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THE  
AMERICAN  
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY  
REVIEW

Under the Direction of  
MOST REV. PATRICK JOHN RYAN, D. D.

ASSOCIATE EDITORS, RT. REV. MGR. J. F. LOUGHLIN, D. D., AND RT. REV. MGR.  
JAMES P. TURNER, V. G.

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*Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas  
vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.*  
S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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VOLUME XXXI.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1906.

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PHILADELPHIA :  
211 SOUTH SIXTH STREET.

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(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XXXI.—JANUARY, 1906—No. 121.

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## MRS. FITZHERBERT'S VINDICATION.

THE inimitable Thackeray, in his satire on the Four Georges, asks, of the last of the bad lot, "What good in knowing that he actually did marry Mrs. Fitzherbert according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church; that her marriage settlements have been seen in London; that the names of the witnesses to her marriage are known?" The satirist, after a fashion, unconsciously becomes an object for satire himself, if he set down such a question in all seriousness. There is no higher good in all the world than the vindication of truth with regard to a woman's fair fame. As there is no blacker crime than the larceny of that most precious of all gems, so there can be nothing more grateful to the good than the restoration of what has suffered from the guilty connivance or the poisonous whisper of interested plotters.

Thackeray's picture of George the Fourth is so complete that one must think that no additional touch of any other artist could improve it in point of hideousness. Every toothsome trait of villainy is seen in the portrait of the "first gentleman of Europe." But the hand of the writer of the "Greville Memoirs" gave the finishing stroke that few would deem needful. Under the date of March 31, 1837, the writer makes an entry which brands George as the arch-scoundrel of his time or any other time. Among the many old people who have been taken off by the severe weather (he notes),

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one of the most remarkable is Mrs. Fitzherbert, who has died at Brighton at above eighty years of age. She was not a clever woman, he went on to say, but of a very noble spirit, disinterested, generous, honest and affectionate. He adds other fine qualities, and then proceeds to say that she was treated with uniform distinction and respect by the royal family (that is, William IV. and his consort). But the late King (George), he adds, who was a despicable creature, grudged her the allowance he was bound to make her, and he was always afraid lest she should make use of some of the documents in her possession to annoy or injure him. This mean and selfish apprehension led him to make various efforts to obtain possession of those the appearance of which he most dreaded, and among others one remarkable attempt was made by Sir William Knighton some years ago. Although a stranger to Mrs. Fitzherbert he called at her house one day when she was ill in bed, insisted upon seeing her and forced his way into her bedroom. She contrived somehow to get rid of him without his getting anything out of her, but this domiciliary visit determined her to make a final disposition of all the papers she possessed, that in the event of her death no advantage might be taken of them, either against her own memory or the interests of any other person. She accordingly selected those papers which she resolved to preserve, and which are supposed to be the documents and correspondence relating to her marriage with George IV., and made a packet of them, which was deposited at her banker's, and all other letters and papers she condemned to the flames. For this purpose she sent for the Duke of Wellington and Lord Albemarle, told them her determination, and in their presence had these papers burned. She assured them that everything was destroyed, and if after her death any pretended letters or documents were produced, they might give the most authoritative contradiction to their authenticity.

Now, it might well be inferred from this statement of the writer of the Memoirs that a piece of deception was practised by the old lady upon the agents of the sovereign. Lord Stourton, Mrs. Fitzherbert's relative and biographer, gave a somewhat different version of the transaction. He relates how, on the death of George IV., he (Lord Stourton) and Lord Albemarle, at the request of the Duke of Wellington, who was the executor for the late King, went over all the correspondence between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert and destroyed all save what she desired to preserve. These were collected, sealed by the Duke, Sir William Knighton, Lord Albemarle and Lord Stourton, and deposited in Coutts' bank. From the Greville papers it would appear that the old lady had taken the precaution of depositing the letters she held most sacred,



for the purpose of protecting her own reputation, and then pretended that those which she submitted to the new King's emissaries were all that existed. This is a curious discrepancy—perhaps not intentional, but only the result of slovenliness in composition. But a discrepancy it certainly seems. If Mr. Greville be correct in his memorandum, there ought to have been another packet in Coutts' bank beside that placed there by the royal commissioners.

Amongst the points which the examination of the papers may elucidate is the question whether from the union of the Prince and this lady any issue proceeded. This point is now the subject of widespread discussion. Here in the United States there are several members of a family named Ord who believe they are descended from the present British royal dynasty by reason of that union. Should the claim be established, as a result of the revelations of the long-hidden papers, it can have no tangible effect on the succession, inasmuch as the British line was secured from the effects of comminglement with any but royal blood by the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act, which was passed in the reign of George II. for the specific purpose of barring out all inferior strains and making unions such as that of George IV. and Mrs. Fitzherbert, if not unlawful, at least what are known in Germany as morganatic. The Brunswick family may be said to have had the "morganatic" habit in a very aggravated form. Another member of the family, the Duke of Clarence, who afterward became King William IV., had picked up with an Irish actress known as Mrs. Jordan, and by her had ten children, all of whom were ennobled and became the Honorable Fitzclarences. The Duke of York, his brother, had a similar entanglement, though in a minor degree.

By that celebrated enactment it was decreed that no descendant of George II., except the offspring of such of the princes as were married to or might marry foreign princesses were incapable of marrying till the age of twenty-five, without the sovereign's consent, or after that age, in the event of the sovereign's refusal, without the consent of both houses of Parliament. The remarkable circumstance in connection with this sweeping enactment was that George II. was himself the grandson of a French lady, Miss Eleanor d'Oibreuse, who though of very inferior birth, was in comfortable circumstances. She captivated the second son of Duke George of Celle; and she had a pretty daughter, with whom, or the large fortune she inherited, the Elector George of Hanover fell in love and married; and from this union sprang the House of Hanover, and from that the House of Brunswick, by the marriage of Ernest Duke of Brunswick with Sophia, niece of the Elector who married the rich daughter of the plebeian French lady, Eleanor d'Oibreuse.

So that there was no small share of irony as to his own origin in the act of the Dutch monarch who got the British Parliament to pass a measure forbidding such unions as that which procured for the British people the blessings of a line so gifted with harmless mediocrity as the Guelphs. However striking the irony in the case may be, there is no getting over the fact that the law thus enacted effectually barred out the claims of any possible candidates for the honors of British royalty who could not show such credentials as that law insisted on. Hence it is not easy to understand the grounds upon which those who appealed, and successfully appealed, to the slumbering bigotry of the English populace, at this particular epoch, based their incitement to alarm.

The immediate cause why the Royal Marriage Act was introduced and passed was the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton and of the Duke of Gloucester with the Countess Waldegrave. Both these matches the plebeian-blooded monarch, George II., regarded as beneath the dignity of the House of Brunswick. The effects of the Royal Marriage Act have been tragical on many occasions. It prevented the course of natural affection, and substituted state policy for the highest and purest emotion of human nature—the love that makes marriage the grand sacrament of humanity and consecrates it as a pledge of perpetuity while the world lasts. It gave rise to a hideous crop of immorality, sullyng the noblest English houses, by restricting the choice of the royal princes and princesses to the narrow circle of petty German royalities. Writers of the day denounced the Act as an odious one, contrary to the laws of God and nature, and fraught with actual peril to the British Empire, by exposing it to the danger of having the crown, at some critical period, left without a legitimate successor.

One of the most flagrant examples of the iniquity of the Act was its operation in regard to the marriage of the Duke of Sussex to Lady Augusta Murray. They were first wedded in Rome, according, doubtless, to the Catholic rite, and when they returned to England in 1793 they were again married, according to the forms of the Established Church, in St. George's, Hanover Square, London—the most fashionable church in the metropolis. But old George III. set his face against the union and was determined to dissolve it, at whatever cost—on the empty plea of preserving unimpaired the succession to the crown. He got a suit instituted in the Court of Arches, wherein all ecclesiastical causes were tried; and the complaisant Judges acceded to his wishes by finding that not only was the Roman ceremony invalid, but even that conducted according to the English law in the English church! The result of that monstrous finding was that the King's own grandchild, the

offspring of the union, was rendered illegitimate. Could human injustice any further go?

George III. himself, it is interesting to note, had in his early life resolved to break through the brazen fetters of this atrocious Marriage Act. He had fallen in love with Lady Sarah Lenox, and would have married her if his father the King had not barred the project. The result was, according to the gossip of the day, that insanity that for several years made George's reign a period of serious danger to the country.

It was under such conditions that the Prince of Wales, who afterwards became King George IV., met the fascinating Mrs. Fitzherbert. If she was beautiful, he was handsome. He was just come of age, one of the most accomplished and magnetic of men. He was witty, learned, a master of languages, of elegant manners and fine speech. These dangerous accomplishments—to the hollow-hearted, such as he—had already worked havoc with the virtue of several susceptible beauties and brought dishonor to the domestic hearths of decent people.

Mrs. Fitzherbert, though twice a widow, was only twenty-five years old when the Prince of Wales first met her. It was at the opera house in London. She was in the box belonging to her relative, Lady Sefton. The moment the Prince laid eyes on her he was incurably smitten. He had no difficulty in obtaining an introduction, and he immediately proceeded to bring into play those batteries which he had found effective in overcoming the resistance of matron and maid. But he soon discovered that the *open sesame* of royalty which had proved fatal to poor "Perdita" (Mrs. Robinson) and a score of other victims was ineffectual in this case. The lady was a Catholic—and that made a world of difference. She belonged to an old English family—the Smythes, of Bambridge, Hampshire. She had been married, at the age of nineteen, to Mr. Edward Weld, of Lulworth Castle, Dorsetshire—another of the old English stock. He died within a year; and after a period of mourning she was wooed and won by Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert, of Swinerton, Staffordshire. He died within three years of the marriage, and the event left her a second time a widow, at an age when most English girls deem it best to begin married life. She was the inheritor of a fortune sufficient to maintain her in elegance—a couple of thousand pounds a year. When she discovered the meaning of the Prince's attentions to her she immediately rejected them. He persisted in his importunities; wrote ballads, like "Sweet Lass of Richmond Hill," on her beauty, and sent them to her by some of his usual go-betweens. But, determined not to be annoyed by attentions she knew to be dishonorable, the lady packed up her

trunks and hied her off to France, where she had friends. Gossip at that particular time was by no means mealy-mouthed or chary of its pleasures. Though there was a stringent press law, there was a boldness in defying its provisions that denoted an impatience of restraint and a high public spirit. These were the days of "Junius" and the "Drapier Letters," or not far removed from that celebrated period, and John Wilkes and Horne Tooke were striking sounding blows on the shield of tyranny and clearing the way for the coming emancipation of the press. If the political writing of such a time demands our admiration because of its ability as well as its courage, it must also elicit our reprobation at times because of its license and the scandalous way in which it dealt with private character. Anonymous writers were allowed to pursue a course of open defamation toward the highest personages such as would not be tolerated now. Mrs. Fitzherbert was made the subject of such a villainous method of journalism. A pamphlet signed "Nemesis" gave currency to a slander affecting her reputation. The writer pretended to be familiar with her private life in France, and asserted that she had formed a friendship there with the Marquis de Bellois, which, it was hinted, was of too warm a character. It would seem that the motive of this vile attack was to turn the Prince of Wales against the lady. He had indeed manifested his regard for her so unmistakably that some desperate measures must be resorted to, in the belief of those to whom this attachment gave concern, to change his sentiments. Religious animus, it would seem, was the prime factor in the system of intrigue and calumny upon which they determined. The Prince was unremitting in his endeavors to discover her retreat, they knew; and so the story was started that she had retired from Plombiers, where she had been staying, and hidden herself in Paris under some assumed name, as a result of her acquaintance with the Marquis de Bellois. There was no mincing of words by the concocter of this vile attack; and so, in order to disprove its gravamen and give the scandal its quietus, we are at liberty to conclude, Mrs. Fitzherbert's kinsman, Mr. Errington, and her friend, Mr. Bouverie, advised her to return immediately to England.

According to "Nemesis," the Marquis de Bellois followed her to England and blackmailed her, on the threat of publishing certain letters of the Prince of Wales to Mrs. Fitzherbert, to the extent of a couple of hundred pounds. The fraudulent character of such a statement is shown by the fact that one of the details given in support of it was that Mrs. Fitzherbert's brother, Mr. Walter Smythe, was one of those who had given stories disgraceful to the Prince of Wales, in connection with the lady, and that he, too, had to be

bought off by large sums of money and valuable presents, and that much more was expended in the bribing of newspapers to suppress scandal and publish matter complimentary to Mrs. Fitzherbert. What was the meaning of this premeditated and methodical course of *scandalum magnatum*? The onslaught of the anonymous libeller who described himself or herself as "Nemesis" will supply the clue. It said: Mrs. Fitzherbert was at this time said to be in correspondence in France with the *gros* Abbé, the bastard brother of the Duke of Orleans, the Abbé Taylor and some Irish friars in many parts of Italy. The aim of this correspondence was said to be to harass the existing Administration, and to pave the way for the introduction of Catholics into Ireland."

"Said to be!" This is ever the elusive weapon of the slanderer and the poisoner of the mind. It is an old resort and as much in vogue to-day as ever. It was lately used in this country, more than once, by traffickers in this sort of merchandise, for a purpose as foul as in the days of George III. But let us consider the situation, the victim and the objects:

The period was toward the close of the eighteenth century—a time when nearly every penal statute ever passed against professors of the Catholic faith was in full operation. It was only a little time before that England had shown that the silent statute-books only expressed the living, active and destructive hatred of the Catholic system and Catholic people that burned in the hearts of the majority of Englishmen. The terrible riots associated with the name of Lord George Gordon testified to the depth and power of that fierce fanaticism; and that spirit was quite likely to assert itself once more in case it could be proved that the heir to the throne had entered into an alliance, regular or irregular, with one of the detested Papists. Lord George Gordon himself was actively at work stirring anew the smoldering fires that had already laid a large portion of London in ashes. He was under prosecution before the King's Bench for a libel on the Queen of France and the French Ambassador at the English Court, the Count d'Adhemar. During the trial Lord George commented with very great freedom on the connection said to exist between the Prince of Wales and Mrs. Fitzherbert—so busy had the tongue of scandal been in transforming a royal repulse into a royal victory over honor. He had stated that while in Paris he had held a conversation with Mrs. Fitzherbert, and he desired to have her testimony as to this, in order to prove an intrigue between the French and British Courts—the subject, he asserted, of that conversation. This, of course, was a renewal of the No Popery tactics, but it failed. Lord George actually attempted to serve a subpoena on the lady himself. He called at

her house for that purpose, but was turned out by the servants. Mrs. Fitzherbert's brother, Mr. Walter Smythe, accompanied by a friend, Mr. Orton, went to Lord George's residence next day and threatened him with serious consequences if he attempted to molest the lady again or take any liberties with her name—a fact that shows that the spirit of the Catholic gentry was in nowise cowed by the truculence of Lord George and his murderous henchmen in that time of brutal terrorizing and persecution. The fanatic lord wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr. Pitt, describing the incident and closing with a minatory sort of demand that the matter be brought to the attention of the House of Commons in order to show "the overbearing disposition of the Papists." This was the old story of the wolf and the lamb with a vengeance, all the circumstances taken into account.

Lord George's action in the matter attracted to the case of the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert an instant and widespread interest. It immediately began to be discussed in the newspapers, in the coffee houses, in the drawing rooms. Everybody was asking his or her neighbor had there been really a marriage. Then appeared on the stage a firebrand of a worse type than Gordon because more able and logical. This was the celebrated, or, more properly speaking, notorious person known as Horne Tooke—a poulterer's son whose real name was John Horne, but who had Tooke added to it in order to qualify for a legacy left him on that condition. He put forth a pamphlet, in which he addressed Mrs. Fitzherbert repeatedly as the Princess of Wales, asserted that a marriage had taken place, that it was celebrated by a priest whose name he knew, and pronounced it to be a nullity because of the law forbidding unions between people of royal blood and subjects. This pamphlet created a tremendous sensation—not so much because it related to a fact forbidden by statute, but because of the religion of one of the parties. The excitement over the publication was not confined to England; it spread over Europe in the courts and fashionable circles. It created something like a frenzy among the English masses. Some mysterious pressure appeared to have been exerted over Tooke and unknown agents seemed to have bought up the pamphlet, for no copy of it could be had a few days after it was suddenly sprung on the public. Tooke was pressed to repeat or confirm what he had previously stated, but he preserved a rigid silence. It was a most serious thing to allege that the heir to the crown had married a Papist; it almost amounted to treason against the Constitution, under the Act of Settlement. The matter did find its way into Parliament when the discussion of the debts of the Prince of Wales came on in the course of the estimates. Mr.

