, nemo melius, ubi male, nemo pejus," Cassiodorus, I think, says of him; but we are not concerned with his history now.

12. Origen is not the earliest nor the greatest exponent of symbolism. In Alexandria itself Pantaenus and Clement preceded him, and the latter is a far higher authority on the subject than even his illustrious pupil. He says a good deal in the *Stromata* (book v., chaps. 4-9), though he speaks with great caution and reserve; because, as he implies in the twelfth chapter (*Migne. Patr. Gr.*, ix. 120), the symbolic interpretation of Scripture is part of the *arcantum*. A living writer conjectures that Origen violated on this point the *disciplina arcani*, and that his premature revelation of symbolism caused the reaction on the part of several Fathers against the allegorical exposition of the whole Alexandrian school:—

"La tradition mystérieuse dont parle Clément, n'est pas, comme on l'a dit, une doctrine dogmatique de l'Eglise primitive; c'est le secret de l'interprétation symbolique des Ecritures, ce qui est indiqué par le nom de *Clef*, que S. Mélicon a imposé à son vocabulaire, destiné alors aux saints. La première règle

de la science symbolique affirme donc sa qualité mystérieuse. C'est la chose cachée, la tradition secrète. Clément craint également d'en trahir le mystère, et de la laisser se perdre dans l'oubli. S'il ne l'avait pas manifestée, personne n'aurait pu, un peu plus tard, recueillir les témoignages des apôtres et les transmettre avec autant d'autorité et de certitude. Le grand tort d'Origène, et qui a engendré tous les autres, a été de ne pas obéir à cette loi du secret, qu'il connaissait, et dont Jésus Christ était lui-même l'auteur. Cette loi était cependant regardée comme si rigoureuse, que même après l'imprudence d'Origène, elle a été observée comme si le mystère n'en avait jamais été divulgué. C'est ce qui ressort des enseignements de S. Chrysostome, de S. Grégoire de Naziance, de S. Augustin, comme de ceux de S. Denis l'Areopagite."¹

13. St. Melito of Sardis is of all the Fathers the one who has most fully witnessed to the *depositum fidei*, as regards the symbolism of holy Scripture. He was probably the second bishop of that see, and was one of the circle composed also of St. Polycarp, Papias, Onesimus, Abercius, and Apollinaris of Hieropolis, his ally in the controversy with the Ebionite Quartodecimans. Thus he enjoyed what were, even in the second century, uncommon opportunities for the acquisition of the sublimest knowledge. He drank of the stream of Apostolic tradition, fresh from the fountain head. We have abundant evidence of the veneration in which St. Melito was subsequently held.²

Polycrates of Ephesus, in his letter to Pope St. Victor, says that all Melito's works were done in the Holy Ghost; another Greek styles him "among teachers godlike and wisest;" and St. Jerome remarks: "Hujus elegans et declamatorium ingenium laudans Tertullianus, in septem libris quos scripsit adversus Ecclesiam pro Montano dicit eum a plerisque nostrorum prophetam putari." To form some estimate of the authority of the saint's teaching on inspired symbolism, we need but reflect that he was bishop of one of the Apocalyptic churches soon after its foundation, and that the Apocalypse is the symbolical book of the New Testament, and that St. John's last work bears the same relation to the books of that

¹ Le Blanc d'Amboigne, *La langue Symbolique et le sens spirituel des Saintes Ecritures*, page 11. Paris, 1881.

² See his life, &c; *Migne. Patr. Gr.*, v., pages 1145-1207.

description in the Old Testament, which, in point of Messianic prophecy, St. Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews do to their counterpart, the law and the prophets.

14. The "clavis," or key to the symbolical language of Scripture is not only one of the most valuable of all the Patristic writings, but it is unique, a book altogether *sui generis*. The saint's work is not a scientific treatise or a manual of hermeneutics, but an enumeration of symbols, and doubtless belonged to the *arcanum*. It contains in its purest form the Apostolic teaching on the hidden sense of the inspired word. To anyone who understands, as far as man's slight knowledge goes, why the Old Testament was written, and how it is actually employed in the New, the supreme value of such authoritative exegesis is self-evident. And how deeply this was impressed on subsequent ecclesiastical writers, how perfectly in harmony it is with the mind of the Church, is shown by the fact that before the sixteenth century, six hundred writers, from St. Eucherius down, had taken St. Melito's "clavis" as their guide, and written on symbolism. Most of these writers, were Latins, as Pitra remarks (*Spicil. Solesmense*, ii., page xxi.). Among them he singles out St. Eucherius, St. Gregory the Great, Rabanus Maurus, and St. Bernard, not as if they were the chief, but rather for the sake of a convenient chronological division.

15. Dom (afterwards Cardinal) Pitra, from whom this description is mainly taken, was the discoverer in our day of the long-lost "clavis." After a search of twenty-five years, he was so fortunate as to become aware of the existence of no less than eight MSS. His *Prolegomena*, the critical text, and the notes comprising those of about one hundred and fifty commentators, are contained in vols. i. and ii. of his *Spicilegium Solesmense*.¹ The *Prolegomena* (about one hundred pages) give the learned editor's views—*De Re Symbolica*—the history of St. Melito as far as it is preserved, and an account of the representative writers on symbolism. The "clavis"

¹ He returns to what is evidently a labour of love in his *Analecta Sacra*, tom. ii., Paris, 1883.

itself consists of about eight hundred formulas, or figurative expressions which require traditional explanation. It contains no canons of exegesis, being, as was remarked above only a glossary. We meet indeed with types in it; for instance, "Nubes, humanitas Christi, vel Virgo Maria—cui Dominus ascendit super nubem levem;" but symbols vastly preponderate (the pelican of our Lord, the lion of St. Mark,¹ &c.) Hefele's excellent article on St. Melito (*Goschler*, xiv. 496) differs in some important respects from the above. Pitra is, however, followed by many, including the editor of *Dom Ceillier's Auteurs Sacrés* (i. 449), Paris, 1858.

16. Besides the symbolical expressions of which the "clavis" treats, there are in the Bible symbolical visions and actions. As an example of the former, we may mention that in which Jeremias beheld the almond-tree (Vulg. "virgam vigilantem"), Jer. i. 11-13. See also Ezech. i., the four living creatures (cherubim); viii., abominations of Jerusalem; ix., destruction of sinners, and the sign of the cross (Tau); x., the four cherubim; xxxvii. 1-14, the dry bones; xl.-xlviii., the temple; Amos vii. 1-6, the locusts; 7-9, the trowel; viii. 1-3, the hook; Zach. i. 8-17; the horses, red, speckled, and white; 18-21, the four horns and the four smiths; ii., the measuring of Jerusalem; iii., Josue, the high priest; iv., the golden candlestick, &c.; v., the flying volume. &c.; vi., the four chariots, &c. And of the latter, Jer. xiii. 1-7, hiding the linen girdle; xix. 10-11, breaking the potter's vessel; Is. xx. 2, laying aside garments; Ezech. xii. 3-16, removing goods and going forth from the city; xxiv. 15-24, refraining from tears; xxxvi. 16-23, writing on sticks.

As regards the New Testament, the Apocalypse is simply a book of visions: and Christ's cursing the barren fig-tree, and Agabus, by inspiration, binding the feet of St. Paul, as a prophetic sign of what was to befall the Apostle, afford us instances of the second kind. We need only repeat,

¹ Pitra speaks of both indiscriminately: "Lato enim sensu, symbolum quodvis signum est, σημεῖον. Nostro autem, qualem expriment plerique allegorici nostri interpretes proprie signum est, quo sub rerum aut verborum integumentis, mysteria supra naturam posita, quae noscere nostra refert, significantur." (Vol. iii., page v.)

that though these visions and actions refer to the future, they have only literal sense. They are not types, but allegorical scenes, or similes in action. Patrizi's rule (*Inst. Interpretis.*, No. 299) may be useful to some of our readers:—

“In universum autem, ut typos a meris symbolis secernamus, regula hæc esto ex natura sensus spiritualis Scripturarum petita. Quoniam in symbolis nihil aliud deprehendere est, nisi unius alicujus rei significationem, quum aliquid, quod in Scripturis legitur, symbolum esse comperiemus neque tamen sensus ipse obvius ac literalis verborum, quibus illud enuntiatur, quidquid tale referat, pro certo tenebimus, non merum symbolum id esse, sed typum. Concludendum enim erit sensui literalis verborum alium quoque sensum subesse, spiritalem videlicet; et spiritualis sensus in verba, non a meris symbolis, quibus ut Thomas docet, iste sensus non subest, sed e typis, de quibus ea dicta sunt duntaxat derivatur.”

17. Now we have distinguished the mystical sense from that which bears the closest resemblance to it, the *species* from the *genus*, and have disposed of the last claimant in many minds to the honour due only to what is founded on a type. If to some our path seems circuitous, and our view of the subject rather oblique, we would remind them of the misapprehensions of the senses in question which exist on the part of other people, not so well-informed. A purely subjective notion on the meaning of some inspired passage; a notion invented for want of a better; a notion really at variance with the context, linguistic usage, syntax, Scriptural idiom, archæology, tradition, or authority, will be by many, in their blissful ignorance, fondly and firmly held as being a “mystical interpretation.” The magic of the name is enough for them; they are like the old lady who declared “it did her heart good to hear that blessed word ‘Mesopotamia.’”

Far be it from us to deny that much good may accidentally be done to souls who make mistakes as to the meaning of Scripture; for instance, a pious but un-exegetical nun may be, and no doubt often is, benefited by *her* thoughts on texts such as these: “Obedience is better than sacrifice,”

and "Virtue is made perfect in infirmity." Nay, perhaps, more in some cases owing to personal reasons or intellectual build, than if she knew the real meaning; yet ecclesiastics cannot concur in her opinion, nor accept her "mystical interpretation," for they know that Saul's act was not "sacrifice," but "disobedience," and that our Lord spoke not of St. Paul's virtue, but of His own; and to ecclesiastics this knowledge is immeasurably more beneficial as regards their souls than that accommodated sense just alluded to.

Again, others will be found who descant to their own satisfaction, no doubt, on the "mystical sense" of our Lord's parables and similes, as if Dives and Lazarus really lived in the Via Sacra, or the Ten Virgins really walked through the streets of Jerusalem. Finally, a less erring class will delight in the "mystical meaning" of Daniel's visions, or Ezechieh's symbolical acts.

We do not undervalue the good which may co-exist with all this, neither do we deny that even fathers and commentators who, however, knew what they were doing, have similarly *sensu latissimo* so applied the term in question; we only say that a great deal of sublime truth is lost sight of, and a great mistake made by those who imagine this mode of speaking to be strictly correct.

In the next section, with the reader's permission, texts of Scripture that have a mystical sense will be indicated.

REGINALD WALSH, O. P.

(*To be continued.*)

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

THE USE OF EGGS WHEN A FAST DAY FALLS ON FRIDAY.

“VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—I find in the *Irish Directory* that abstinence from eggs is prescribed on the Vigil of All Saints, and at page 3 it is stated that the Vigil of All Saints is one of these days, on which, if it falls on Friday, eggs are not allowed. At the same page there is a reference to page 13 of the *Directory* of 1880 ; and on looking up that page it will be seen that the Irish bishops at the Synod of Maynooth, resolved to petition the Holy See for certain dispensations regarding the law of abstinence in Ireland. Among other dispensations there is one asking that when a fast day falls on a Friday, it may be lawful to use eggs, except on Friday of Holy Week. And the source of that law, for which there was a dispensation asked, and which does not arise from the common law of the Church is clearly stated by the bishops. It is custom ; and such a custom which does not prevail throughout the universal Church. “Cum dies jejunii occurrat Feria vi^{ta} mos est abstinere ab esu ovorum.” The dispensation sought for was granted, except for the Vigils of the Nativity, Assumption, Apostles Peter and Paul, and of All Saints, on which days the custom of abstaining from eggs, when any of these days fell on a Friday, continues in full force.

“One would naturally conclude from the above evidence that abstinence from eggs was prescribed on Friday, 31st October, the Vigil of All Saints ; and, accordingly, priests in every diocese in Ireland who had only such information at hand as that given by the *Directory* would not only have been obliged to abstain from eggs on that day, but would have likewise imposed it on their flocks. And it is not a matter of little or no importance to impose without legitimate authority such an obligation on any individual, not to speak of imposing it on the people of a parish, or of a number of parishes. But the fault lies not so much with the priests as with the *Directory*.

“Now, it is pretty manifest that abstinence from eggs is not prescribed in every diocese throughout Ireland on the above-named Vigils when they fall on a Friday. This will be clear by bearing in mind the sources of the obligation of fasting and abstinence. The common law of the Church enjoins :—

“I. Fasting on one meal on all fast days,

“ II. Abstinence from meat, eggs, and whitemeats (*lacticinia*)]
on all fast days in Lent.

“ III. Abstinence from meat alone on all fast days outside Lent.