Fox was put up to say that there was no truth in the rumored marriage, and that the lady who was known to be living with the Prince had no canonical claim to be his wife; and Richard Brinsley Sheridan, who was as great a friend of the Prince as Fox was, delivered a speech in eulogy of the lady referred to which charmed the House by its elegance but left everybody in a state of mystification as to what the status of the lady really was.

But despite the Prince's denial, by proxy, and despite what Fox and Pitt and Sheridan had affirmed, a marriage had taken place—a perfectly valid marriage, though contrary to the provisions of the Royal Marriage Act—a marriage unprecedented in the conditions which led up to it and by those with which it was surrounded. All the particulars connected with it have now come to light, through the liberality of King Edward in allowing the papers on the subject, after seventy years of repose in the vaults of Coutts' bank, to be used for publication. Mr. W. H. Wilkins takes up the story of Mrs. Fitzherbert's life which Lord Stourton, her relative, had left unfinished, and we are now in full possession of all the facts relating to this unexampled romance of royalty. The marriage took place on the 15th of December, 1785, at Mrs. Fitzherbert's residence, in Park Lane, London, the bride being given away by her uncle, Mr. Henry Errington, and one of her two brothers, Mr. John Smythe, acting as witness. The Rev. Robert Burt, a young Church of England clergyman, officiated. Mrs. Fitzherbert wished to have the ceremony performed by a Catholic priest, but the law at that time made it a serious offense for a priest to join in marriage a member of his own Church and one of the English Church; in the case of the Prince of Wales such an act would probably be construed as treason. But the marriage, as it was, was in every respect valid; and so Prince George genteelly lied when he told Fox, on his honor, there was no marriage with the lady, so that the House of Commons might have no hesitation about paying His Royal Highness' debts, that he might be enabled to go on untrammelled in his pleasant career of dalliance with sirens and singers.

How the marriage was contrived is one of those romances in real life which eclipse the effort of dramatist or fiction writer. It was brought about by a bold trick. The Prince had become quite an adept in inventions intended for the accomplishment of his plans either to entrap female innocence or indulge his low tastes with pugilists, horsey men and betting men. One time he would be the Honorable Mr. Elliott, another a night watchman, another a lackey, and so on. Like the Caliph Haroun al Raschid he loved to roam around big cities at night time, but with a far different purpose; and his nocturnal amusements frequently got him into scrapes that

required a good deal of money to hush up or escape from. He had laid siege in vain to the heart of the beautiful widow of Edward Weld. She was as prudent as she was beautiful. When she saw that his attentions and compliments meant more than the accepted *persiflage* of society she plainly discouraged them. When he protested his devotion she reminded him of the Royal Marriage Act and the Countess of Waldegrave's reply to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester, under similar circumstances, that "she was too inconsiderable to be his wife and too considerable to be his mistress." She took care to emphasize her earnestness of purpose by leaving the country and putting the sea between them; but this only inflamed the Prince, accustomed to have neither resistance nor denial where his passions were concerned, all the more violently. Mrs. Fitzherbert had been brought up in a convent in France, and was deeply imbued with the Catholic sentiment and principle. Not for any consideration whatever would she give up her faith; and she was well aware that the Prince could not change his and remain heir to the throne. But she could hardly resist his pleadings when he made her believe that his life was at stake in the matter. He got up a story that he had stabbed himself in desperation and would die of his wounds unless she consented to come and see him at Carlton House and give him some hope. She relented, and getting the Duchess of Devonshire, a lady of unsullied reputation, to accompany her, she went there and found the Prince, with Lord Southampton and three other friends. Who the three were Mr. Wilkins' narrative does not say, but other authorities give the names of Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan and Edmund Burke. We do not believe the latter to have been a performer in such a disgraceful deception; he was a man of the highest honor; the others were the very opposite, in many ways. The idea was that "some sort of a ceremony" should be gone through before these witnesses.

To some extent this piece of black villainy was successful. Mrs. Fitzherbert, on seeing the Prince pale, exhausted and blood-dabbled, believed that he had really endeavored to play the part of Romeo, and she almost fainted. When she came to herself, the Prince began a series of passionate protestations that nothing would induce him to live unless she consented to become his wife. Alarmed at the terrible alternative, she gave a half-hearted assent; a ring was borrowed from the Duchess of Devonshire, the Prince put it on her finger before all the witnesses. This was taken as a betrothal ceremony, and the lady with her friend then left the house, the Prince feeling very much better and calmer. The truth of the matter seems to be that the Prince had made no attempt on his life, but had been bled by his doctor—for bleeding and cupping were much



in vogue at the time as a means of relieving pain; and he had got the royal blood daubed about his clothes in order to pretend that he had really stabbed himself in a paroxysm of despair for love of her. This play was carried to perfection on the stage of real life. Reading of it at this day, the story appears almost incredible. But it is cold, hard, stolid fact—a sober chapter from the history of the present royal family of great Britain.

We doubt that the annals of base rascality ever recorded a parallel for this vile plot against a noble woman, with a royal prince and heir apparent as the principal conspirator. It is one of the blackest chapters in the life of that handsome profligate on whom a cynical fate had bestowed the palm of "first gentleman in Europe."

Mrs. Fitzherbert was not long ere she realized the mistake into which her commiseration and weakness had inveigled her. On reaching home she wrote an indignant letter to Lord Southampton, reproaching him and his companions for their unmanly conduct and repudiating any sort of obligation as accruing from such a farcical ceremony. To emphasize her displeasure, she immediately quitted England again. She remained in France for more than a year. This was the time when the libeller "Nemesis" was busy with her good name in the interests of the anti-Catholic party.

But the "first gentleman" was not to be balked of his quarry so easily. There were some tricks left him still. He sent letter after letter to Mrs. Fitzherbert imploring her to return and promising her a real marriage that would fulfil every requirement of her Church. He wrote her a letter thirty-seven pages long—the longest amatory missive, probably, ever penned—urging his suit and his reasons why she should favor it. It was a lying letter. The Prince stated the deliberate falsehood that his father "would connive at their union," notwithstanding the Royal Marriage Act, for the reason that he (the King) hated him (the Prince) so much that he would like nothing better than an excuse for setting aside his claim to the crown in favor of his favorite, the Duke of York. It would be difficult indeed to imagine any device more malignantly artful than this.

It was successful—and this is hardly to be wondered at. The lady was now persuaded that she was really loved and respected by this persistent, passionate wooer and that she was necessary to his existence, as he had, she believed, once painfully demonstrated. She did not believe that a Prince could fall so low as to tell a lie. She did not know that he had confessed that he did not know how to speak the truth, and blamed his mother, the Queen, for having taught him and his brothers the art of equivocation—a terrible

charge in the mouth of a son. He was determined to marry her, even though by doing so he forfeited his right of succession. He would grant every condition she demanded; all that he asked in return was that the union should be kept secret. She was at length satisfied; if it were a secret marriage it was a valid one, satisfying her conscience and her honor. She was, after all, only woman; and how few women there were who would have resisted a royal suitor so strenuously under similar circumstances! This is a very important point to consider before apportioning the blame in this royal drama or tragedy.

Mr. Wilkins, in endeavoring to explain how it came about that a woman of so pure and noble a character could be induced to make such a surrender of her principles as to assent to a secret marriage, formulates the theory that she really loved the Prince of Wales. It is not at all improbable. All chroniclers describe him as a very fascinating personage. There is no doubt that he had a wheedling tongue as well as a charming way among both men and women. She may, too, have thought that she would be serving the interests of her persecuted co-religionists in England and Ireland by entering into such an alliance with one who was to sit on the throne of Great Britain. That paragraph in "Nemesis'" letter about Irish monks and the plan for "introducing Catholics into Ireland" throws a lurid light upon the episode. Though the writer seemed to have been under the impression that all the Catholics in Ireland had, as a high judicial authority had declared, no longer any legal existence, they might be restored to life by a little encouragement such as the union of one of their co-religionists with the heir to the English crown would undoubtedly afford. The meaning of Lord George Gordon's appearance on the stage must not be overlooked. This fact, taken in connection with the libel of "Nemesis," has a tremendous bearing on the significance of the case. It shows us the underlying motive for the hostility of the press of the time toward Mrs. Fitzherbert and explains the villainy of the libels on her stainless character.

Much light on this interesting phase of the subject is to be derived by a perusal of a work that appeared many years ago dealing with the affairs of the English Court in the reigns of George III. and George IV. It was written by an historian named Robert Huish, and entitled "Memoirs of George the Fourth;" and the spirit in which the work was carried through suggests an appeal to pruriency rather than any love of genuine historical inquiry. But despite this unsavory tendency the work is extremely valuable because of the evident pains the author took to pick up every scrap of tittle-tattle bearing on his subject and the remarkable attention with

which he followed every movement of all the personages who filled the stage during the memorable period with which he deals. Mr. Huish professed to be acquainted with every detail of the royal *mésalliance*; he even put forward as semi-authentic some versions of private conversations between the Prince of Wales and the lady after they had been married—not as Thackeray said, according to the Catholic rite, but still validly—and yet he is shown by the papers recently disclosed to have been on an entirely false scent. Mr. Fox himself was present at the marriage, he asserted; likewise Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Burke; also Mr. Errington and Mr. Throgmorton; and the priest who performed the ceremony was the Abbé Seychamp. This belief, given as history, is now shown to have no basis but the merest gossip of the coffee houses. We can form some opinion of the ideas of honor entertained by those who were at the bottom of this plot to inflame the animosity of the mob and the mob leaders—fanatics like Lord George Gordon—from the fact that Horne Tooke, who asserted emphatically that he knew the name of the clergyman who performed the marriage ceremony, remaining silent while it was being discussed whether it was a Catholic priest, when he knew—unless he was a liar—all about the case.

To offset the effect of those inflammatory appeals to bigotry a new campaign was begun with the object of showing that if there was any danger of a lapse of faith in the connection of the Prince with the lady it was not on her part it was to be feared. Huish's "Memoirs" give at some length the particulars of a private conversation between the pair, obtained through some mysterious channel—an eavesdropping domestic or a page, it is hinted—over the disavowal of the marriage by the Prince through the agency of Mr. Fox, in the House of Commons. The lady was very indignant at this disavowal, but the Prince succeeds at length in soothing her ruffled feelings, and he says:

"We might reasonably have expected long ago to be traduced for impiety, for I believe, Fitzherbert, you have not been at Mass since our union."

"No," replied Mrs. Fitzherbert, "nor do I purpose to attend the celebration any more; the Catholic faith was the religion of my ancestors and of those men to whom I gave my hand. . . . I am now in a new relation of life, and disposed to consult the honor and happiness of my present connections. . . . Not that religion is a matter of indifference, far from it. It is the heart which constitutes the essence of true religion; without it ceremonies are absurd, and with it they are unnecessary; at least they form so unimportant a part of public and private devotion that I can conscientiously conform, and I will conform, to the established modes

of the realm. Besides, I have no present objection to share my George's fate in future life; the idea of a separation, even there, is painful."

There is not much to excite admiration in this apparent magnanimity of soul, as the composer of it intended to be understood. If the lady had shown her disregard for the faith for whose forms she had been so pertinacious a stickler before their union, the Prince, on his part, had elicited the sentiment by the declaration that it would be ludicrous if either of them had been censured for "a predilection for any particular form of faith." At least this was what the reporter of the interview, or the concocter, had given as his sentiments on a matter concerning which, as the future head of the Established Church in England and Ireland, he would be called upon at some time to deal.

There is nothing in the authentic records of the lady's career to show that she ever adopted such an attitude toward her own religion or that of her liege lord and husband. The story is manifestly an effort of Mr. Huish's imagination. In several passages of the "Memoirs" his bitter anti-Catholic bias is plainly manifested.

That Fox denied emphatically that the marriage had taken place is a matter of public notoriety; and that in the course of the denial he had given it to be understood that the denial was based on the authority of a letter he had received from the Prince himself is equally well known. Mr. Huish affirms his belief that no such letter ever existed, but that does not establish anything one way or the other. The Prince, as we have seen, would not hesitate at mendacity when such a course would seem to serve his immediate purposes. He was at that particular time in desperate straits for money, and his denial of the marriage would clear the air and help him to get relief. These facts would easily explain the tangle that ensued over the incident. Fox and the Prince soon fell out over the occurrence, and never after were they on the same friendly terms as they had been before it.

Notwithstanding denials and equivocations, however, the belief that Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince were really wedded obtained such widespread credence that some desperate expedient was necessary on his part to avert disastrous consequences. Immense pressure was put on Mrs. Fitzherbert, as people still called her, in order to coerce her or induce her to leave the country, so that the Prince of Wales might be at liberty to comply with the wishes of the King and Queen that he might marry a member of some of the European royal families. She was subjected to threats of being prosecuted for high treason; she was offered an annuity of twenty thousands pounds a year and the rank of duchess. All these bland-

ishments and menaces the lady steadfastly resisted, until a coolness arose between her and her inconstant husband over attentions he had been paying to another lady. This led to an estrangement, and then, but not until then, did he consent to form an alliance such as his parents desired. The announcement of his engagement to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick soon afterwards came; and later on the Princess arrived in England for the purpose of fulfilling the engagement. It was an ill-starred event. Neither of the parties liked the other, and soon the Prince found that he had perjured himself and committed bigamy only to begin a life of misery and remorse—if any such feeling could arise in so callous and sensual a breast.

It is not relavent here to enter into any survey of the miserable years that ensued upon this most remarkable of royal marriages. It began by the Prince of Wales getting drunk during the festivities and ended by his accusing the Princess of the same shameful conduct as he himself had exhibited since he came to man's estate. The ill-assorted pair separated, and then the Prince reverted to his old passion. He endeavored to effect a reconciliation with the lady whom he had previously wedded. In June, 1796, after he had definitely parted from the Princess Caroline (who had borne him a child, the Princess Charlotte) he again approached Mrs. Fitzherbert with a view to resuming marital relations. She yielded. For this she has been severely blamed. No doubt the case looks extremely bad on the surface. Condonation of bigamy, not to mention numerous other offenses against morality, is a course hardly to be defended or palliated. But in this case there were conditions that had no parallel. Mrs. Fitzherbert did not yield until she first consulted the Roman Court, and, after weighing all the evidence most carefully the authorities there decided that her first duty was to her husband, whenever he claimed it. The most powerful reasons that ever prompted any woman to comply were involved in this unexampled dilemma of divided duty. The Prince, for instance, had actually threatened that, if the lady did not return to him, he himself would make public the fact of their marriage and bring down the law of *Praemunire* on herself and her family and have their property confiscated.

The abyss on the edge of which the chief actors in this strange drama were actually standing at the time can only be perceived by the light of events that have since transpired. We get a glimpse of it in the ferocious appeals to the dormant dragon of bigotry made by Lord George Gordon; and a still clearer one in Lord Brougham's *Memoirs*. That distinguished lawyer confesses that it was his intention, as counsel for Queen Caroline, in case George IV. pressed

his charges against her to the last extreme, to use the marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert as a *dernier ressort*, and so getting the King tumbled from his throne as a violator of the Act of Settlement. It is true that Brougham had no proof of this marriage, but he intended to put it forward as a matter accepted and throw the onus of denial on the King's counsel. We now know how near he was to the wind in steering this bold course, and how narrow was the escape of England from another great civil war with a religious question at the bottom like the two preceding ones.