“ But there is another source which permanently modifies the law of fasting and of abstinence, and that is custom : dispensation modifies the law of abstinence. Hence custom modifies I., by allowing a collation; dispensation usually modifies II., according to the terms of the dispensation, and in this country custom has been more rigorous than the common law as regards III., for there is no abstinence from eggs or *lacticinia* on fasting days outside Lent according to the common law of the Church. Wherever such abstinence has been introduced, theologians ascribe it to local custom. According to ancient usages in Ireland, Friday was a day of abstinence from eggs and *lacticinia* as well as from meat. There are many other examples of the excessive rigour of the Irish Church in matters of fasting and abstinence, but they have all been abrogated, except that of abstinence from eggs, not on every Friday, but only when it happens to be a fast day. And even this one particular, viz., abstinence from eggs on a Friday when it happens to be a fast day, has been long since abrogated in several dioceses—Cashel, Limerick, and others.¹ The rescript, therefore, referred to above, and published in the *Directory* for 1880, has no reference to the dioceses of “ Cashel, Limerick, and others,” since the obligation had been abrogated in these places, namely, the obligation induced by local custom of abstaining from eggs on Friday, when it happens to be a fast day.

“ If the above explanation be the true one, and if there be ‘ several ’ dioceses in Ireland in which the obligation referred to had been abrogated before the rescript referred to had been issued, it is obviously the duty of those responsible for the *Directory* not to state absolutely there is an obligation to abstain from eggs on any fast day outside Lent ; for, as I have already said, it can mean nothing else to those who have not other sources of information at hand, than that there is no exception ; whereas there are, in reality, several.—Yours faithfully,

“ CASSELIENSIS.”

We are not sure that our correspondent’s communication should not be published under the heading of *Correspondence*.

¹ See I. E. RECORD, vol. viii., Feb. 1872, page 223.

It requires no answer from us, for it is in itself a most accurate exposition of the question treated.

Prior to the Maynooth Synod, in *some* dioceses of Ireland it was unlawful to use eggs on Friday when a fast day fell on Friday. In other dioceses—Cashel, Limerick, &c.—this law, introduced in the first instance by custom, had been again abrogated by contrary custom. The bishops assembled at the Synod of Maynooth petitioned the Holy See for a dispensation in this law; and the Holy See granted the dispensation, excepting the Vigils of the Nativity, the Assumption, Saints Peter and Paul, and All Saints, when these Vigils fall on Friday. Now, as our correspondent writes, and as past pages of the I. E. RECORD teach, these exceptions do not in any way affect those other dioceses in which the permission existed independently of the special concession which is thus limited.¹

Hence this limitation does not affect the dioceses of Cashel, Limerick, or those others in which the law had been abrogated by custom prior to the Maynooth Synod. In those dioceses, therefore, it is lawful to use eggs, even on the four Vigils mentioned.

Our correspondent at the end of his communication complains of the manner in which our *Ordo* deals with this subject. For example, on the Vigil of All Saints it writes in parentheses “(Jejun. abstin. ab ovis),” making no reference to the many dioceses in which this prohibition does not exist. He writes: “It is obviously the duty of those responsible for the *Directory* not to state *absolutely* there is an obligation to abstain from eggs on any fast day outside Lent; for, as I have already said, it can mean nothing else to those who have not other sources of information at hand, than that there is no exception; whereas there are, in reality, several.’

No doubt it would be desirable that the *Ordo* would direct attention to the exception referred to. But we must not be too severe on the very reverend compiler of our *Ordo*. The exceptional Vigils do not fall on Friday every year, and the matter may easily escape his notice. Moreover,

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. i. (1880), page 747.

he may contend that he only publishes the exception made by Rome to its dispensation; and that it is not his duty, nor his province to interpret the dispensation, or explain the nature and extent of the exceptions which accompany the dispensation.

D. COGHLAN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE O'CURRY MSS.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR,—At page 984 of this month's I. E. RECORD I find a reference to O'Curry's great *Glossary of the Irish Language*, of which it is said, 'that it was thought to have been lost until recently discovered among the MSS. in Clonliffe College.'

"With regard to that *Glossary*, it was secured for the Catholic University at the cost of some hundreds of pounds at the time of poor O'Curry's death. It was stated to me at the time, that after we had laid his body in Glasnevin, and before quitting the graveyard, an attempt was made by Trinity College to obtain possession of all his literary remains, including, of course, this *Glossary*.

"The *Glossary*, I heard, contains *sixty thousand* Irish words. This may be, and very probably is, an exaggeration; but the number is certainly exceedingly great, especially for such an ancient language.

"The manner in which O'Curry compiled it was very curious. He looked on it, I believe, as the great work of his life. Whenever in the course of his reading he came across an Irish word which he did not understand, he copied out the whole context, *underlining the unknown word*. By collating passages, the meaning of several words was fixed. These memoranda were written on scraps of paper, the backs of envelopes, &c., and were pasted by him into books—afterwards put into alphabetical order; and, while I was rector of the Catholic University, Professor O'Looney was chiefly occupied for some years in copying out in alphabetical order the words and ancient Irish passages thus collected by O'Curry. There are several large volumes, both in Mr. O'Looney's handwriting, and O'Curry's original MSS. I understand they are with the rest of the library of the Catholic University in a separate place in Clonliffe, where, when the Jesuit Fathers got charge of the University College, Stephen's-green,

they were deposited for safe keeping, until the Catholic University takes her destined place at the head of Catholic Education in Ireland. Until I saw the notice in the I. E. RECORD for November, to which I have referred, I never heard it was supposed that these valuable MSS. were lost. They are in excellent custody, under the care of the V. Rev. President of Holy Cross College, Clonliffe.

“Kindly excuse me for troubling you with those lines. And believe me, Very Rev. dear Sir, with sincere respect, yours most faithfully,

“✠ BARTHOLOMEW WOODLOCK,

“*Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise.*”

“ST. MEL’S, LONGFORD,

“*November 15th, 1890.*”

DOCUMENT.

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE LEO XIII. TO THE PEOPLE OF ITALY.

VENERABLE BRETHREN AND BELOVED CHILDREN, HEALTH AND APOSTOLIC BENECTION.

From the height of the Apostolic Throne, where Divine Providence has placed Us to watch over the salvation of all nations, We look often upon Italy, in whose bosom, by an act of singular predilection, God has established the See of His Vicar, and from which come to Us at the present time many and most bitter sorrows. It is not any personal offence that saddens Us, nor the privations and sacrifices imposed upon Us by the present condition of things, nor the outrages and scoffs which an insolent press has full power to hurl every day against Us. If only Our own person were concerned, and not the ruin to which Italy threatened in its faith is hastening, We should bear these offences without complaint, rejoicing even to repeat what one of Our most illustrious Predecessors said of himself: *If the captivity of my country did not every moment of each day increase, as to the contempt and scorn of myself I should joyfully be silent.*¹

But, besides the independence and dignity of the Holy See, the religion itself and the salvation of a whole nation are concerned, of a nation which from the earliest times opened its bosom to the Catholic faith and has ever jealously preserved it. Incredible it seems, but it is true: to such a pass have we come, that we have

to fear for this Italy of ours the loss even of the faith. Many times have We sounded the alarm, to give warning of the danger; but We do not therefore think that We have done enough. In face of the continued and fiercer assaults that are made, We hear the voice of duty calling upon Us more powerfully than before to speak to you again, Venerable Brethren, to your Clergy, and to the whole Italian people. As the enemy makes no truce, so neither you nor We must remain silent or inert. By the Divine mercy we have been constituted guardians and defenders of the religion of the people entrusted to Our care, Pastors and watchful sentinels of the flock of Christ; and for this flock we must be ready, if need be, to sacrifice everything, even life itself.

We shall not say anything new; for facts have not changed from what they were, and We have had at other times to speak of them when occasion was given. But We now intend to recapitulate these facts in some way, and to group them into one picture, so as to draw out for general instruction the consequences which flow from them. The facts are incontestable, and have happened in the clear light of day; not separated one from another, but so connected together as in their series to reveal with fullest evidence a system of which they are the actual operation and development. The system is not new; but the audacity, the fury, and the rapidity with which it is now carried out, are new. It is the plan of the sects that is now unfolding itself in Italy, especially in what relates to the Catholic religion and the Church, with the final and avowed purpose, if it were possible of reducing it to nothing. It is needless now to put the Masonic sects upon their trial. They are already judged; their ends, their means, their doctrines, and their action, are all known with indisputable certainty. Possessed by the spirit of Satan, whose instrument they are, they burn like him with a deadly and implacable hatred of Jesus Christ and of His work; and they endeavour by every means to overthrow and fetter it. This war is at present waged more than elsewhere in Italy, in which the Catholic religion has taken deeper root; and above all in Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, and the See of the Universal Pastor and Teacher of the Church.

It is well to trace from the beginning the different phases of this warfare.

The war began by the overthrow of the civil power of the Popes, the downfall of which, according to the secret intentions

of the real leaders, afterwards openly avowed, was, under a political pretext, to be the means of enslaving, at least, if not of destroying, the supreme spiritual power of the Roman Pontiffs. That no doubt might remain as to the true object of this warfare, there followed quickly the suppression of the Religious Orders; and thereby a great reduction in the number of evangelical labourers for the propagation of the faith amongst the heathens, and for the sacred ministry and religious service of Catholic countries. Later, the obligation of military service was extended to ecclesiastics, with the necessary result that many and grave obstacles were put to the recruiting and due formation even of the secular Clergy. Hands were laid upon ecclesiastical property, partly by absolute confiscation, and partly by charging it with enormous burdens, so as to impoverish the Clergy and the Church, and to deprive the Church of what is necessary for its temporal support and for carrying on institutions and works in aid of its divine apostolate. This the sectaries themselves have openly declared. *To lessen the influence of the Clergy and of clerical bodies, one only efficacious means must be employed: to strip them of all their goods, and to reduce them to absolute poverty.*

So also the action of the State is of itself all directed to efface from the nation its religious and Christian character. From the laws, and from the whole of official life, every religious inspiration and idea is systematically banished, when not directly assailed. Every public manifestation of faith and of Catholic piety is either forbidden or, under vain pretences, in a thousand ways impeded. From the family are taken away its foundation and religious constitution by the proclaiming of *civil marriage*, as it is called; and also by the entirely lay education which is now demanded, from the first elements to the higher teaching of the universities, so that the rising generations, as far as this can be effected by the State, have to grow up without any idea of religion, and without the first essential notions of their duties towards God. This is to put the axe to the root. No more universal and efficacious means could be imagined of withdrawing society, and families, and individuals, from the influence of the Church and of the faith. *To lay Clericalism (or Catholicism) waste in its foundations and in its very sources of life, namely, in the school and in the family: such is the authentic declaration of Masonic writers.*

It will be said that this does not happen in Italy only, but is

a system of government which States generally follow. We answer that this does not refute, but confirms, what We are saying as to the designs and action of Freemasonry in Italy. Yes, this system is adopted and carried out wherever Freemasonry uses its impious and wicked action; and, as its action is widespread, so is this anti-Christian system widely applied. But the application becomes more speedy and general, and is pushed more to extremes, in countries where the government is more under the control of the sect and better promotes its interests. Unfortunately, at the present time the new Italy is of the number of these countries. Not to-day only has it become subject to the wicked and evil influence of the sects; but for some time past they have tyrannized over it as they liked, with absolute dominion and power. Here the direction of public affairs, in what concerns religion, is wholly in conformity with the aspirations of the sects; and for accomplishing their aspirations, they find avowed supporters and ready instruments in those who hold the public power. Laws adverse to the Church and measures hostile to it are first proposed, decided, and resolved, in the secret meetings of the sect; and if anything presents even the least appearance of hostility or harm to the Church, it is at once received with favour and put forward.

Amongst the most recent facts We may mention the approval of the new penal code, in which what was most obstinately demanded, in spite of all reasons to the contrary, were the articles against the Clergy, which form for them an exceptional law, and even condemn as criminal certain actions which are sacred duties of their ministry. The law as to pious works, by which all charitable property, accumulated by the piety and religion of our ancestors under the protection and guardianship of the Church, was withdrawn altogether from the Church's action and control, had been for some years put forward in the meetings of the sect, precisely because it would inflict a new outrage on the Church, lessen its social influence, and suppress at once a great number of bequests made for divine worship. Then came that eminently sectarian work, the erection of the monument to the renowned apostate of Nola, which, with the aid and favour of the government, was promoted, determined, and carried out by means of Freemasonry, whose most authorised spokesmen were not ashamed to acknowledge its purpose and to declare its meaning. Its purpose was to insult the Papacy; its meaning, that, instead of

the Catholic faith, must now be substituted the most absolute freedom of examination, of criticism, of thought, and of conscience: and what is meant by such language in the mouth of the sects is well known.

The seal was put by the most explicit declarations made by the head of the government, which were to the following effect:— That the true and real conflict, which the government has the merit of understanding, is the conflict between faith and the Church on one side and free examination and reason on the other. That the Church may try to act as it has done before, to enchain anew reason and free-thought, and to prevail; but the government in this conflict declares itself openly in favour of reason as against faith, and takes upon itself the task of making the Italian State the evident expression of this reason and liberty: a sad task, which has just now been boldly re-affirmed on a like occasion.