An incident that occurred in the year 1804 vividly illustrates the strength and intensity of the stream of bigotry then flowing in English society. Lady Horatia Seymour, who had been a close personal friend of Mrs. Fitzherbert's, had manifested the esteem in which she held that lady by confiding to her the guardianship of her youngest daughter. Mrs. Fitzherbert had taken charge of the little girl when she was a mere infant, and it was Lady Seymour's wish, expressed to her on her death bed, that Mrs. Fitzherbert should continue to be her guardian until the young lady had attained her majority. This request Lady Seymour had solemnly conjured the Prince of Wales to see carried out—no doubt for good and sufficient reasons distrusting her husband and relatives, as Protestants, to respect her dying wishes in the matter. The Prince undertook the duty, and moreover took on himself the whole cost of the child's maintenance and education, since her own fortune was a very limited one. Lord Hugh Seymour, who was an admiral, was absent in West Indian waters at the time his wife died, died shortly afterwards himself, and by the terms of his will he bequeathed the guardianship of the child to his lady, he being ignorant of her death. Had Lady Seymour survived him but a single day she would be empowered in law to intrust the child's guardianship to whomsoever she pleased, but as the matter stood her relatives determined to take the child from the care of Mrs. Fitzherbert. The little Miss Seymour was a very weakly, fragile girl, and it was with the utmost difficulty her tender-hearted guardian kept her alive. This fact was strongly urged upon the court when the litigation over the question was in progress. The relatives were unmoved by this very serious consideration. They cared not whether the child lived or died, so that she was removed from the influence of one who was a member of the detested Church of Rome. An affidavit from the Prince of Wales and another from the Bishop of Winchester were exhibited, testifying that the girl was being educated in the religion of her parents, according to the stipulation upon which the guardianship was undertaken. Mr. Huish, the American chronicler of court scandals, does not hesitate

to mingle the vulgarest bigotry with the most prurient depiction in his narrative of this transaction, talking of priestly intrigue and dark superstition, while, in contradiction of his own admission that the Prince of Wales had failed to make any impression on the heart of Mrs. Fitzherbert until he had pressed for her hand in marriage, he does not hesitate to ventilate the foul rumor prevalent at the time of the trial that the child in question was not really the child of Lord and Lady Seymour, but of the "illicit connexion" between the Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert. "We know not, in the whole range of human society," he writes, referring to the Bishop of Winchester, "a more execrable character than that of a time-serving priest, a man of holiness and sanctity, who for the sake of present or future emolument will truckle at the feet of his superiors and be ready at their command to further their designs, however deep those designs may be steeped in infamy and vice." Such an ecclesiastic may indeed merit the contempt of honest men, but there is a creature compared with whom the subservient priest is as an angel of light—and this is the retailer of vile and unfounded slander upon the fairest and most delicate thing in all creation, a woman's honor.

This remarkable case of guardianship was withdrawn from the court by consent and left to the settlement of the Marquis of Hertford, as head of the Seymour family. His decision was that the child be left under the guardianship of Mrs. Fitzherbert, according to her mother's wish, and so the bigots were foiled in their scheme of heartless vindictiveness.

The Prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert finally parted in the year 1808. Some other star—Lady Jersey or the Marchioness of Conyngham—had swum into the ken of the satiated George, whose facility for dropping those who had served his turn in any way made him notorious, if not unrivalled, among royal inconstants. But George acted better by Mrs. Fitzherbert, to his credit be it said, than to most others on whom his dangerous admiration was bestowed. He made a will in her favor, attesting his loyalty to her in most impressive and indeed, all things considered, what may be described as manly fashion; and when a good many years later he lay dead his courtiers found a locket containing a miniature of Mrs. Fitzherbert lying close to his heart. He was a rascal, but he had some little redeeming grace after all.

In literary style the will of George IV. could not, probably, be surpassed by his severe critic, Thackeray himself, who described him as being unable to compose a letter in tolerable English. It is fervid and forceful in its sincerity, for when he wrote it the Prince believed himself to be a dying man, having been overcome by some sudden and inexplicable form of illness, for which copious bleeding

became immediately necessary, even though the effect of such treatment might be grave, if not fatal. It was while his life thus hung in the balance that he felt impelled to make some reparation for the wrong that he and his friends in the Ministry had done Mrs. Fitzherbert, and so drew up the remarkable document which now for the first time has seen the light of publicity along with the marriage certificate and the other papers bearing on the episode. The subjoined few sentences taken from the document will prove that George could write when he so desired :

By this, my last will and testament, I now bequeath, give and settle at my death all my property of every description, denomination and sort, personal and other, *to my Maria Fitzherbert, my wife, the wife of my heart and soul.* Although by the law of this country she could not avail herself publicly of that name, *still such she is in the eyes of heaven; was, is and ever will be such in mine.* And for the truth of which assertion I appeal to that gracious God whom I have here invoked to witness this my last disposition of my property, together with such explanations and declarations as are necessary for me to make to enable me to quit this life with a clear conscience and even without a sigh, except at the thought of leaving her (and, perhaps, too, without first receiving the blessing of her forgiveness), *who is my real and true wife, and who is dearer to me, even millions of times dearer to me, than that life I am now going to resign.*

The passages printed in italics were underscored by the royal testator as he drew the instrument.

The London *Tablet*, which has devoted considerable space to and displayed commendable spirit in the vindication of Mrs. Fitzherbert, had asked why the lady did not insist on being married by a Catholic priest, and answered the question itself by saying that the question would hardly have occurred to any one in 1785. But the fact that it did occur actually to Mrs. Fitzherbert has been elicited by the raising of the question. A letter from a Brighton priest, the Rev. T. Johnston, to the editor of the *Tablet* throws quite an interesting light on the matter. It is in a sense an historical document :

May I give another answer by saying that I believe the question did really occur to Mrs. Fitzherbert herself, that she did ask for and actually got a Catholic priest who blessed the marriage? Probably no record was kept of this, as there were complications enough already.

The ceremony according to the Church of England was necessary to give her any chance of position before the world, and therefore she accepted it. But she thought of her Catholic conscience, too. There was no need to publish the ceremony by the priest; she would trust to tradition by the mouths of her friends, and that some one some day would say what I am saying now.

The tradition here is very strong. Father Cullen came to Brighton in 1818 and died in 1850. He was the intimate friend of Mrs. Fitzherbert; indeed, they put their heads and purses together to build our church and to give a house to the priest. Father Cullen would certainly have known the details of the marriage. Before he died Canon Rymer came, with whom afterwards I was curate for several years. In all our conversations on the subject, the Canon always told me that the marriage lines were in Coult's Bank, but that the marriage had been blessed by a Roman Catholic priest.

Having Mrs. Fitzherbert's body in my keeping, I feel that, in a sense, her fair fame is in my keeping, too, and therefore I venture to write.

This is no reflection on the work of Mr. Wilkins, who has so admirably vindicated her honor before men. I want only to add my word, that her good name may be perfect before her Catholic brethren.

Much discussion is now going on over the problem whether any



issue resulted from this royal union. It is stated that there are certain descendants who pass under the name of Ord. In Georgetown College it is a tradition that one of the pupils who passed under the name of James Ord was the son of George IV. and Mrs. Fitzherbert, and there are living Ords—all Catholics, it is stated—who claim descent from him. This is, however, a matter that need not be discussed here or now. It will be recollected by readers of English fiction of the early Victorian era that a great many romantic novels bore the name of "G. P. R. James." Common rumor interpreted these initials as the denotement of a royal parentage—George Prince Regent. The surname agrees with the Christian name of the Ord claimant. This is a suggestive little sidelight on a very obscure question.

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## THE NEO-SCHOLASTIC MOVEMENT.

### A RETROSPECT AND A PROSPECT.

THE pontificate which ended with the death of Joachim Pecci on Monday, July 20, 1903, was in many respects the most noteworthy of a series of striking Papal reigns. For more than the traditional "years of Peter" the Apostolic Chair had known an occupant who united in his person the farsightedness of the diplomat, the elegance of the man of letters, the ripe judgment of the scholar and the reasoning power of the trained logician.

Leo XIII. commanded the attention and compelled the admiration of the world as a statesman and as a ruler. Assuming the triple crown and the pastoral staff of the city at a time when the strife of the national Italian crisis seemed almost to have passed away, he succeeded to a legacy of political difficulty peculiarly embarrassing. Rome was the capital of the new kingdom; the Popes were no longer masters in the Eternal City; people were becoming accustomed to the new order of things, and whatever deep feelings may have been stirred by the thunder of the cannon at Porta Pia, they were fast being forgotten again in the ordinary daily routine.

Many were the forecasts, many the auguries for the future reign. How the august Pontiff faced the dangers of his time and wrung even from the lips of those whose sympathy and ideals had little or nothing in common with his own a measure of commendation and

praise is well known. His singleness of purpose amidst a multiplicity of detail, his high and far-reaching moral influence, his indomitable patience and ready tact have gone far to make that Church over which he ruled for a quarter of a century more appreciated and less misunderstood by the non-Catholic world than any mere courtly splendor or regal success could have done. Leo XIII., while protesting, as Pius IX. had done before him, against an intolerable state of affairs and reminding the world by a perpetually uncompromising *non possumus* of the political injustice of his position, did far more to advance the true interests of religion and further the cause of humanity than did many of his predecessors, to whom the peculiar situation in which he found himself placed was foreign and undreamed of.

But the effects of his pontificate within the Church are perhaps even more striking than the growth of appreciation without. His rule was characterized by expansion. The ceaseless activity of his pastoral care found scope not only in the creation of new dioceses and in the administration inseparable from his hierarchical position. His political relations with the States of Europe and Asia as well as with the countries of the New World and his government of the Church itself in its varied environment earned for his judgment, tact and breadth of principle the highest encomiums from students of the political sciences. Question after question, during the twenty-five years of his reign, was brought to him for solution or was forced upon his consideration by the circumstances that gave it birth. One has only to glance through the collected epistles, allocutions, encyclical letters to realize the vast and varied range of the problems, religious, moral and social, with which he grappled. Hardly a country to which a share of his thought and solicitude was not given. Scarce a burning question debated in the arena of politics or agitated by public opinion that does not find a solution couched in the elegant language and polished style of the Pontiff. Education and social theories, separated Eastern Christians and the provisions of the French Concordat, Catholic schools in Manitoba and the Kulturkampf in Germany—these are but samples of the problems that claimed his attention and care. Was it, we may ask, the academia and the diplomatic training that he received there that fitted him for the work that he performed, or was it to his teachers of the "Society," both at Viterbo and at the Roman College—humanities, philosophy, theology—that he owed those luminous guiding principles which directed his policy, influenced his judgment and characterized his whole pontificate?

It would be impossible to estimate accurately all the causes that came into play. The natural gifts of a ready wit, a marvelous

memory and a logical application of facts and their import were united in Leo XIII. with a profound grasp of the great principles of the Thomistic system of philosophy. If he did not owe all, he owed much to the luminous teaching of Thomas Aquinas, saint and doctor of the Church. Indeed, he recognized this debt, and in so doing at once paid a graceful tribute to St. Thomas and used the prerogative of his high station in the interests of the flock committed to his care.

In one of the earliest of his encyclicals, the famous "Aeterni Patris," of 1879, the language in which he sums up his estimate of the works of the Angelic Doctor might be considered too full of hyperbole and superlative, if the encyclical were not so terribly in earnest. He proposes the writings and principles of St. Thomas as possessing "a full selection of subjects, a beautiful arrangement of their divisions, the best method of treating them, certainty of principles, strength of argument, perspicuity and propriety in language and the power of explaining deep mysteries.<sup>1</sup> He upholds "the pure streams of wisdom which flow from the Angelic Doctor as from a perennial and copious spring"<sup>2</sup> as the argument and foundation of faith, the antidote to social, political and moral evils, the true safeguard of all the sciences and arts. In this connection he carefully and wisely notes the complementary nature of the physical sciences and of philosophy. "For the fruitful exercise and increase of these sciences," he continues, "it is not enough that we consider facts and contemplate nature. When the facts are well known we must rise higher and give our thoughts with great care to understanding the nature of corporeal things, as well as to the investigation of the laws which they obey and of the principles from which spring their order, their unity in variety and their common likeness in diversity. It is marvelous what power and light and help are given to these investigations by scholastic philosophy if it be wisely used."<sup>3</sup>

We recognize in this letter addressed to the whole episcopate the earnest student and ardent admirer of Thomas Aquinas risen to the position of a master in Israel. We perceive with what a sharp and clear-cut distinction he metes out to each its proper sphere of usefulness. Looking, as he does, to the natural sciences for the discovery, tabulation and investigation of facts; appealing to philosophy for the laws and principles which illuminate and explain them. In much the same strain has a recent writer in the *Contemporary Review* shown the eternally misunderstood relationship

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<sup>1</sup> "Aeterni Patris," translated by Father Rawes, D. D., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

in something of its right proportions—the new facts that the experimental sciences are continually bringing into view and the unalterable nature of the laws of thought, the shifting conditions of society and the eternal sanction of the natural moral code.<sup>4</sup>

The new learning—or, rather, the new phases of the old errors—takes form in the monism of Haeckel, or the one evolution thesis of Herbert Spencer, and invades the realm of philosophy. And because all really popular hold on a theology other than that included in the natural science is well nigh lost, it invades the province of theology as well, and with characteristic audacity cuts all the gordian knots of real difficulty by appealing to principles of science of which science, as science, knows absolutely nothing. Thus all things vanish in a chaos not of facts or even of sober speculations, but of doubt. One of the most metaphysical of metaphysical abstractions—matter—forms the groundwork, the beginning and the end of a “scientific” monism. A metaphysical and transcendental concept, as yet improperly conjured out of sparse indications of variation, forms the evolutionistic scheme to which the solution of the world of physical beings must be squared. All things must fall into line. They must be forced to fit in with the plan.

But this is not science. It is philosophy masquerading. The quarrel is not and can never be with the facts, but with inductions; not with science, but with speculation wilder than the worst that ever disfigured the decay of scholasticism. Leo XIII., pursuing all through a consistent line of policy, did undoubted service to humanity in recalling the minds of men to sane principles and to a healthy system of thought.

The encyclical praises, urges, exhorts, commands. “Let, then, teachers carefully chosen by you (the Bishops) do their best to instil the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas into the minds of their hearers, and let them clearly point out its solidity and excellence above all other teaching. Let this doctrine be the light of all places of learning which you may have already opened or may hereafter open. Let it be used for the refutation of errors that are gaining ground.”<sup>5</sup> It would be difficult to couch the recommendation of any doctrine in stronger language. A traditional system such as that of St. Thomas, weighty on account of its own convincing force in the domain of natural thought, praised by a succession of Pontiffs,

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf.* the interesting essay, “The Being of God in the Light of Physical Science,” in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, Macmillan, 1905, which, while proceeding on lines widely divergent from those of scholasticism, gives an excellent appreciation of the scope, work and tendency of science as science and not worked arbitrarily into part of a metaphysical system.

honored by the assembled fathers in more than one ecumenical council—at Trent the “*Summa Theologiae*” lay open upon the altar—would not seem to have been in need of such an encyclical as the “*Aeterni Patris*.” And yet, all this notwithstanding, there was a reason to justify it, a reason given naturally upon the broadest lines, since in such a document it is not necessary for a Pope to particularize. Such a reason might be found to exist in the philosophical innovations of the sixteenth century.

Outside the Church the world does not stand still. Conservatism is necessarily, by the very march of events, a waning principle, and in the hurried rush for new truth, old truths not seldom are thrown aside. Time is needed for the equaling up of new and old, for the nice adjustment of a newer range of scientific fact to the principles of a standard system of philosophical thought. Facts may have to be reconsidered, principles may need restatement. Caution and prudence ought to prevail, but human nature is impatient, and time is short at best. More than a span of life is needed for the construction of a science that is perpetually bringing new data into view, and the impatience of man must find a philosophy at once to square with his growing half knowledge of science, or else he will not stop to consider—philosophy must shift for itself, discredited and thrust into the lumber room of antiquated notions.

Such was at least one of the causes of innovation.

Within the Church, too, as well as without, philosophy was undergoing a process of multiplication, though, perhaps naturally, to a less extent. It is always allowable to speculate upon questions that are open. It is permissible to modernize what is old, to restate in terms understood of the people. In this there is no novelty of doctrine, no departure, even, from old methods; for to speak intelligibly the teachers must speak the language of the taught. To explain to the rude, uncouth terms may legitimately be employed. But there is a danger, and the best intentions are not always able to avert it.