In the light of such facts and such declarations as these, it is more than ever clear that the ruling idea which, as far as religion is concerned, controls the course of public affairs in Italy, is the realization of the Masonic programme. We see how much has already been realized; we know how much still remains to be done; and we can foresee, with certainty that, so long as the destinies of Italy are in the hands of sectarian rulers or of men subject to the sects, the realization of the programme will be pressed on, more or less rapidly according to circumstances, unto its complete development.

The action of the sects is at present directed to attain the following objects, according to the votes and resolutions passed in their most important assemblies—votes and resolutions inspired throughout by a deadly hatred of the Church. *The abolition in the schools of every kind of religious instruction, and the founding of institutions in which even girls are to be withdrawn from all clerical influence, whatever it may be; because the State, which ought to be absolutely atheistic, has the inalienable right and duty to form the heart and the spirit of its citizens, and no school should exist apart from its inspiration and control. The rigorous application of all laws now in force, which aim at securing the absolute independence of civil society from clerical influence. The strict observance of laws suppressing religious corporations, and the employment of means to make them effectual. The regulation of all ecclesiastical property, starting from the principle that its*

ownership belongs to the State, and its administration to the civil power. The exclusion of every Catholic or clerical element from all public administrations, from pious works, hospitals, and schools, from the councils which govern the destinies of the country, from academical and other unions, from companies, committees, and families—an exclusion from everything, everywhere, and for ever. Instead, the Masonic influence is to make itself felt in all the circumstances of social life, and to become master and controller of everything. Hereby the way will be smoothed towards the abolition of the Papacy; Italy will thus be free from its implacable and deadly enemy; and Rome, which in the past was the centre of universal Theocracy will in the future be the centre of universal secularization, whence the Magna Charta of human liberty is to be proclaimed in the face of the whole world. Such are the authentic declarations, aspirations, and resolutions of Freemasons or of their assemblies.

Without exaggeration, this is the present condition and the future prospect of religion in Italy. To shrink from seeing the gravity of this would be a fatal error. To recognise it as it is, to confront it with evangelical prudence and fortitude, to infer the duties which it imposes on all Catholics, and upon us especially who as Pastors have to watch over them and guide them to salvation, is to enter into the views of Providence, to do a work of wisdom and pastoral zeal. As far as We are concerned, the Apostolic office lays upon Us the duty of protesting loudly once more against all that has been done, is doing, or is attempted in Italy to the harm of religion. Defending and guarding the sacred rights of the Church and of the Pontificate, We openly repel and denounce to the whole Catholic world the outrages which the Church and the Pontificate are continually receiving, especially in Rome, and which hamper Us in the government of the Catholic Church, and add difficulty and indignity to Our condition. We are determined not to omit anything on Our part which can serve to maintain the faith lively and vigorous amidst the Italian people, and to protect it against the assaults of its enemies. We, therefore, make appeal, Venerable Brethren, to your zeal and your great love for souls, in order that, possessed with a sense of the gravity of the danger which they incur, you may apply the proper remedies and do all you can to dispel this danger.

No means must be neglected that is in your power. All the resources of speech, every expedient in action, all the immense

treasures of help and grace which the Church places in your hands, must be made use of, for the formation of a Clergy learned and full of the spirit of Jesus Christ, for the Christian education of youth, for the extirpation of evil doctrines, for the defence of Catholic truths, and for the maintenance of the Christian character and spirit of family life.

As to the Catholic people, before everything else it is necessary that they should be instructed as to the true state of things in Italy with regard to religion, the essentially religious character of the conflict in Italy against the Pontiff, and the real object constantly aimed at, so that they may see by the evidence of facts the many ways in which their religion is conspired against, and may be convinced of the risk they run of being robbed and spoiled of the inestimable treasure of the faith. With this conviction in their minds, and having at the same time a certainty that without faith it is impossible to please God and to be saved, they will understand that what is now at stake is the greatest, not to say the only interest, which everyone on earth is bound before all things, at the cost of any sacrifice, to put out of danger, under penalty of everlasting misery. They will, moreover, easily understand that, in this time of open and raging conflict, it would be disgraceful for them to desert the field and hide themselves. Their duty is to remain at their post, and openly to show themselves to be true Catholics by their belief and by actions in conformity with their faith. This they must do for the honour of their faith, and the glory of the Sovereign Leader whose banner they follow, and that they may escape that great misfortune of being disowned at the last day, and of not being recognised as His by the Supreme Judge who has declared that whosoever is not with Him is against Him.

Without ostentation or timidity, let them give proof of that true courage which arises from the consciousness of fulfilling a sacred duty before God and men. To this frank profession of faith Catholics must unite a perfect docility and filial love towards the Church, a sincere respect for their bishops, and an absolute devotion and obedience to the Roman Pontiff. In a word, they will recognise how necessary it is to cease from everything that is the work of the sects, or that receives impulse or favour from them, as being undoubtedly infected by the anti-Christian spirit; and they will, on the contrary, devote themselves with activity, courage and constancy, to Catholic works, and to

the associations and institutions which the Church has blessed, and which the Bishops and the Roman Pontiff encourage and sustain. Moreover, seeing that the chief instrument employed by our enemies is the press, which in great part receives from them its inspiration and support, it is important that Catholics should oppose the evil press by a press that is good, for the defence of truth, out of love for religion, and to uphold the rights of the Church. While the Catholic press is occupied in laying bare the perfidious designs of the sects, in helping and seconding the action of the sacred Pastors, and in defending and promoting Catholic works, it is the duty of the faithful efficaciously to support this press, both by refusing or ceasing to favour in any way the evil press; and also directly, by concurring, as far as each one can, in helping it to live and thrive: and in this matter We think that hitherto enough has not been done in Italy. Lastly, the teaching addressed by Us to all Catholics, especially in the Encyclicals "*Humanum genus*" and "*Sapientiæ Christianæ*," should be particularly applied to the Catholics of Italy, and be impressed upon them. If they have anything to suffer or to sacrifice through remaining faithful to these duties, let them take courage in the thought that the Kingdom of Heaven suffereth violence and is gained only by doing violence to ourselves; and that he who loves himself and what is his own more than Jesus Christ, is not worthy of Him. The example of the many invincible champions who, throughout all time, have generously sacrificed everything for the faith, and the special helps of grace which make the yoke of Jesus Christ sweet and His burden light, ought to powerfully animate their courage and to sustain them in the glorious contest.

So far We have considered only the religious side of the present state of things in Italy, inasmuch as this is for Us the most essential, and the subject which eminently concerns Us by reason of the Apostolic office which We hold. But it is worth while to consider also the social and political side, so that Italians may see that, not only the love of religion, but also the noblest and sincerest love of country, should stir them to resist the impious attempts of the sects. As a convincing proof of this, it suffices to take note of the kind of future, in the social and political order, which is being prepared for Italy by men whose object is—and they make no secret of it—to wage an unrelenting war against Catholicism and the Papacy.

Already the test of the past speaks eloquently for itself. What

Italy has become in this first period of its new life, as to public and private morality, internal safety, order and peace, national wealth and prosperity, all this is known to you by facts, Venerable Brethren, better than We could describe it in words. The very men whose interest it would be to hide all this, are constrained by truth to admit it. We will only say that, under present conditions, through a sad but real necessity, things could not be otherwise: the Masonic sect, with all its boast of a spirit of beneficence and philanthropy, can only exercise an evil influence, an influence which is evil because it attacks and endeavours to destroy the religion of Christ, the true benefactress of mankind.

All know with what salutary effect and in how many ways the influence of religion penetrates society. It is beyond dispute that sound public and private morality gives honour and strength to States. But it is equally certain that, without religion there is no true morality, either public or private. From the family, solidly based on its natural foundations, comes the life, the growth, and the energy of society. But without religion, and without morality, the domestic partnership has no stability, and the family bonds grow weak and waste away. The prosperity of peoples and of nations comes from God and from His blessings. If a people does not attribute its prosperity to Him, but rises up against Him, and in the pride of its heart tacitly tells Him that it has no need of Him, its prosperity is but a semblance, certain to disappear so soon as it shall please the Lord to confound the proud insolence of His enemies. It is religion which, penetrating to the depth of each one's conscience, makes him feel the force of duty and urges him to fulfil it. It is religion which gives to rulers feelings of justice and love towards their subjects; which makes subjects faithful and sincerely devoted to their rulers; which makes upright and good legislators, just and incorruptible magistrates, brave and heroic soldiers, conscientious and diligent administrators. It is religion which produces concord and affection between husband and wife, love and reverence between parents and their children; which makes the poor respect the property of others, and causes the rich to make a right use of their wealth. From this fidelity to duty, and this respect for the rights of others come the order, the tranquillity, and the peace, which form so large a part of the prosperity of a people and of a State. Take away religion, and with it all these immensely precious benefits would disappear from society.

For Italy, moreover, the loss would be more sensible. All its glories and greatness, which for a long time gave to it the first place among the most cultured nations, are inseparable from religion, which has either produced or inspired them, or certainly has given to them favour, help, and increase. Its communes tell us of its public liberties; of its military glories we read in its many memorable enterprises against the enemies of the Christian name. Its sciences are seen in its universities which, founded, fostered, and privileged by the Church, have been their home and theatre. Its arts are shown in the numberless monuments of every kind with which Italy is profusely covered. Of its institutions for the relief of suffering, for the destitute, and the working-classes, we have evidence in its many foundations of Christian charity, in the many asylums established for every kind of need and misfortune, and in the associations and corporations which have grown up under the protection of religion. The virtue and the strength of religion are immortal, because religion is from God. It has treasures of help and most efficacious remedies, which can be wonderfully adapted to the needs of every time and epoch. What religion has known how to do and has done in former times, it can also do now with a virtue ever fresh and vigorous. To take away religion from Italy, is to dry up at once the most abundant source of inestimable help and benefits.

Moreover, one of the greatest and most formidable dangers of society at the present day, is the agitation of the *Socialists*, who threaten to uplift it from its foundations. From this great danger Italy is not free; and although other nations may be more infested than Italy by this spirit of subversion and disorder, it is not therefore less true that even here this spirit is widely spreading and increasing every day in strength. So criminal is its nature, so great the power of its organisation and the audacity of its designs, that there is need of uniting all conservative forces, if we are to arrest its progress and successfully to prevent its triumph. Of these forces the first and above all the chief one, is that which can be supplied by religion and the Church: without this, the strictest laws, the severest tribunals, and even the force of arms, will prove useless or insufficient. As, in old times, material force was of no avail against the hordes of barbarians, but only the power of the Christian religion, which entering into their souls quenched their ferocity, civilized their manners, and made them docile to the voice of truth and to the law of the Gospel;

so against the fury of lawless multitudes there will be no effectual defence without the salutary power of religion. It is only this power which, casting into their minds the light of truth, and instilling into their hearts the holy moral precepts of Jesus Christ, can make them listen to the voice of conscience and of duty, and, before restraining their hand, restrain their minds and allay the violence of passion. To assail religion, is therefore to deprive Italy of its most powerful ally against an enemy that becomes every day more formidable.

But this is not all. As, in the social order, the war against religion is becoming most disastrous and destructive to Italy, so, in the political order, the enmity against the Holy See and the Roman Pontiff is for Italy a source of the greatest evils. Even as to this, demonstration is not needed; it is enough, for the full expression of our thought, to state in few words its conclusions. The war against the Pope is for Italy, internally, a cause of profound division between official Italy and the great part of Italians who are truly Catholic: and every division is a weakness. This war deprives our country of the support and co-operation of the party which is the most frankly conservative; it keeps up in the bosom of the nation a religious conflict which has never yet brought any public good, but ever bears within itself the fatal germs of evil and of most heavy chastisement. Externally, the conflict with the Holy See, besides depriving Italy of the prestige and splendour which it would most certainly have by living in peace with the Pontificate, draws upon it the hostility of the Catholics of the whole world, is a cause of immense sacrifices, and may on any occasion furnish its enemies with a weapon to be used against it.

Such is the so-called welfare and greatness prepared for Italy by those who, having its destinies in their hands, do all they can, in accordance with the impious aspiration of the sects, to overthrow the Catholic religion and the Papacy.

Suppose, instead of this, that all connection and connivance with the sects were given up; that religion and the Church, as the greatest social power, were allowed real liberty and full exercise of their rights. What a happy change would come over the destinies of Italy! The evils and the dangers which we have lamented, as the result of the war against religion and the Church, would cease with the termination of the conflict; and further, we should see once more flourish on the chosen soil of Catholic Italy

the greatness and glory which religion and the Church have ever abundantly produced. From their divine power would spring up spontaneously a reformation of public and private morality; family ties would be strengthened; and, under religious influences, the feeling of duty and of fidelity in its fulfilment would be awakened in all ranks of the people to a new life. The social questions which now so greatly occupy men's minds would find their way to the best and most complete solution, by the practical application of the Gospel precepts of charity and justice. Popular liberty, not allowed to degenerate into license, would be directed only to good ends, and would become truly worthy of man. The sciences, through that truth of which the Church is mistress, would rise speedily to a higher excellence; and so also would the arts, through the powerful inspiration which religion derives from above, and which it knows how to transfuse into the minds of men.