Long before Descartes had flung the lighted torch of his doubt into the tinder of the philosophic world. Within as well as without the Church new systems and accommodations began to be made, apparently upon the ashes of the old. For the time was ripe. Philosophy had fallen from her high estate. The solid work of the great scholastics had dwindled to the proportions of vain speculation in their followers. True, following on the religious crisis of the Reformation, the scholastic discipline was revived and expanded as a powerful and keen weapon in the hands of the theologians. The work of Cajetan and Suarez was not mere comment. But there were mere commentators, and the commentaries grew upon

the shelves, cramping what might have been a natural circulation of blood in a living system. Though philosophy stagnated, the world was not ready for Giordano Bruno. It hailed the advent of Descartes, and systems multiplied. Hence the condemned propositions; for philosophical speculation touched upon the dogmas of revelation. Hence, also, far more than on account of any progress in the physical sciences, the words of Leo XIII.: "Some Catholic philosophers, . . . undervaluing the inheritance of ancient wisdom, have chosen rather to invent new things than to extend and perfect the old by new truths."<sup>6</sup>

Thus it was his work to call the attention of the Christian world to the philosophical dangers peculiar to the time, and to direct the rulers of the dioceses to follow the example he was setting for them at Rome.

He traced the rise and growth of materialism, socialism, anarchy, atheism to their sources in false and misleading systems of human knowledge, and he proposed as a remedy for the intellectual evils that made possible such unhappy doctrines and their miserable practical outcome the "golden wisdom of St. Thomas."

So the encyclical bore its note of warning and its summons to action to all the "patriarchs, primates, Archbishops and Bishops of the Catholic world," and the reform of philosophy, the return to the ancient tradition, the renewal of the teaching, pure and simple, of Aquinas was inaugurated. To Rome Lorenzelli was called from Bologna. Satolli came from Perugia. The text of St. Thomas was placed in the hands of the students at Propaganda. The name of the great Cardinal Franzelin added lustre to the Gregoriana. He, indeed, was no longer actually a professor. Certain changes were made in the teaching staff and in the same direction. Palmieri, the noted theologian, retired; but a few years later saw him preaching the panegyric of St. Thomas at the Minerva, showing his approval of the movement. Other illustrious names might be added—Remer C. de Mandato, Billot and de Maria. And Lepidi expounded St. Thomas at the Minerva.

Not, indeed, that Thomistic lore was anything really new to the Catholic schools. To no small extent the ground for the movement had been prepared beforehand by Liberatore, Sanseverino, Talamo and others. Father Harper had already given to the world his monumental "Metaphysic of the Schools." Scholasticism could not be an innovation in the homes of Catholic theology. But, apart from the purely theological aspect, it was in danger of becoming in the worst sense stereotyped. The *dicit sanctus Thomas*, like the *ipse dixit* of the Pythagoreans, threatened to be a stumbling block

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

in the way of the understanding. St. Thomas himself would have been the first to perceive the dangerous tendency and to guard against it.

And now twenty-six years have passed since the "Aeterni Patris" was written. More than three generations of ecclesiastical students have come and gone—not from the universities of Rome alone, but from all those colleges and seminaries in which the encyclical bore fruit. The Institute at Louvain, the Catholic University at Washington, Freiburg, Inisbruck, the Institute at Paris, the Diocesan Seminary at Rochester, in the State of New York, can be cited as typical institutions in which the instructions of the Holy Father have been followed, and with no slight success. The Stonyhurst Manuals of Philosophy, the work of the essayists in English and American periodicals—to speak only of English writings—the "Aquinas Ethicus" and recent translation into English of the "Summa contra Gentiles" are monuments of the ready response and devotion to the express wishes of Leo XIII. They are more than that. They are evidences of the possibility of giving the work of St. Thomas to the English-speaking people in an English garb, and their reception at the hands of the public has justified the undertaking. The thinking world, alien to Catholic thought or trained upon other lines than ours, has begun to place some hitherto unrealized value upon the scholastic principles and method. Writers are seen to be approaching a standpoint not unfamiliar to scholastics, and, through Kant and Hegel, and even from men of scientific rather than philosophical training, a reaction seems to be setting in towards the system of Aristotle and Aquinas. For the most part, though there are exceptions, it is not acknowledged, because it is not appreciated by those in whose work it is most to be recognized. There is not often a definite setting forth of the argument and conclusions of St. Thomas as in the fourth dialogue of Alciphron,<sup>7</sup> except in some of the more modern works which include many systems of philosophy under one definite topic, and which cannot reasonably omit a mention of the leading philosopher of the schools. It will be remembered that Lewes in his "History of Philosophy" passes over scholasticism as unworthy of mention, noting that it has a theological bearing and is presumably, therefore, entirely untrustworthy. Nor is his the only opinion to the same effect. The whole period is not even yet one to which over much attention is paid in the universities, though the "Summa contra Gentiles" can be offered in the schools at Oxford, and it cannot be denied that there are signs justifying the thought that the influence of the scholastic forms of thought is steadily growing.

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<sup>7</sup> Dialogue IV., sec. 30.

But, on the other hand, if the scholastic system in its most perfect form of exposition be passed over without more than at most a cursory attention, it cannot be denied that several strong currents of thought are setting in the direction of its principles. One at least may be cited. From such apparently diametrically opposed a basis as that upon which the science of psychophysiology was originated comes one of the most striking testimonies to the worth of the Thomistic system as opposed to more modern philosophies. The laboratory of Wundt was begun in 1878. It is the starting point of a trajectory of thought through materialism to a psycho-material theory of being. From a possibility of matter explaining itself in terms of matter observation has run through the gamut of possibilities to the old system admitting two orders, a physical and a psychical. As long ago now as 1892 Dubois Reymond asserted that no conceivable arrangement or movement of material particles could aid us in understanding the realm of conscience. The material, in other words, cannot be made the formula of the immaterial. The physiometric appliances of Leipsig and of all those other centres which have sprung from the laboratory of Wundt are now being put to their legitimate use. These appliances, marvelous in their ingenuity and adaptation, measure the requisite bodily states preceding, concomitant with or succeeding to the mental or psychic, and the attempt to reduce psychical states to any formula expressed in material terms is well nigh entirely given up. The physical investigations, if they have not found the soul, have made their profession of faith in its existence. The installation of laboratories of psychophysiology at the Institute of Louvain and the Catholic University of Washington has, far from militating against the received teachings of the school, gone far to confirm the principles of Thomism.

Still, scholasticism is not a word of good reputation; the old misunderstanding has grown into a fixed idea. It is held to be synonymous with unfounded *a priori* reasoning, vain and trivial speculation and "hair-splitting." That is its unfortunate heritage from the decadent scholastics, and perhaps even to a greater extent from the warring schools of the sixteenth century. But the name and title do not so much signify; and, provided the system be appreciated at something approaching its true worth, it does not matter whence or how the appreciation arises.

We have already seen the strong tone of the Papal document which gave direction and impetus to the Neo-Scholastic Movement. Certain of its more palpable results during the last quarter of a century are before our eyes. We have noted the perhaps unconscious reaction in favor of the Thomistic philosophy taking place



in other centres of thought. In the theological school of Propaganda Cardinal Satolli has been followed by the subtle Servite Lepicier. Laurenti, the ready logician, and Stagni have taken the schools of Archbishop Lorenzelli. And so at the other centres of Roman learning—the Gregorian, the Appolinare, the Minerva. With whatever resources they had they threw themselves into the work, and the first teachers prepared their successors for the chairs which they themselves vacated. Teachers have come and gone in the universities of Rome as elsewhere; many of them men of broad and enlightened views, sound Thomists who have listened with profit to the teachers of other schools. Spain and Portugal were traditionalist to the core, but their zeal for the traditional teaching received fresh life from the encouragement. In Belgium, Germany and America the reply to the encyclical took the form of new schools,<sup>2</sup> class rooms, laboratories. The Institut Catholique at Paris had its Mgr. d'Hulst; Louvain, Mgr. Mercier, with his able staff of helpers. Reviews were founded—the *Juris Thomas*, the *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, the *Revue Thomiste*. The movement was inaugurated and much was done to ensure its welfare, but it has not been altogether the magnificent success that it might have been.

The Polity of the Church is one that is admirably adapted to all times and places. Her work is to spread abroad the kindly light of Christianity and to safeguard the deposit of faith. Indirectly, indeed, but none the less happily and authoritatively, she preserves and safeguards human philosophy as well. She takes note of and accepts all truth from whatsoever source, not to incorporate it into the already complete sum of Divine Revelation, but to bend it to the service of theology. In its light she gradually unfolds the treasures originally committed to her keeping. By its principles she defends the faith, and she illustrates dogma by examples drawn from science. No truth can offend her nor can any contradict her teaching, for all truth, natural and supernatural alike, is unified in its divine origin.

It might be asked, in view of the development in the natural sciences, if the return to scholasticism was not to be considered a retrograde movement. Was it not giving up much that had been gained, ignoring the work of scientific progress? On the face of it, it looked such. To go back to the twelfth century for principles of knowledge when the lore of five hundred years and more had been heaping up its rich stores of discovery; to hark back to a time when the scientific method, in popular opinion at any rate, was totally unknown. It looked like shirking the burden of possible conflict, finding a refuge by closing the eyes to scientific achievement. Certain it was that dangerous opinions, anarchical theories

and destructive speculations were rife, and, apparently, no system of thought was sufficiently strong to cope with them. Europe had known the crisis of revolution, but because thrones were not then actually falling it did not at all follow that anarchy and socialism were not an instant menace to society. There were in 1879, as there are to-day, presages of coming evil. The problems press upon all, rulers and citizens alike.

Again, it might be asked, was the revival calculated to cut the knots of all problems and provide an antidote for the moral sickness of the nations? Was the appeal to reason to have more effect than Leo's previous admonitions in the name of the faith? Where the encyclicals "Inscrutabili" and "Quod Apostolici" did not strike home, would the "Aeterni Patris" be heard?

The miasma of the French Revolution—to the philosopher more an indication than a fact—was still hanging over the world. The march towards anarchy in the name of reason was, with halts and stops, nevertheless steadily advancing. What system could stop it? Was it at all probable that a revived scholasticism could deflect the advance of ideas?

Less than a year after his coronation the Pope had issued his encyclical, in the name of religion condemning communism, socialism and nihilism as fruits of the Reformation; and now, in the face of the three questions just indicated, he unhesitatingly points towards the true scholastic philosophy as the champion of truth and the defender of the faith. Properly understood, he was right. The course which he recommended was in no sense a retrograde one.

There are certain principles of knowledge, old as reason itself, that are to be found embedded in the foundations of all philosophies. Without them there can be neither order, nor system, nor, for the matter of that, even thought. There are others not to be found anywhere and haphazard, but, like the first, principles legitimately inferred from the meanest and most meagre data, principles that no new facts or discoveries can wreck. It is no question of a defense of faith and morals alone. The fate of knowledge is bound up in the fate of these principles. Without them, or with substitutes for them, the mind, proclaiming itself free and flaunting its liberty, runs a riotous course. The call of Leo XIII. was to go back to the principles and to the system of St. Thomas. It was not to move the hands of the clock back through five centuries. That would have been useless as well as retrograde, for the aspect of the problems to be dealt with was a new one. The dangerous theories and subversive opinions were not those precisely with which St. Thomas had to contend in his day. They were only a

phase of the restless spirit of novelty. He had proposed just such a task and based his work upon the perennial principles of sound reason. Leo XIII. made his appeal to those same perennial principles and luminous truths. The twentieth century was not to be forced back into the twelfth, but the stereotyped, or disregarded, or abandoned principles belonging to no age or place were to be properly reinstated and interpreted anew, and their best extant exposition was to be found in the works of St. Thomas. If the human mind, cramped and warped as it was and is by the false views of materialism and socialism, could be made to see and understand the true principles of science and philosophy, there was no reason why its suicidal course should not be moderated, deflected, arrested even.

Still, though the neo-scholastic movement was a thing to be desired, and, indeed, was in no small measure necessitated by the disintegration of philosophy and the threatened collapse of the social fabric, it has not altogether fulfilled the sturdy hopes that were raised upon it. Perhaps there has not yet been time for it to accomplish much, and its results are as yet to be looked for rather in the study than in the market place. As a system it has not yet been recognized as it should be by the professors of other schools, and, what is more to be deplored, of those in whose training its influence has been chiefly exerted, there are many who affect to despise the scholastic philosophy and prefer to take their valuation of its merits from those who stigmatize it as a tissue of wordy speculation and hair-splitting dialectic. The mere fact that one can say "many" in this connection shows that something is amiss. Omitting those whose talents are naturally given to other branches of knowledge and whose interest leads them to fields of study other than philosophical, there is still a very considerable margin to be accounted for. It seems strange that one should find to-day, not laymen only, but priests who have been through the mill of the schools, closing their text-books and writing *finis* to their notes on leaving the class of philosophy with a genuine sigh of relief. "Now we are free! Now for the subjects of interest! Now for true priestly studies!" They may or may not have drunk deep of the perennial spring. The text, at least, was in their hands. Their teachers, presumably, did their best. But—to adapt the quotation, "*simul ac ratio tua coepit vociferari natura rerum*"—the terrors of the mind did not take flight, nor did the walls of the world fall. And there was—there must have been—a reason for the lack of interest, the insipidity of those two or three years spent in the pursuit of divine philosophy.

If I may be permitted to venture an opinion as to the nature of

this reason, I should unhesitatingly put forward the fact that no system can prove interesting or even useful to its full extent that lacks its historical setting and chronological environment. And it may, perhaps, be said that, as a result of the encyclical "Aeterni Patris," the philosophy of St. Thomas was restored to its legitimate sphere of usefulness, but, divorced from its thirteenth century setting, imported into a wholly alien atmosphere. Instead of reconstructing as did the angel of the schools, drawing the eternal truths of reason into touch with the state of scientific knowledge, such as it was, of his own time; instead of levelling up the products of the *Zeitgeist* to the principles of the schools, the system of St. Thomas was imported *en bloc* and opened—a black letter page of the Middle Ages in the electric light of the nineteenth century—to the bewildered gaze of inquiring students. The text was in their hands, the professors expounded, but there was no coloring, no context, no adaptation, no framework of historical setting. The student who plodded industriously through his work went out into the world to find that the world spoke a jargon unintelligible to him. Doubtless the worldly mind understood as much of his thought as he did of its new systems. For the critique of the pure reason cannot be pulverized in two lines of Latin, nor can Hegel's idealism be refuted in a mere wave of the professional hand. One may laugh at the absurdities of Haeckel if one pleases, but a smile will not be of much use in freeing those who have been caught in the astounding maze of his assertions or in helping them to truer views. There may have been—there were—honorable exceptions. But the truest end of the "Aeterni Patris" has, in the main, not been attained. The life-giving touches have been left out, and the real restoration of Catholic philosophy has hardly yet begun. St. Thomas has still to appear in the frock coat and silk hat of the present day, and, thus garbed, he will be as much the Angelic Doctor as in the white habit of the Dominican friar.

If the spirit of St. Thomas is to do the work now that he so ably performed while he lived, it must descend to the arena of twentieth century questions and give them battle on their own ground. The spirit will be the same, living and vigorous. The system will not be in any sense a new one. No principles need be imported, none rejected. As it is, the principles are taught, but more or less out of harmony with the questions to which they are applied. They must be understood if any real or permanent advantage is to be looked for in an up-to-date form. It is idle to present the system with the crude science to which it is related. People have not the patience to distinguish between the really valuable and the worthless in which it is embedded, and if crudities of science are offered

to the twentieth century along with no matter how excellent a doctrine, they will, if not actually damn it, at least minimize its force to the last degree. We need the whole framework of the Thomistic philosophy filled in with all the work of modern science. This in itself is no slight task; it is enormous. And it needs an intellect like that of St. Thomas to accomplish it. A clever man may do much walking in or near the beaten track. Something of a genius is required here.

Moreover, any philosophical system as such is impersonal. Even were we in actual possession of a scholasticism brought up to date, it would only be useful in the class room in the hands of a good professor. He could make it of enthralling interest by supplying the historical framework. Thomas Aquinas is not a mere system, no matter how wonderfully complete and speculatively true. He was a man, a personality of striking features, and he has a history. We all know a little about him, his studies, his master, Albertus Magnus. But do many of us know what he learnt from that same Albert the Great? What of his teacher's work he employed in his own; why he expanded here, omitted there; leant rather to one metaphysic than to scattered dissertations on natural science? Aristotle? Yes; and Plato and the Alexandrians, the Fathers Eastern and Western. Every scrap of his teaching has a history, a history as absorbingly interesting as can well be, for it is the record of human thought.