Peace being made with the Church, religious unity and civil concord would be greatly strengthened; the separation between Italy and Catholics faithful to the Church would cease, and Italy would thus acquire a powerful element of order and stability. The just demands of the Roman Pontiff being satisfied, and his sovereign rights acknowledged, he would be restored to a condition of true and effective independence; and Catholics of other parts of the world, who, not through external influence or ignorance of what they want, but through a feeling of faith and sense of duty, all raise their voice in defence of the dignity and liberty of the supreme Pastor of their souls, would no longer have reason to regard Italy as the enemy of the Pontiff. On the contrary, Italy would gain greater respect and esteem from other nations by living in harmony with the Apostolic See; for not only has this See conferred special benefits on Italians by its presence in the midst of them, but also, by the constant diffusion of the treasures of faith from this centre of benediction and salvation, it has made the Italian name great and respected among all nations. Italy reconciled with the Pontiff, and faithful to its religion, would be able worthily to emulate the glory of its early times; and from whatever real progress there is in the present age it would receive a new impulse to advance in its glorious path. Rome, pre-eminently the Catholic city, destined by God to be the centre of the religion of Christ and the See of His Vicar, has had in this the cause of its stability and greatness throughout the eventful

changes of the many ages that are past. Placed again under the peaceful and paternal sceptre of the Roman Pontiff, it would again become what Providence and the course of ages made it, not dwarfed to the condition of a capital of one kingdom, nor divided between two different and sovereign powers in a dualism contrary to its whole history; but the worthy capital of the Catholic world, great with all the majesty of Religion and of the supreme Priesthood, a teacher and an example to the nations of morality and of civilisation.

These are not vain illusions, Venerable Brethren, but hopes resting upon the most solid and true foundation. The assertion which for some time has been commonly repeated, that Catholics and the Pontiff are the enemies of Italy, and in alliance, so to speak, with those who would overturn everything, is a gratuitous insult and a shameless calumny, artfully spread abroad by the sects to disguise their wicked designs, and to enable them to continue without obstacle their hateful work of stripping Italy of its Catholic character. The truth which is seen most clearly from what We have thus far said, is that Catholics are Italy's best friends. By keeping altogether aloof from the sects, by renouncing their spirit and their works, by striving in every way that Italy may not lose the faith, but preserve it in all its vigour, may not fight against the Church, but be its faithful daughter, may not assail the Pontificate, but be reconciled to it, Catholics give proof by all this of their strong and real love for the religion of their ancestors and for their country. Do all that you can, Venerable Brethren, to spread the light of truth among the people, so that they may come at last to understand where their welfare and their true interest are to be found; and may be convinced that only from fidelity to religion and from peace with the Church and with the Roman Pontiff, can they hope to obtain for Italy a future worthy of its glorious past. To this We would call the attention, not of those affiliated to the sects, whose deliberate purpose it is to establish the new settlement of the Italian Peninsula upon the ruins of the Catholic religion, but of others who, without welcoming such malevolent designs, help these men in their work by supporting their policy; and especially of young men, who are so liable to go astray through inexperience and the predominance of mere sentiment. We would that everyone should become convinced that the course which is now followed cannot be otherwise than fatal to Italy; and, in once more

making known this danger, We are moved only by a consciousness of duty and by love of our country.

But, for the enlightening of men's minds, we must above all ask for special help from Heaven. Therefore, to our united action, Venerable Brethren, we must join prayer; and let it be a prayer that is general, constant, and fervent: a prayer that will offer gentle violence to the heart of God, and render Him merciful to Italy our country, so that He may avert from it every calamity, especially that which would be the most terrible—the loss of faith. Let us take as our mediatrix with God the most glorious Virgin Mary, the invincible Queen of the Rosary, Who has such great power over the forces of hell, and has so many times made Italy feel the effects of her maternal love. Let us also with confidence have recourse to the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, who subjected this blessed land to the faith, sanctified it by their labours, and bathed it in their blood.

As a pledge meanwhile of the help which We ask, and in token of Our most special affection, receive the Apostolic Benediction, which from the depth of Our heart We grant to you, Venerable Brethren, to your Clergy, and to the Italian people.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 15th of October, 1890, the thirteenth year of Our Pontificate.

POPE LEO XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

MARRIAGE. Conferences by Pere Monsabrè, O.P. Translated from the French, by M. Hopper. Benziger Brothers.

THE translation of these interesting conferences of the eloquent divine who has held the first pulpit of the French Church, at Notre Dame, since 1872, will be welcomed by English readers. The subject is one of the burning social questions of the present day. In nearly every review we find pages devoted to its discussion by men whom Pere Monsabrè styles "meddlers in philosophy and law," and who speak of the indissolubility of marriage as if it were a tyrannical law incompatible with the rights of modern society.

In all there are six conferences:—1. The Sanctity of Marriage; 2. The Conjugal Tie; 3. Divorce; 4. Legislation on Marriage; 5. Profanation of Marriage; 6. Celibacy and Virginitv.

It is not necessary to go into each of these conferences in detail; suffice it to say, that each is treated in a masterly fashion. The errors of Protestantism, &c., on points of dogma are explained and refuted. If we would commend one before another, it would be the conference on divorce. In this Pere Monsabrè proves clearly that divorce is a "principle of decay for human society." To bear out this assertion he appeals to Roman history, and shows that so long as the Romans recognised the sanctity of the marriage tie they were conquerors; but when this tie was disrespected, and when Roman morals became corrupt, the barbarian hordes of the north swept the enervated soldiers of the empire before them, and became "conquerors of the world that divorces had corrupted." Morality, public order, and the harmony that should exist between families, all suffer when divorce is permitted. Add to all these evils the gross violation of the rights of children, who, perhaps at the time they need it most, are deprived of the fostering care of father and mother.

At the end of the book a chapter is devoted to a fuller refutation of certain errors of Protestants than could be given with advantage from a pulpit. The translation bears the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York.

1. GERMANY'S DEBT TO IRELAND. By Rev. W. Slang, D.D.
2. OFFICE OF THE DEAD, IN LATIN AND ENGLISH.
3. NEW TESTAMENT. Translated from the Latin Vulgate, with Notes. Burns & Oates.
4. THE KINGDOM OF GOD. By Rev. Charles M'Dermott Roe.