We profess our firm belief in the articles of the Apostles' Creed. But our understanding of its meaning is broadened and deepened in the complex structure of sentiment, emotion, imagination, to no harm of that true intellectual understanding in which these have root, in proportion as we group around its abstract statements of the theological fact, the circumstances of its origins, its historical setting and the vicissitudes through which it has been handed on to us. Nothing of this changes their meaning in the least degree, but it helps us undoubtedly to a precision of thought in its regard which is not readily obtained without it. Not for nothing are the old heresies exposed and studied in the class rooms of theology. The solid structure of dogma is filled in and colored and presented strikingly to our mind as having something more than a mere theoretical meaning. And it is the same with the doctrines of the school of St. Thomas. The world in general—the polite world at any rate—knows that there is a system of philosophy called by his name. It is acquainted with the fact that his, out of the many schools that flourished during the Middle Ages, is that which has received the approbation of the Church Catholic. The rank and file of our own students know a little more than this. There was a

Boethius, a Scotus, a Cajetan, a Suarez. There is also a de Maria, a Mercier, a Mill and, it might be added, a Bain and a Haeckel. But the perspective is all wrong. The environment of history is lacking. As well might one attempt to get a true grasp of Greek philosophy by reading no more than the writings of Diogenes Laertius—better, for there is a sketching in of circumstantial history in the “Lives of the Philosophers.”

To accomplish its work thoroughly and efficiently Neo-Scholasticism awaits a philosopher and a historian capable of setting the scenes and binding the scattered parts into a philosophical and historical unity.

I do not for an instant presume to say that the Neo-Scholastic movement has in any sense been futile or useless. It has undoubtedly already done a great work in the service of truth, and in some cases has done a work that can only be characterized by the epithet of excellence. But it has not done all that it might have accomplished, and it might have accomplished so much in twenty-five years.

Historical works were necessary, and they have been slow to come. There is Gonzales, there is Wulf and there is Turner. An adaptation of St. Thomas was required. There is Mercier and Lorenzelli and de Mandato and Maher and Rickaby. In theology—where the need of adaptation is hardly so apparent—there is Paquet and Pesch and Billot and Hürter. But neither has the history nor the adaptation of philosophy as a whole been conclusively satisfactory. The call to arms was sounded in 1879. We are in 1905, and the last edge and polish has not yet been put upon the trusty ancient weapons.

From a purely human standpoint and quite apart from the divine authority of the teaching Church, two things are necessary for the understanding of the faith as well as of secular knowledge—its history and its meaning. The historians have outstripped the philosophers in their zeal for the things of God. But history is worthless, impotent and even misleading when a question of utter truth is agitated unless it has the direct support of reason, and philosophy is paralyzed without the help of history. They must work together. Speculatively, perhaps, philosophy can stand alone—but in a magnificent isolation that will attract few to her shrine. Practically, and to accomplish the end and aim of Leo XIII. as expressed in the “*Aeterni Patris*,” philosophy must call in the aid of history to be of any practical use in stemming the broadest dangers of the age in which we live. Once more, a Thomas Aquinas was wanted in the thirteenth century to collect the scattered fragments of truth, to weld the good and the true of all

human knowledge into one coherent and concordant system, to relate the human to the divine. A Thomas Aquinas was found, and his work, like that of Aristotle before him, will endure forever. In this twentieth century a Thomas Aquinas is needed again, to collect anew the newer gifts of nature; to blend the results of the experimental method with the enduring fundamental principles; to relate the modern problems, physical, logical, metaphysical, moral and social, to the eternal verities, and to gather up and focus all the rays of light that are streaming from the natural sciences and historical studies upon the truth that is beyond all truths precious; which is obscured by materialism, atheism and false moral, social and political theories; which constitutes the natural happiness and safeguards the welfare of man.

Thus, and thus alone, will neo-scholasticism fulfil its high destiny. Thus alone will research and industry bear fruit, for philosophy and science must live in wedlock. Thus alone can the far-sighted policy of Leo XIII., expressed succinctly and authoritatively in the encyclical "Aeterni Patris," take shape and steer the bark of human wisdom clear from the dangers that beset it.

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## NAPOLEON'S GUNNER.

IN THE last quarter of the eighteenth century there dwelt at Nancy, in France, a hard-working, God-fearing baker named Drouot, blessed with a large family if not with wealth.<sup>1</sup> Of his twelve children one was destined to win fame in times when there were many famous men. This was Antoine Drouot, born at Nancy on January 11, 1774. Of him long afterwards the French historian Thiers remarked that "no man in our times has better deserved the attention of history." Antoine Drouot early showed promise of future distinction by his eager desire for knowledge and his love of work to attain it. A quite little child he sought admission of his own accord to a school kept by Christian Brothers, but was refused as too young. He went through the entire course

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<sup>1</sup> The sources from which this brief biographical sketch have been drawn are: 1. "Biographie du Général Drouot," par J. Nollet, Paris, 1850. 2. "Le Général Drouot," par H. Lepage, Nancy, 1847. 3. "Notice Historique sur le Général Drouot," en tête de son proces, Paris, 1816. 4. "Eloge Funébre du Général Drouot," par le R. Père Lacordaire, O. P., Bruxelles, 1847.

given at the college of Nancy, and in his last year was at the head of the class of mathematics out of sixty pupils. He knew his Latin authors well, to whom he devoted his early mornings and evenings, studying by the light from his father's oven at morn and by the lamp round which the family gathered of an evening.

Antoine was of a pious and retiring disposition, and his wish as a boy was to become a Carthusian. But the flood of revolution had swept away the monasteries from France. A life of discipline and self-sacrifice could only be found then in the army. Drouot became a soldier and, as Lacordaire said, under the brilliant uniform of an officer he was what he would have been under the cowl of a monk. In 1793 he left his native place to gain on foot Châlons, a town eighty miles away, and there in the humble dress of his class presented himself before Laplace, the greatest mathematician of his day, to be examined for admission to an artillery school. The other candidates were mostly army cadets, and they ridiculed the idea of the poor Nancy boy passing. But though Laplace pushed his examination beyond its strict limits, he could not puzzle Drouot, and at last, contrary to his custom, told the lad that he had passed among the first. With the generosity of youth, to efface their previous scorn, his fellow candidates chaired him through the streets after the examinations were over. Long afterwards Laplace told Napoleon that never had he known an examen more brilliantly passed than by Drouot. Of that day Drouot used to say that it was the best of his life. The result was that France being in want of officers for its artillery, Drouot immediately received a commission as second lieutenant in the First Artillery Regiment at Metz. There he devoted himself entirely to his profession, and so kept aloof from dangerous amusements and dangerous political intrigues, in which too many young officers at that time got entangled and were ruined. One day some of his joyous comrades tried to entice him forth from his humble lodging. They found him busily studying the movements of an artillery battery with the help of some blocks he had made to represent guns and ammunition wagons. They saw that it was not surliness that kept him from their company, and thenceforth they left him to his studies.

The student was quickly called to put his theoretical knowledge into use in action. It was at Dunkirk against the English on September 8, 1793, that Drouot was for the first time under fire. In the absence of his captain and lieutenant he led his battery into action, drove the enemy from a redoubt, installed his guns therein and played so heavily with them on the foe that they were forced to leave a position that commanded Dunkirk, then held by the French. Drouot was then barely nineteen, and General Moreau, who



witnessed the capture of the redoubt, said it was one of the finest feats of arms of that campaign, and done, too, he added, by a mere boy. It is said that in this action a civil commissary of the French Convention told Drouot he had better desist—his men wanted rest. "Not so," replied the boyish officer; "victorious troops need no rest." He took part in the remainder of the campaign, being present at the battle of Fleurus, which handed Belgium over to the French Republic. His early promotion was rapid, and in 1799 we find him with rank of captain inspecting the armament of Bayonne. There, while examining with a lighted taper the chamber of a cannon, some undischarged powder exploded and injured one of his eyes so that for six weeks he was in hospital. He next took the field in Italy, and at the battle of La Trebbia he handled his battery so well that Macdonald, his commander, never forgot what he owed Drouot on that occasion—a debt that the marshal repaid Drouot with interest, as we shall see.

Drouot's battery of artillery was reputed the smartest and best disciplined in his regiment. He was an exacting yet just commander. His men feared and loved him. Never, unlike too many other officers, did he bully and swear at his men. Once, greatly provoked, he let slip an unseemly word. His soldiers, astonished, exclaimed: "*Tiens*, our captain must be vexed indeed." The secret of his self-command lay hidden in his deeply religious principles.

Appointed to the artillery staff of the army of the Rhine under Moreau, he was present on December 3, 1800, at the battle of Hohenlinden, where

Louder than the bolts of heaven  
Far flashed the red artillery.

During the armistice that ensued Drouot was sent to inspect the Austrian arsenals in Styria. He had to make the return journey on foot, for his three horses were heavily laden with objects of interest to the French artillery. His report on this scientific mission was so highly thought of by Monge and other scientists that it was ordered to be kept for reference in the archives of the French War Office. General Pernety, who as colonel was at this time Drouot's chief, describes him as zealous, exact, never idle, devoting his spare time to mathematics, beloved and honored by his equals and by his superiors, simple and modest, though unequaled in his professional acquirements, temperate in his habits, and never asking others to do what he would not do himself. In drilling his men to throw up field works he was as ready with pick and spade as any private among them.

About this time Drouot was put in command of the artillery

attached to the military school at La Fère. At the same time he had to look after the clothing of his regiment, a post where even honest men thought they might add to their scanty pay. One day a clothier offered Drouot a gift of six hundred francs, saying that all the predecessors of Drouot had accepted such gifts. "You can afford to make such gifts?" replied Drouot. "Then I accept it, but take this sum and put it to the credit of the regiment." The man was rebuked and the regiment enriched by Drouot's honesty. Soon after this incident Drouot was called to the bedside of his dying father, and he never left it until his father had breathed his last.

Drouot longed for active service, to which his comrades and even many of his own men were daily being drafted. His turn came, but it was to go afloat on board the forty-gun frigate *Hortense*. He took part as gunner in an action in which two French frigates captured, after a sharp fight, two British war vessels conveying a fleet of merchant ships. He accompanied an expedition to Martinique and was in the action fought with Sir Robert Calder's squadron. He would have been on board the *Berwick* at the battle of Trafalgar had he not been ordered back to France. Drouot was no sailor and suffered terribly on shipboard if it was at all rough. The one thing that roused him then was a fight. He was glad to be ashore, to enjoy the woods and fields of France, which he wrote had never seemed to him more lovely. His new work was to superintend the arms factories at Maubeuge and Charleroi, a business task he did thoroughly well while disliking it. His whole heart was with his artillery in the field. An accident near Maubeuge nearly cut short his career. He was riding, and as was his wont, was reading as he rode, when his horse stumbled, threw him and bolted. He was dragged along by a foot caught in a stirrup, his head banging against the cobbles of the road. When the horse at last was stopped, all expected to find Drouot dead. His head had been protected by the long skirts of his coat, its pockets filled with official documents, that had acted as a pillow for his head. He was senseless and much shaken, but escaped with a month in bed.

In March, 1808, Drouot was sent to Spain. Soon after reaching Madrid its people rose against the French, but the insurrection was quelled with stern severity. Drouot had a narrow escape. He had endeared himself to his landlord in the house where he lodged, as he had done wherever he dwelt. He was somewhat surprised that his host one day gave him notice to quit, alleging some lame excuse. The man knew of the coming insurrection, could not as a patriot warn Drouot, as his friend did not want to see him killed

under his roof. Drouot left early next day, when he was hunted through the streets by two bands of insurrectionists and barely regained headquarters in safety. He was charged, in consequence of this rising, to convert the Retiro, a suburban palace of the Spanish Kings, into a citadel to overawe their capital. Early and late he worked at his task, never allowing himself time to partake, as other officers did, in the gaieties of a gay town, and yet, quaintly remarks his biographer, Drouot was not yet thirty-four years of age.

Their defeat at Baylen forced the French to evacuate Madrid. Napoleon himself came to restore the French position. The Emperor was quick in discerning men's merits, and he soon discovered Drouot's abilities. He employed him to reorganize the artillery that had suffered in the French retirement north; he saw him at work with his guns in the field; he saw him bombard and capture the Retiro, the Madrid citadel he had constructed and which the Spaniards sought to retain. The Emperor rewarded Drouot by promoting him to be colonel major of the Foot Artillery of the Imperial Guards. Thenceforth all his service was to be done under the Emperor's own eyes. Drouot had become Napoleon's gunner.

It is doubtful if ever Napoleon felt personally interested in the Peninsular wars. Spanish guerillas, Portuguese peasants, British red-coats might be left to one of his marshals; he would war with a Kaiser or a Czar on the banks of the Danube or the Vistula, with hundreds of thousands of pawns—each with a man's soul in it—on the board. Anyhow Napoleon soon left Spain and ordered his guards to follow him. He had decided on war with Austria. Drouot left Valladolid with the artillery of the guard on March 20, 1809, and passing through Paris, Strassburg and Ulm, reached Vienna on the last day of May, having covered the march at the rate of at least seven leagues a day—rapid movement of troops in pre-railroad days. Drouot spent all June in bringing his batteries to perfection. At daily guard mounting before the imperial palace one or other of the batteries was passed in inspection by the Emperor.

On the eve and during the battle of Wagram, fought on July 6, 1809, artillery took a leading part. At a critical moment the Emperor, riding on his white Persian steed along his lines, shouted, "Where is Drouot?" That officer was with his batteries and had dismounted the better to direct the fire of his pieces. The Emperor bid Drouot support with all the artillery he could collect the columns that he was about to hurl on the enemy. "Crush the enemy, Drouot, even if you have to expend ten thousand rounds." Drouot quickly got one hundred guns into line and opened with

grape shot on the foe. Largely by this Wagram was won by the French. It was a costly and indecisive victory. The artillery suffered much, losing 326 officers and men killed and 971 wounded. Drouot was wounded by a musket ball, but having had his wound bandaged, he continued fighting. One battery of his regiment out of ten guns and eighty men had at nightfall only five guns uninjured and one officer and ten men left alive, but nearly all wounded. The Emperor said to Drouot that the victory was due to his gunners. At St. Helena he regretted that he had not after Wagram named Drouot in his despatches. He promoted him, however, to be a colonel in the Guards, a rank that was equivalent to that of a general of brigade in the army. Drouot was also promoted to the rank of officer of the Legion of Honor and made a baron of the Empire. None deserved his honors more than "the conscientious Drouot," as England's most recent historian of Napoleon calls him;<sup>2</sup> none sought honors less than he did. "Desiring neither glory nor power, all sorts of favors came to him unasked," wrote one of Drouot's brother officers at this time. "Where others are urged by ambition and self-love, he is guided by duty." The high opinion of Drouot held by his superiors and equals was held by those he commanded. An artilleryman who had served under him, having heard a false report that Drouot was dead—it was towards the close of Drouot's life—wrote to congratulate his old commander on the report being unfounded. "I hold," said the writer, "that science is a fine thing, but not all. A man will not risk his life for one he loves not. At Wagram, would we have fought so well had we not loved you? . . . I never met a colonel who could handle men as you did. You were strict, I know, but just. You never spoke roughly nor swore at us; you never lost your temper with us; you always treated us as men like yourself." How many acts of kindness Drouot did to his men God alone knows. Some have come to light, as, for instance, that when he had now and again a regimental fund to dispose of he sent it to the Mayors of the villages to be distributed to the needy relatives of well conducted men of his regiment. The delight of the men on hearing of such acts reconciled them to the hardships of their service.

Drouot's love for his regiment was intense. "I love the artillery," he wrote to General Evain, "with all my heart. My greatest happiness would be never to leave it." A stain on the honor of his corps was more than he could bear. While in garrison at Vincennes

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<sup>2</sup> J. H. Holland, "Life of Napoleon I.," London, 1904. For much about Napoleon's religious belief see the same author's "Napoleonic Studies," London, 1904.

several soldiers committed suicide, among them two of his corps. As a Christian and as a soldier these cowardly crimes revolted him so that he went beyond the limits the law allowed and buried the corpse of one of the self-slain men in a ditch by the roadside. For this the Emperor summoned Drouot before him. Pleased with Drouot's determination to stop suicides among his men, Napoleon simply warned Drouot to respect the civil law and let him off with a reprimand inserted in the orders to the army, but without mentioning Drouot by name.