1. *Germany's Debt to Ireland* is a little brochure containing a short account of the lives of some eight Irish missionaries, who spread the light of faith in Germany. Though the mist of ages has shadowed the glorious work done by these Irish apostles, enough is still known of their missionary zeal and labours to cause their relics, even at the present day, to be venerated on many an altar beyond the Rhine.

2. This is a neat and clearly printed volume, and will be found useful by the pious faithful when attending an Office for the Dead.

3. Bound in limp cloth, and printed in well-defined type, this *New Testament*, published by Burns & Oates, is a marvel of cheapness.

4. We commend this little book of Father Roe's, to which the Bishop of Salford contributes a preface, for spiritual reading.

Books of this sort on spiritual matters, learned and exhaustive in their treatment of the subject, are often, as the Bishop of Salford remarks, "as dry as sawdust." Masters in the art of cookery can serve up even plain dishes in such a way as to invite dull appetites, and although Father Roe treats only some of the plain truths of salvation, yet his mode of treatment is so inviting, and so full of beautiful illustrations, that the reader is pleased, while being instructed.

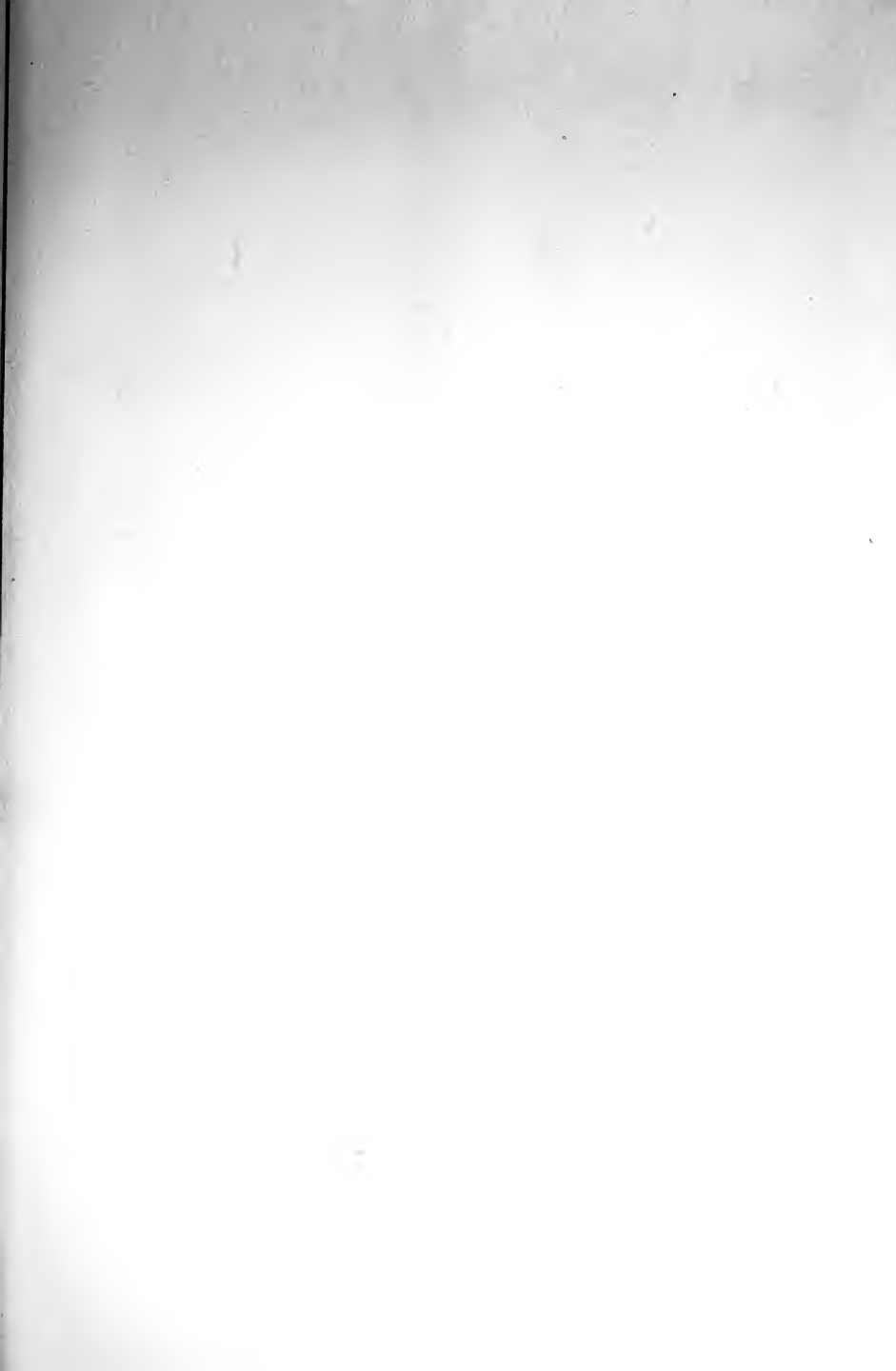
1. FATHER CUTHBERT'S CURIOSITY CASE. By Rev. L. G. Vere. Catholic Truth Society.
2. MANUAL OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. NORBERT. By Rev. Martin Gendens.
3. NOVENA TO OUR LADY OF PERPETUAL HELP. By Father St. Omer.
4. INSTITUTIONS AND RULES FOR THE ASSOCIATION OF PRAYER. By An Irish Priest.

1. THE Catholic Truth Society has been doing a great deal of good by placing cheap and wholesome Catholic literature in the hands of our Catholic youth. This little volume of tales, taken from the experiences of a missionary priest, cannot fail to interest and improve those for whom it is intended.

2. Father Gendens gives in his *Manual* a concise history of the first of the "Third Orders." The rules of the Order, with an explanation of each, are clearly set forth. We have no doubt that the *Manual* will be most useful to all who have an opportunity of becoming members. The book bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning.

3. Of late years devotion to our Lady of Perpetual Help has rapidly increased. In many churches in which a copy of the miraculous picture is hung, numbers of the faithful can be seen presenting their petitions to her, who is always ready to receive them. In this little volume Father St. Omer, in addition to instructions and an appropriate example for each day of the Novena, gives us in the opening chapter a history of the miraculous picture, which is exposed for the veneration of the faithful in the Church of the Augustinian Fathers in Rome.

4. This brochure, besides setting forth the object and rules of the "Association for the Conversion of Great Britain," contains some valuable hints as to the treatment of Protestants preparing to be received into the Catholic Church. It bears the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Manning.





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