Drouot's life in garrison as colonel at Vincennes was simple. He rose daily at four, breakfasted on coffee and bread such as his men had served to them, and then spent some hours in his office in letter writing and accounts or in professional studies. He assisted at all the drills and target practices of his regiment. He neglected nothing to make his men good gunners, and organized schools and lectures for their intellectual improvement. His only relaxation was a ride or a visit to a fellow-officer in garrison in Paris, the General Evain, whom we have already named—a man after Drouot's own pattern. Under the gorgeous uniform of colonel of the Horse Artillery of the Guards, Drouot remained what he had been as a simple lieutenant at Metz. But, as Tennyson says:

Kind hearts are more than coronets,  
And simple faith than Norman blood.

Officer of the Legion of Honor, Baron of the Empire, colonel of a crack corps of the most crack division of an army commanded by the greatest of soldiers, Drouot was ever the same religious, hard-working, simple-hearted baker's son.

The Russian campaign of 1812 and the retreat from Moscow brought out all Drouot's best qualities, professional and moral. On the march of his regiment across Germany and Poland, whenever it halted in some interesting locality, he invited his officers to visit with him here a cathedral, here a factory of importance, or it might be, as at Freyberg, in Saxony, some man of science like the famous mineralogist Werner, who was not a little surprised at a body of French officers calling on him, until he understood that they belonged to a scientific corps. Drouot was a student of mineralogy, and later on pointed out the value of the iron ores of Elba, since so profitably worked. He kept up his studious habits even in this campaign. A French dragoon officer has recorded how one night Napoleon arose at midnight from his couch in a peasant's hut that was his temporary palace, and going to its door gazed at the silent bivouac of the army that slept around him. Seeing a lamp burning in the direction where his artillery were, he sent an aide-de-camp to inquire who watched so late. "Sire, it is General Drouot at his

work," reported the officer. Yet Drouot had fought all that day and was up at dawn to take part in another long day of fighting.

At the battle of Borodino, on September 7, 1812, his artillery carried on a long duel with that of the Russians. When at last the Great Redoubt was captured by the French cavalry, Drouot limbered up his guns and at a gallop took position near it, only to find it menaced by a mass of Russian horsemen. "Gentlemen," cried Drouot, "yonder cavalry is about to charge us. The artillery of the Guard never retires." And his brave gunners plied their cannons so well that the great mass gallantly riding at the guns were thrown into confusion and forced to retire. The whole Russian army then retreated and Napoleon was lured on to Moscow. After the burning of that city Drouot's regiment was quartered in a neighboring village. Drouot found corn and a mill to grind it, and his men had their daily ration of bread and a double one of meat. He had also laid by stores for the winter. It was discipline that kept his men in comfort while their comrades of other regiments starved amid the booty of an imperial capital. Unfortunately, when the retreat began Drouot had to abandon his stores for lack of transport. During the retreat to keep up the spirits of his men by his example, in spite of the frost he shaved daily in the open air, his mirror hung at the back of a baggage wagon. He encouraged his men to warm themselves by chopping wood or even by breaking blocks of ice to circulate their blood before going to sleep, instead of roasting themselves by bivouac fires when these were to be had. His generosity was shown on many occasions. Receiving one day a small but under the circumstances a rare gift of some ground coffee and sugar, he shared it with his comrades. Meeting a half-frozen French family flying from the ruins of Moscow, he gave it all the contents of his brandy flask. Not a man of any great physical strength, his health was never better than at the end of this fatal campaign. Asked once to account for this, he replied: "Ah, two things have always helped me in this and in all the difficulties of life. I have never feared poverty nor death." Napoleon christened him rightly "The Wise Man of the Grand Army." For his services in the retreat Drouot was promoted to be general and one of the Emperor's personal aide-de-camp. Thenceforth until after Waterloo he was to be constantly at the Emperor's side.

Shortly after the fatal passage of the Beresina, after having had the honor of firing the last shots fired by the French on Russian soil, Drouot had to abandon his guns and blow up the caissons, which he had dragged through the retreat, for he had not horses enough left to drag them further. When Napoleon returned to Paris Drouot followed him and was charged to supervise the reform-

ing of the artillery of the Guard. Astonished Europe, which had seen the Grand Army destroyed by the frosts of Russia, found in the spring of 1813 Napoleon provided with a fresh army. It seemed as if he had only to stamp his foot on the soil of France and soldiers sprung up. He opened the campaign in Saxony with five army corps, composed, however, mostly of recruits, notably of weak physique, perhaps from having been born in the year of the reign of terror, stiffened by some thirty thousand veterans drawn from Spain or from garrisons in France and Italy. This campaign, deeply interesting to the military student, need not detain our attention except to mention Drouot's part in it. He was mostly employed by the Emperor in directing the movements of the artillery, especially at the battles of Lützen, Bautzen and Dresden, the last great battles Napoleon was destined to win. In an artillery combat at Dresden Drouot was directing the fire of his young gunners in a way that Napoleon did not think the best. Leaping off his horse, the Emperor actually rushed up to Drouot and pulled his ears as he might those of a peccant school boy. Drouot coolly continued his work, pointing out to the Emperor that he was doing it in the best possible way. The Emperor's unseemly rage melted into a smile and Drouot had the best of it both with his master and with the enemy. In September, 1813, he was promoted to be aide major general of the Imperial Guard, a post equivalent to chief of the staff of that picked army corps. "God grant," he wrote to his friend Evain, "that I may fulfill well my new duties. I shall not lack zeal and devotion in the Emperor's service, but will they suffice?"

In the three days' "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig, on October 16, 18 and 19, Drouot was constantly in the field directing the artillery. He accompanied the Emperor in his retreat to France, and at Hanau with his guns forced a way for the Emperor through an opposing force of Austrians and Bavarians which tried to bar the way. The Emperor had even doubted that Drouot's attempt could succeed, and indeed it was won by much skill and courage. The gunners had to defend themselves with their carbines, swords and handspikes against a desperate charge of Bavarian dragoons. Drouot had to fight for his life, sword in hand, and was about to be cut down by a Bavarian trooper when the latter was bayoneted by a French artilleryman. The brush of Horace Vernet has put on canvas this episode, and his picture hangs in the galleries of Versailles.

Drouot, who had been made a Count of the Empire immediately after Leipzig, took part in Napoleon's defensive campaign in 1814. Its plan was to beat in detail the armies of the allies advancing

along the Marne and Seine on Paris, then to march eastwards, draw together the garrisons in the south and east of France and the French troops shut up in Germany, and with the whole combined force to fall on the rear of the invaders of France. But the plan was doomed to failure when once the allies were united on rapidly marching on Paris. Napoleon's forces were as weak as those of the invaders were overwhelming. For one man he lost, they could afford to lose ten. He had no reserves. Every day brought them fresh troops from the plains of Hungary, from the forests of Pomerania and the steppes of Russia. Drouot, as usual, showed his skill in the various battles of this campaign, but he knew its futility. Once at supper with his officers on a day that the fighting had been favorable to the French, Napoleon exclaimed: "Another such a victory and I shall be on the Vistula once more." His officers were silent and hopeless. "I see, gentlemen, your enthusiasm has died out. But you, Drouot, don't you think that to succeed I need only a hundred men of your stamp?" With much wit and modesty, Drouot replied: "Say, sire, a hundred thousand men." Napoleon thought highly of Drouot's military abilities. At St. Helena he said that he did not know two men to equal Murat and Drouot, the one in handling cavalry, the other artillery. He added that Drouot was fit to command a hundred thousand men. Drouot never obtruded his advice. Had Napoleon asked for it, perhaps the abdication of the Emperor at Fontainebleau on April 4, 1814, might never have come to pass.

So far we have seen what Drouot was as a soldier. We shall now see what he was as a man. The test of a man is adversity. When Napoleon fell all his marshals left him. Some because they were gluttoned with glory and wealth and wanted to enjoy their laurels and gold, others more nobly because they loved their country better than its alien Emperor. Drouot, poor and faithful, followed his master to Elba, was its governor for ten months, for which he refused any salary except board and lodging and the loan of a horse, although his private fortune did not exceed five hundred dollars a year! Much against his judgment, out of loyalty to his sovereign, Drouot accompanied Napoleon on his return from Elba. He fought at Ligny and at Waterloo, wearing out a whole stable of horses in seeing to the execution of Napoleon's orders on those two days. It was by Drouot's advice that Napoleon delayed until midday his attack on the English position at Waterloo, the ground being too sodden to allow of artillery acting until the sun had dried the soil. The advice from an artillerist's point of view was good, but Drouot reproached himself for it and believed it had contributed to the loss of the battle. He returned with Napoleon to Paris.



In the Chamber of Peers, of which Napoleon had made him a member, Drouot in reply to some wild words of Ney's, made his one solitary speech in Parliament and gave a clear, vivid account of the success at Ligny and the defeat at Waterloo. The provisional government obliged Napoleon to abdicate, to retire to Malmaison, and thence to begin his last journey that was to end at St. Helena.

Drouot would have gone with his master had not a higher duty kept him back. He had been put in command of what remained of the Imperial Guard, for it was known that he alone could prevent that formidable body of veterans from making a last desperate attack on the allies. He led them away across the Loire when Paris capitulated and kept them disciplined. Drouot saw that this was his present duty; later he would rejoin his master in prison or in exile, whichever it might be. While Drouot is carrying out this noble duty we may endeavor to find an answer to a question that his conduct suggests.

Drouot was all his life a man of austere virtue and practiced his religion. Much has been said, and more we shall have to say, that proves this assertion. Taking it as exact, let us ask ourselves how it was that Drouot was so devoted to Napoleon? It is easy to reply that Drouot was fascinated by his master's military genius, that he was grateful to him for his favors. But others had been so fascinated and so favored, and had left their master to his fate. Besides, Drouot was too calm to be moved even by the glitter of genius, and he really owed Napoleon little for favors, for all he had received from the Emperor were rewards that scantily repaid his services. We think there was in Napoleon some stronger attraction than genius and gratitude which drew Drouot towards him. We would suggest that the loadstone that attracted him was Napoleon's religion. Certainly Napoleon was not a dutiful son of our Holy Mother the Church. His conduct towards the gentle and saintly Pius VII. alone would suffice to prove this. Even his work, now being destroyed, of restoring Catholic worship in France, does not prove his Catholicity. His motive may have been to use the Church as a sort of moral gendarme in the service of the State. He knew the power of the Catholic Church and its Head. He wrote to Cacault, his agent in Rome, to treat the Pope as if His Holiness had two hundred thousand bayonets at his command. All this proves that he valued the Church as an instrument of government, just as he had for a like reason approved of and adopted Mahomedanism in Egypt. The notes attributed to Comte de Montholon on Napoleon's religious sentiments expressed at St. Helena are unfortunately of no historic value. Bertrand, with Drouot, the Emperor's most faithful companion in adversity, has shown their

imaginary character.<sup>3</sup> A passage from them on the divinity of Christ has become famous from having been "enshrined in Newman's prose," exalted by Lacordaire's oratory and set forth in Nicolas' philosophical studies of Christianity. But if Bertrand has robbed us of this which we prized, he has left us a glimpse of Napoleon's religious belief. He tells us that as Emperor and as exile Napoleon always practiced, no doubt to a very limited extent indeed, his religion. As to his belief, he constantly repeated in court and camp that he believed all that his parish priest believed. M. Frédéric Masson, of the French Academy, an authority on all that concerns Napoleon, lately published in the *Paris Gaulois* an article in which he shows that Napoleon was a believer. He considers the first words of the Emperor's will, "I die in the Apostolic and Roman religion in which I was born," to be a solemn and exact profession of faith. He points to the extreme care with which Napoleon insisted on his relatives being married according to the laws of the Church. Even his own resistance to such a marriage with Josephine and his refusal to receive Holy Communion before his coronation, M. Masson contends, proves that Napoleon's conscience refused to profane the sacraments of the Church. An unbeliever would not have hesitated in such a way. Had Napoleon used in his will the usual formula, "I die in the religion in which I have lived," it would have been a falsehood; but with the help of a Corsican priest he died as he had *not* lived, a Catholic. M. Masson concludes that the Emperor held to the faith of his forefathers even when he did not practice it, and even worse, persecuted it.

There is a story which we should like to think true, told at third hand, on Drouot's authority, that Napoleon once said to his officers after a great victory that not that day, but that of his First Communion, was the happiest of his life. All except Drouot expressed surprise. "Ah," said the Emperor, "you, Drouot, at least understand me." May we not think that Drouot pierced the mask under which his master hid his faith? This would explain the extraordinary devotion of Drouot to the Emperor—a devotion that led him to Elba, that was on the point of leading him to St. Helena when Napoleon's death supervened. To fan into flame the slumbering embers of his master's faith, Drouot would have lived and died in exile, though the dearest wish of his heart, often expressed, was to retire and to await death in the parish where he had been baptized.

That wish was now to be gratified. The Bourbon government,

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<sup>3</sup> See the "Précis Historiques" of Brussels for the year 1870, pp. 20 and 38, for Général Bertrand's refutation of the widely accepted errors concerning Napoleon's religious belief.

neither forgetful nor forgiving, placed Drouot's name on the list of those to be prosecuted for taking part in Napoleon's return from Elba. Drouot at once relinquished his command of the Guards, to whom he had set the example of taking the white cockade and the oath of allegiance to King Louis XVIII., and went to Paris to give himself up at the military prison. He was refused admission until he had demanded it on three successive days. "I never in my life," he would say laughingly, "asked but two places, first a seat in a school, then a cell in a prison. I was refused both at first." He was kept seven months in prison awaiting trial. At last the day came when he had to plead in defense of his life. His defense was that he had previous to the return from Elba been concerned in no conspiracy to bring about a return of which he disapproved; that as a soldier in the service of the sovereign of Elba he was bound to obey that sovereign's commands, and that, even according to French law, he was then no longer a French subject and so no traitor. Some witnesses appeared of their own accord and bore out Drouot's statement that he had disapproved of the Emperor's return. One witness only had Drouot called, and that was the loyal Marshal Macdonald. He testified to Drouot's important services to France and the dynasty in pacifying the Guards after Waterloo. Drouot was acquitted. Next evening the King sent for Drouot, spoke to him with much of that tact his friends wanted, and assured the general he would allow of no appeal being made against the finding of the court-martial. Then, at the early age of forty-two, General Drouot sheathed his sword and retired to Nancy, the place of his birth.

There he spent his remaining years, living a laborious simple life. He studied much such subjects as fortifications and agriculture. He wrote much, but except a few papers in specialist periodicals, all he wrote is lost, his manuscripts having been burned by himself. He fulfilled the letter what Napoleon said of him to Dr. O'Meara at St. Helena: "Drouot is a man who would, so far as he was personally concerned, live as happily on forty *sous* a day as on the revenues of a kingdom. Full of charity and religion, his morality, honesty and simplicity would have done honor to the purest days of the Roman Republic." It was only in 1824 that the government paid Drouot the pension due to him as a retired general. It offered him the arrears of this pension. This he refused. At Napoleon's death he became entitled under the Emperor's will to a legacy of two hundred thousand francs. Napoleon's estate did not suffice to pay the legacies in full and Drouot only received less than half the above amount. He received a small pension as Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. His whole income amounted to about twelve

thousand five hundred francs, or about two thousand five hundred dollars annually. Of this he reserved for his own wants a sum of five hundred dollars. This, with his modest house and garden, sufficed him. The rest he gave away in charities. His pension from the Legion of Honor was paid over to private soldiers in need who had won the cross of the legion. It was not until after his death that they learned the name of their well-doer. The hospitals and orphanages of Nancy greatly benefited by his charity, as an inspection of their records shows. But he was of those who "do good by stealth and blush to find it fame." In the practice of his religion he was most exact, attending regularly the services in his parish church and receiving Holy Communion in it several times in the year. On his death-bed he stated that all through life he had practiced his religion whenever he could, but that he had been in circumstances where its practice was impossible.

In his civic duties he was an example to all his fellow-citizens. He who had commanded a hundred and fifty guns in action, in times of civil trouble donned the uniform of a simple lieutenant of artillery of the National Guard of Nancy. As such he saved the workmen of the place from being involved in a sanguinary conflict with the troops. In 1830, at the request of King Louis Philippe, he put on his general's uniform once more and took command of the troops at Metz. He saved the Cathedral from desecration by a revolutionary mob and received the thanks of its Bishop for this. His infirmities, however, compelled him to relinquish the command as soon as the place was pacified. Louis Philippe made him a Peer of France, but his health prevented him from ever taking his seat in the Upper House. His fellow-citizens had wished to send him to the Chamber of Deputies. He was found ineligible, as he had not the property qualifications required! But he took an indirect part in legislative labors, and when it was proposed to fortify Paris, a long memorandum he sent to the committee of the Upper House was carefully considered and in part adopted.

He was an active member both of the Agricultural and of the Royal Scientific Societies of Nancy, and the papers he contributed to their transactions are models of style and even now not devoid of interest. One paper is of special interest, dealing with the history of the Polish troops in Napoleon's service. It makes us regret that we have not more papers from his pen on subjects connected with the great Napoleon. His devotion to him never waned. He was on the eve of starting for St. Helena when the news reached him that the Emperor was dead. Ordering his horse and sending for one of Napoleon's veteran captains, who was his constant companion in his rides, the two old soldiers rode out to some woods far

from the city and there dismounting wandered in silent, tearless grief amid the trees. "He is dead—he is dead—the Emperor, and I shall never see him again in this world" were Drouot's only words. His companion has recorded his belief that that day was the most cruel in Drouot's life. Every year on the anniversary of the Emperor's death, as on that of the defeat at Waterloo, Drouot denied himself to all visitors and spent the day in solitude and prayer. It was some consolation to Drouot when his master's ashes were brought back to France, but what consoled him most, even at the hour of his own death, was the hope that he would meet Napoleon again in a happier world. A few days before the end he said: "If you could assure me that I should die to-morrow, weak as I am, I should leap with joy, for then I should be about to meet my father and mother and my Emperor."

During the last years of his life Drouot was so stricken by infirmities that he was often a prisoner in his room, and he was obliged to renounce his one great relaxation—riding on horseback. He then took to gardening until he became totally blind, and he could only take exercise by walking in his garden guided by a wire he had had stretched across it. After receiving with great devotion the last sacraments, Drouot went to his reward at 6 o'clock in the morning of March 24, 1847. He desired that no honors should be paid him after death. His city and his country disregarded his wish. A public funeral was given him with military honors. Nancy placed in one of its public squares the statue of him whose likeness an artist had only been able to take by stealth. His bust was placed in the palace of Versailles among those of France's most illustrious soldiers. Paris gave his name to one of its streets. The greatest pulpit orator of France in the nineteenth century, Lacordaire, preached his funeral oration, and what was then the first newspaper in the world, the *London Times*, paid a lengthy tribute to the memory of the greatest artillery officer of one who had been England's greatest enemy. Drouot died poor. Even his gold laced uniform of general he had sold to give away its value in alms. When his brother protested that it should be left as an heirloom in the family, Drouot replied that it were better his nephews should forget that their uncle had been a general and remember only that their grandfather had been a baker. Truly, as the great Dominican orator had said, General Drouot was "the rarest if not the most perfect man the first half of the nineteenth century had produced."

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

## ANCIENT IRELAND AND ITS QUEENS.

THERE is a curious legend that about five thousand years ago Ireland was colonized by a woman, who is called in some of the old histories the granddaughter of Noah. The seventeenth century transcription of the "Chronicum Scotorum" says she was "the daughter of one of the Greeks," and bore the names of Heru, Ceasair or Berva (Banva). An important fourteenth century compilation known as the book of Ballymote and another noteworthy manuscript, the book of Lecain, quote a work of the fifth century as authority for the story, while the "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," which were collected and edited in the seventeenth century by the four Franciscan friars known as the "Four Masters," begin by telling us that A. M. 2242 (according to the chronology of the Septuagint), "forty days before the Deluge, Ceasair came to Ireland with fifty girls and three men, Bith, Fintan and Lavra." The latter is styled their conductor and is mentioned as the first man ever buried in Erin. In one version of the tale he is represented as Ceasair's brother and Bith as their father, and we are told that they were of the race of Cain, but Fintan, who figures as husband of this antediluvian lady pioneer, was a descendant of Seth, and therefore an adorer of the true God. The whole party are supposed to have originally dwelt on the banks of the Tigris, but while endeavoring to escape the Deluge in a boat built by Fintan, they reached the Irish shore, where, according to some accounts, they perished of pestilence, notwithstanding that among their number was a lady physician named Eaba. A sequel of the legend, however, narrates that Fintan's life was miraculously preserved through thirty or forty centuries, during which he underwent various transmigrations.

The whole fable seems to have a mythological foundation with Scriptural additions.

The significant legends of the original peopling of Ireland must be chiefly sought in such versions or abstracts as we still possess of the lost "Books of Invasions." The oldest *résumé* extant of these is to be found in the twelfth century manuscript known as the "Book of Leinster," one of the great treasures of Celtic literature. Other editions are in the "Book of Ballymote," and the "Book of Lecain," while a particularly valuable one belongs to Lord Ashburnham.

We are told that the first inhabitants of Ireland after the flood came through the Mediterranean from Scythia of Middle Greece, led by a chief named Partholan. They arrived, according to the

"Annals of Clonmacnoise" (a compendium of Irish history of which one copy is in the British Museum), "in the twenty-first year of the age of Abraham, and in the twelfth year of Semiramis, Empress of Assyria." In an old work on the "Antiquities and Origin of Cambridge" it is stated that the ships of "Partholyan" and his followers encountered during their wanderings upon the seas the vessel of a British prince, who gave them a grant of lands in the then unpeopled Ireland. This romance was in Queen Elizabeth's reign made one of the grounds whereby the sovereigns of England laid claim to Ireland.

Partholan was supposed to have resided at one time on an island in the river Erne with his Queen, Elgnatha on Delgnait. Her favorite grayhound, Saimer, was one day slain there by her husband (so at least it is recorded), for which reason the spot received the name "Inish Saimer," which it bears to this day. This colony is also supposed to have been wiped out by pestilence.

Nemedius, the leader of the next band of immigrants, is also called a Greek or a Scythian. It is related that Macha, his wife, was buried near Armagh, which word is a compound of the Gaelic for hill and Macha. Nemedius, or the "Holy One," is, like Partholan, a mythological personage; indeed, he is sometimes represented as a descendant of the latter. He is probably "Dia," the chief deity of the Celts, and Macha is one of the appellatives of "Ana," the mother of the gods. This colony was almost annihilated by the "Fomorians," a race of "African pirates," descendants of Cham. The few Nemedians who escaped divided into three bands, one of which migrated to Northern Europe, while another colonized Britain and the third made its way back to Greece, returning again thence, however, under the name of "Firbolgs" to retake possession of Ireland.

We are told that Achy (or the "Chevalier"), the last King of the Firbolg race, espoused the daughter of Magh Mor, monarch of the Celtiberians (a valiant people of mixed Celtic and Iberian blood), of Spain. Her name was Tailte, a form of which is said to survive in Telltown, the name of a village in Meath, near where her foster son, "Lewy of the Long Hand," who was really a war god of the ancient Irish, was supposed to have instituted national games in her honor. Tailte's husband fell in the battle of South Moytura, near Cong, in Mayo, which, according to the Four Masters, took place A. M. 3303, and of which there are minute accounts in some exceedingly ancient manuscripts, one of which is in the British Museum.

Of course, such descriptions must be imaginary, but several graves of the cremation period have been found on the spot, show-

ing that ethnic struggles did undoubtedly take place in the neighborhood.

Probably the Firbolgs were really Iberians, a short, swarthy pre-Celtic race believed to have come from Egypt or Arabia, and whose descendants yet form part of the population of Connaught.

As mentioned above, another company of the survivors of the Nemedian colony went to Scandinavia. In time they, too, returned to Ireland under the name of "Tuatha de Danaan," or the tribes of De (God) and Ana (the mother of the gods). Modern research has repudiated the notion that these Tuatha de Danaan were a human race, and has proved them to be the divinities of the ancient Celt. Between ten and fourteen centuries before Christ, according to the Irish chronologists, came the Milesians into Ireland. The latest authorities on the subject, however, aver that this immigration took place at a period just preceding the Christian era.

Three Tuatha de Danaan Queens—Eire, Banva and Fiola—are mentioned in the old histories as having fallen in the battle against the new invaders. With them fell their husbands, MacCuill, MacCecht and MacGriene, who were really the gods of the sea, of the plough and of the sun. Each was known under various appellations, and MacCuill, under the name of "Lir," appears undoubtedly to be the prototype of "King Lear," while his son, another Celtic Neptune called "Mananaan MacLir," is yet commemorated in the name of the Isle of "Man."

Many authorities consider that the names of "Ireland" and "Erin" are derived from "Eire," which word is thought to be etymologically connected with "Aryan." In the bardic poems the island is also called "Fiola" and "Banva."

The "Four Masters" and other annalists in describing the struggle between the sons of Milesius, or the "Noble One," and the Tuatha de Danaan mention that in the battle of Slieve Mis (in Kerry) fell Scota, the daughter of Pharoah, wife of Milesius, and tradition still points out her grave in a glen near Tralee.

The legend that Scota was the daughter of a Pharoah received official notice in the fifteenth century. For when Edward I. claimed the overlordship of the Kings of Scotland on the grounds of his descent from the elder son of their common ancestor, Brute the Trojan, the matter was referred to the Papal Court, and the Scotch commissioner in Rome alleged that his sovereign traced his ancestry back to the Pharoahs through Heremon (son of Milesius and Scota), from whom, or from whose brother Heber, nearly all the Kings of Ireland and Scotland, including those of the House of Stuart, boasted descent.

The story of Scota's Egyptian birth may, however, have easily



grown out of another myth wherein Gadhelus, the eponymous ancestor of the Gaels or Milesians, figures as a contemporary of Moses and as the husband of "Scota," daughter of the Pharaoh who was drowned in the Red Sea.

Up to the eleventh century Ireland was called "Scotia," and "Scotia Major" up to even a later date, Scotland being known as "Scotia Minor;" but there seems no satisfactory explanation of the similarity between the words Scota and Scotia, unless Scota, like Britannia, be an allegorical personage.

In the "Dinseancus Mor," a topographical poem by a bard of the sixth century, and in another piece of verse ascribed to the eleventh we learn that Tara, which many authorities claim to have been the oldest royal residence in Europe of whose site we can be certain, was named after "Tea," the cousin and wife of Heremon. This princess, even before landing, obtained a promise from her lord that he would give her "her choice hill of Erin," where every prince of her race should dwell forever. She chose Drum Cain, or the "beautiful hill," which, although only five hundred feet in height, commanded a view of nearly the whole limestone plain of Ireland.

According to the bardic tale Tea had a sepulchre prepared for herself outside the fortress modeled on the pattern of one of a British Queen of Spanish birth, whose body was taken back to her native land for burial. Tea is supposed to have seen this tomb before coming to Ireland, and she marked out from memory with the pin of her brooch the proportions of a similar grave mound on Drum Cain. Hence the hill acquired the name of "Tea-mur," or Tea's mound, which through the Latinized form of the word became Tara. It seems a pity to spoil this pretty story by confessing that "Teamur" is really an archaic Gaelic term for a balcony or a place commanding a wide view.

It is difficult to find even such legendary accounts of the consorts of the other more or less mythical Irish Kings who reigned before the Christian era. We read, however, that "Hugony the Great" married Ceasair, daughter to a King of the Gauls. The "Four Masters" state that Hugony ruled over the whole of Western Europe as far as "Muir Torrian," which means either the Mediterranean or the Tyrranean Sea, and died A. M. 4606, that is about B. C. 633.

Ugony's great-grandson, "Lavra of the Ships," King of Ireland about B. C. 550, married Moriath, daughter of the King of West Munster, and the tale of their courtship, found in the "Yellow Book of Lecain," is full of that charm peculiar to the old Celtic compositions. Larva's father and grandfather were treacherously slain by

his uncle, "Coffey the Slender," and he himself was so cruelly treated that he lost in early childhood the power of speech; but it returned to him suddenly one day after he had reached man's estate, whereupon his uncle, who had usurped the throne, endeavored to drive him out of the country. But he only fled, accompanied by his faithful harper, Craftine, into West Munster, where Scoriath, a petty sovereign, took them under his particular protection. Now, Scoriath had a beautiful daughter, whose heart Lavra won, but he could find no opportunity to declare his love for her, as her parents never trusted her out of their sight. One evening, however, Craftine played so exquisitely on his harp that the King and Queen became fascinated and inadvertently withdrew their attention from the princess, whom Lavra hastily persuaded to follow him to a more retired spot. As soon as the lovers were out of hearing Craftine proceeded to lull the whole company to sleep by the power of music, nor suffered them to awake until his master and Lady Moriath had plighted their vows and reappeared in the hall. Nevertheless, the Queen's suspicions were soon aroused by the demeanor of her daughter, and presently the story of the ruse had to be confessed. At first Scoriath was infuriated, but quickly calmed down and bestowed the maiden's hand on the royal exile. Shortly afterwards Lavra made a voyage to Gaul and induced his cousin, the King of that country, to supply him with a band of 2,200 warriors, by whose aid he defeated and slew Coffey. These Gaulish troops were armed with broad-headed green spears called "Leighlin," from which word the name of Leinster has been derived.

At a period which the eleventh century annalist Tigernach (copies of whose works are in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum) considered the beginning of authentic Irish history, "Macha of the Golden Tresses" reigned in Ireland. Although modern authorities regard her as a mythological personage, she figures in her romantic story, which is to be found in the "Book of Leinster" and other manuscripts, as a mortal Queen. Her father, Hugh the Red, was one of three Kings "who were upon Erin in co-sovereignty," and who made a compact whereby each should reign seven years in turn. This arrangement lasted for sixty-three years, when Hugh was accidentally drowned in the river Erne. The two other princes, Dithorba and Kimbay, considered now that the kingship lay between them, and refused to recognize the rights of Hugh's heiress on the grounds of her sex, whereupon Macha got together an army, vanquished and slew Dithorba and drove his sons into exile. She then made peace with Kimbay, who presently married her. Finding herself now securely seated on the throne, this energetic princess journeyed into Connaught to seek the banished off-

spring of her dead rival, and having discovered their retreat she enslaved them and made them build her a palace called Emania, from "Eo-Muin," a breastpin, for it was with such an implement she traced out the plan.

The remains of this celebrated residence of the Ulster Kings cover a space of twelve acres close to Armagh City. It was called "Emania the Golden," in allusion to its magnificence, although the buildings must have been only of wood, since merely earthworks and ramparts and no traces of stonework have survived. It was destroyed in the fourth century of our era. Some of the annalists state that Macha flourished some four centuries before Christ, but the "Four Masters" date her reign three centuries earlier, and mention that she was foster-mother to Hugony the Great.

About the time that the Romans conquered Britain there reigned in Ulster a King Fachtna, who was wedded to a beautiful lady named Nessa, by whom he had a son called Conor. While Conor was still a child Fachtna died and the sovereignty of Ulster devolved on a prince named Fergus MacRossa, probably because he was judged more fit to govern, having reached man's estate. This was quite in accordance with the ancient Irish laws of succession, whereby the fittest ruler among the late King's kinsfolk was considered his rightful heir.

Fergus sought Nessa in marriage, but she would accept his proposal only on condition that he would resign the throne for a year in favor of the fifteen-year-old Conor, so that the latter's children should be called "the children of a King." Fergus agreed to do this, and Nessa at once set about winning over the principal chiefs to support her son. She also surrounded him with wise counselors, and consequently the boy's administration of affairs gave such satisfaction that the Ultonians insisted on retaining him as their permanent monarch. He is the hero of many legends under the name of "Conor MacNessa."

The most famous of all the Irish Queens was Maev of Connaught, daughter of Achy the Sigher, King of Ireland, whom the eleventh century historian, "Flann of the Monastery," synchronized with Julius Cæsar. This princess was first married to Conor MacNessa, but, notwithstanding his mental and physical perfections, she soon left him to return to Tara. About the same time Achy's three sons fell in a rebellion against him. They had been assisted during the insurrection by the people of Connaught, and to reduce the province to submission the monarch set up his beautiful strong-minded daughter as Queen of the West, providing her from among the native chiefs with a consort named Aillil. Maev was, however, soon left a widow, whereupon she journeyed in state to Naas, the

residence of the King of Leinster, and selected her third husband, another Aillil, from among his sons.

Most of Maev's history is embodied in "Tain-Bo-Cuailgne," "the Iliad of Ireland," which was transcribed in the eleventh century, from yet older sources, into the "Book of the Dun Cow." There is also a copy of the tale in the "Book of Leinster," and fragments of it can be found among various old manuscripts. The story of this "Cattle-spoil" runs as follows: Maev and Aillil disputed over the relative value of their possessions, and decided to hold a kind of exhibition of their jewelry, drinking vessels, robes and cattle. Their respective belongings were all judged to be equal in number and excellence until it was discovered that Aillil's herds included a young white-horned bull, which, although calved by one of the Queen's cows, "had not deemed it honorable to remain under a woman's control."

Maev promptly proceeded to seek an animal to replace the "white-horned," and soon learned that a certain Ulster chief owned an equally fine beast, the "Tain-bo-cuailgne," or "Brown Bull of Cooley." But her embassy and request of the loan of the bull not being successful, she got together an army of 54,000 men to take it away by force. A body of exiled Ultonians and many troops from both Leinster and Munster came to Maev's assistance, and to each petty leader she secretly promised the hand of her only daughter. On arriving at the frontier of the Northern Kingdom the brave warrior Queen found herself opposed by Cuchulain, a celebrated hero and nephew to Conor MacNessa, but by violating the ancient Irish rules of chivalrous warfare she contrived to ravage the country up to the gates of Emania, and then, having already obtained possession of the dun bull, she began to retrace her steps.

Up to this time the Ultonians had been suffering from a "debility," the result of a curse, but now, awaking from their lethargy, they followed the invaders with a mighty force and fully avenged themselves in a terrible battle. Yet, notwithstanding the defeat inflicted upon her army, and despite the loss of her seven sons, Maev was filled with savage exultation over the humiliation she had brought upon Conor, her quondam lord.

The "white-horned" and the "brown bull" likewise indulged in a combat on their own account, in which the latter was victorious, but in his frenzy he afterwards mistook a rock for a fresh opponent and dashed his brains out against it.

Maev's palace was Cruachan or Rath Crogan, near the present town of Carrick-on-Shannon, and the remains of a fort can still be seen there. Close by is situated the burial place of several ancient monarchs and heroes. Maev is supposed to have reigned ninety-

eight years and to have been treacherously slain, at the age of one hundred and nineteen, by a son of Conor MacNessa.

One of her sons, Ciar, is reputed to have obtained possession of a district in Munster, to which he gave his name, and it is still called "Ciarradthe," or Kerry.

Modern research has proved the "Tain" to be a mythological tale and Maev to be the original fairy queen "Mab." Indeed, the Irish accounts make her, at best, but semi-human, and a mediæval piece of Welsh literature, the "Mabinogion," which is really a collection of old Celtic legends, fully convinces us that she was a divinity and the two bulls merely forms taken by inimical mythological personages.

The beginning of the authentic Irish history is now reckoned from the accession of Toole the Legitimate, head-king of Ireland about A. D. 160. His father was killed during the insurrection known as the rising of the Attacotti, and he is said to have been a posthumous son, born at the court of his maternal grandfather, a King of Scotland. Perhaps he may have passed part of his early life in Britain, since the passage in Tacitus which refers to the proposed Roman invasion of Ireland mentions that Agricola had at one time with him an Irish prince expelled by faction from his own country. Toole was recalled to his rights at the age of twenty-five, and, according to O'Flaherty's "Ogygia," married Bania, daughter of the King of Finland.

We read in the "History of the Boromean Tribute," one of the earliest examples of prose historical narrative, copies being in the "Book of Leinster" and the "Book of Lecain," that Toole had two daughters "more beautiful than the clouds of heaven." The younger, Dairine, was married to Achy Ainchiam, King of Leinster, but this monarch became persuaded in time that the elder, Fethir, would have been preferable as a consort, so he shut his wife up in a secret chamber of his palace at Naas, gave out she was dead and requested the hand of Fethir. As the law "against marriage with a deceased wife's sister" unfortunately did not then exist, Achy's courtship proved successful. But ere long Dairine escaped from her prison chamber and her sister met her face to face, whereupon the horror of their situation cost them their lives.

When Toole received news of the tragedy he gathered together a great army and, assisted by the foster-fathers of the maidens, the Kings of Ulster and Connaught, he burnt and ravaged Leinster until Achy was forced to agree to a treaty whereby the sub-kingdom was bound to deliver over every three years to the head King of Erin 5,000 cows, 5,000 sheep, 5,000 vessels of brass, etc., etc. This was called the "Boromean Tribute," from the large number of kine

it included, and its payment laid the foundation of an enmity between the supreme monarchs and the provincial Kings of Leinster, which culminated in the eleventh century in the invitation given by Dermot MacMorrogh, of Leinster, to the English to come and take possession of Ireland.

Though the majority of ancient Irish Kings married compatriots, a few made foreign alliances. Queen Alexandra is not the first Queen of Ireland of Danish nationality. The "Annals of Clonmacnoise" record that King "Lewy of the Red Circles" died of grief for his wife Devorgilla, daughter of a King of Lochlinn (Denmark). Bania, wife of Toole the Legitimate, is also sometimes called a Danish princess, and her son, Felimy the Lawgiver, is also said to have espoused a daughter of the Danish royal line named Una, by whom he had the celebrated Conn of the Hundred Battles. Again, in the third century Cormac Cas (or "the Beloved"), of Munster, took for his second wife Oriumd of Denmark, and they had a son who invaded his mother's country to seat his maternal uncles, Osna and Airid, on its throne, as we read in the "Psaltair of Cashel" and other records. The "Book of Munster" mentions that Cormac's first wife was the daughter of the giant Finn MacCoole and sister to the poet Ossian.

In the second century Eugene the Great, of Munster, having been worsted in a struggle with Conn of the Hundred Battles for the crown of Ireland, fled to Spain, where he espoused Beara, or Momera, daughter of Heber, King of that portion of the peninsula which afterwards formed the Castilian Kingdom. With the help of one of the lady's brothers Eugene obtained the sovereignty of half Ireland, the boundary line being the ridge of low sand hills running from Dublin to Galway. Beara's name is yet borne by a district in Cork, from which a local chief adopted the designation of "O'Sullivan Beare." There is a curious tale still extant which minutely describes her courtship by the Irish prince. All the great families of the South of Ireland, such as the MacCarthys, O'Sullivans and O'Briens, claim descent from Beara's son, "Oilliol Oluim," whose Queen, Sabia, daughter of Conn of the Hundred Fights, bore him seven sons, one of whom was the already mentioned King Cormac. Sabia, who is called in an ancient poem "one of the six best women in the world," was married to a Munster prince before she became Oilliol's consort, and had a son named Lewy MacCon, a turbulent youth, who was banished from Munster. We read that he fled to Scotland and Britain, but after a time returned with a large company of warriors, who on landing were joined by a party of his Irish friends. In reality MacCon probably made his way to South Wales, where the Munstermen had important settlements,

and persuaded a body of men of his own race to enlist under his rebel standard. Art, King of Ireland, MacCon's uncle, his step-father, the King of Munster, and his seven half-brothers marched with an army against the invaders, but the latter were victorious in a battle near Galway, and Art, Oilliol and at least six of the young princes were slain. MacCon then assumed the crown of Erin, although its rightful owner was Cormac, the son of Art.

When Cormac reached manhood he came incognito to Tara and chanced one day to be present while MacCon was sitting in judgment upon a poor widow whose sheep had strayed on to the Queen's private lawn and eaten some of the grass. The usurper declared the animals forfeit, whereupon young Cormac sprang up and contended that as the sheep had but injured the "fleece of the land," they ought merely to be deprived of their fleeces. "That is the judgment of a King," cried MacCon, completely taken aback, and at the same moment recognizing the youth, he ordered him to be seized, but the prince managed to escape and fled out of the country. He appears to have subsequently fought in Britain and Gaul against the Romans. The "Four Masters," quoting Tighernach, say he obtained the sovereignty of Alba A. D. 240. It is believed that his fame and that of his father, Art, formed the basis of the Arthurian legends.

In time the people wearied of MacCon's hard rule and insisted upon the recall of their rightful prince, who began a reign of great prosperity A. D. 254. The ancient historians and bards vie with one another in extolling Cormac's wisdom and learning and the magnificence of Tara in his time.

There is a pretty story that he was pleased to play the part of "Cophetua," and, seeing a fair maiden cutting rushes by the wayside as he rode by, he sought her for his bride, but the maiden, who was named Ethnea, at first refused his attentions, as she did not wish to abandon her foster parents, a poor cow-herd and his wife. However, when the King promised to provide for them, she consented to accept the honor offered her, and became the mother of Cormac's heir, Carbery of the Liffey. Cormac MacArt had also, among other children, two celebrated daughters, one of whom, Ailbe, was regarded as the wisest lady of her time. Some poetry ascribed to her pen is still extant. She was wooed by the commander of the Fenian force (a kind of national militia), the celebrated giant Finn MacCoole, who also sought her elder sister, Grace, in marriage. The latter, however, induced Dermot, another "Fenian," to elope with her, and the narrative of their wanderings have furnished both ancient and modern authors with a favorite literary theme. A few years ago a dramatic piece by the Duke of

Argyll, then Marquis of Lorne, and Mr. Hamish McGunn, describing the flight of "Diarmid" and "Grania" was produced in London. By the way, this Diarmid, or Dermott, is the eponym of the McCallum Mor, and the boar's head which forms the Campbell crest is in allusion to the fable that the hero met his death by the tusk of an enchanted boar. Dermott's history bears a notable resemblance to that of the Greek Adonis. Among the other Irish Kings who led the Picts and Scots against the Britons and Romans were "Niall of the Nine Hostages" (379-405) and his great nephew Dathi (405-428).

Niall, the progenitor of the O'Neills and O'Donnells, was the son of Achy the "Cultivator" by a British or Saxon princess, Carinna of the Dark Hair. Some writers state that during one of Niall's foreign campaigns there fell into the hands of his soldiery a youth named Patrick, who in after years became the Apostle of the Irish. King Dathi broke through the walls of Severus and marched through Britain and Gaul on his way to Italy itself, as we read in the "Book of Ballymote" and other records, but he was killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps. According to the "Book of Leinster," Dathi had wedded a lady named Ruadth.

Perhaps no royal lady ever had so eventful and romantic a life as Gormlaith, daughter of Flann Siona, hereditary King of Meath and supreme monarch of the Irish Pentarchy. She was born rather over one thousand years ago, and in early youth was betrothed to King Cormac MacCullen of Munster, but he afterwards refused to complete the marriage contract, as he desired to enter Holy Orders. Then Gormlaith's hand was bestowed, against her will, upon Carroll of Leinster. Some time afterwards both Carroll and Flann made war upon Cormac, who had become Archbishop of Cashel, and in a battle in Carlow the latter was slain and Carroll severely wounded. Gormlaith dutifully tended her husband, but one day when he was nearly recovered the death of her first betrothed became the subject of conversation, and she remonstrated with Carroll for exulting over the cruel manner in which the holy man's body had been mutilated, whereupon her lord kicked her so rudely off the foot-rail of the bed, where she had been sitting, that she fell in an undignified manner before all her attendants. Filled with mortification, the Queen fled to her father, but Flann, having his hands full trying to keep the Danes in check, sent her back to her husband. However, her chivalrous young kinsman, "Niall Black Knee," of Ulster, constituted himself Gormlaith's champion, and though she objected to his using violence, he forced Carroll to agree to a separation, and shortly afterwards, when the Leinster monarch was slain by the Norseman, Gormlaith became the wife



of Niall, who in 916 succeeded Flann as supreme monarch. Three years later he, too, fell fighting the Danes. Gormlaith's brother was the next King, but in 942 the sceptre passed out of her family, and no provision having been made for her, she was driven to subsist upon alms for the remaining five years of her life. During her long last illness she wrote some curious poetry describing her romantic, albeit mournful, career. It is to be found in the "Book of Leinster," and there is also mention of Gormlaith in other manuscripts, notably in the "Annals of Clonmacnoise" and in those of the "Four Masters."

This "fair and virtuous" lady's history has not infrequently been somewhat confused with that of a notorious namesake of hers who lived a few years later and also possessed the "fatal gift of beauty." This second Gormlaith, a Leinster princess, was first married to "Olaf of the Sandal," who had at one time ruled Northumbria, but, being expelled thence, came to Ireland, where he succeeded before long to the Danish kingdom of Dublin, which included Man and the Isles. Before his alliance with Gormlaith this Scandinavian prince had been wedded to the widow of King Donnal of Ireland, and now Malachy II., her son by the first husband, made war on his step-father and inflicted on him such a severe defeat that Olaf, broken spirited, started on a pilgrimage to Iona, whence he never returned. Gormlaith had borne her Danish lord a son named Sitric, who succeeded to the Kingship of Dublin, and now, when widowed, she espoused her dead husband's enemy, Malachy II., he of whom Moore wrote that he "wore the collar of gold which he won from the proud invader." In time they, too, had a son, who was named Conor, but before very long Malachy found cause to repudiate Gormlaith, who probably then went to live with Sitric, while the Irish King took for his consort her step-daughter, Sitric's half sister, Malmaria.

In addition to the Danish leaders, the great and good King Malachy had an important foe or rival in the King of Munster, the very celebrated "Brian Boru," who after some twenty years' warfare wrested from him in 1002 the supreme Kingship of Erin, which had for at least six centuries been vested in Malachy's race.

A couple of years previous to this the Munster monarch had formed an alliance with Sitric of Dublin, to whom, in order to cement their friendship, he gave his only daughter in marriage, while he himself, we are told, wedded Sitric's mother. As we have, however, evidence that Brian had already had a son by Gormlaith, it is quite possible that he was merely reunited to her at this period. Be that as it may, Gormlaith would appear to have consented to marry Brian as a political expedient, since even the Norse Saga

notes that she was "grim" against him, and she soon proved herself his most dangerous enemy by inciting her brother, Maelmurra of Leinster, who was already more or less hostile to his over-lord, to rebel against him. Maelmurra sought as allies the Norsemen, who, being already established in Normandy and having just seated a prince of their race on the English throne and made themselves masters of practically all the islands and part of the mainland of Scotland, desired nothing better than a chance of becoming paramount in Ireland, where they had long possessed strong coast settlements. At this stage of affairs Gormlaith left Brian and went back to Sitric, who shortly afterwards promised secretly, but with her own consent, his mother's much-coveted hand, not only to Siguard, the great Earl of the Orkneys, but to two or three powerful vikings as well, as an additional inducement to them to come and fight against Brian.

On Good Friday, 1014, there was fought close to Dublin the terrible Battle of Clontarf, between a mighty Danish force and their degenerate Leinster allies on the one side and Brian and Malachy, reinforced by troops led by the great Scotch lords, or "Marmois" of Lennox and Mar on the other. The writer of the "Njala Saga," Marianus Scotus, and other chroniclers describe this desperate struggle, in which Brian Boru was victorious, although he did not survive the day.

What was the eventual fate of Kormloda, as Brian's evil Queen is called in the "Saga," is not recorded. The Four Masters record her death under the entries of the year 1030.

Donogh, son of Brian and Gormlaith, succeeded his father as King of Munster and also claimed the crown of Ireland. He married for his second wife Driella, daughter of Earl Godwin and sister to Edward the Confessor's Queen. During the rebellion of Godwin Harold came to Ireland and Donogh placed nine ships at his disposal, and after the battle of Hastings we find Harold's sons seeking a refuge with their Irish kinsfolk.

During the period of increased disunion which prevailed in the country after the death of Brian, the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Briens of Munster (the head of which family is now represented by Lord Inchiquin) and the O'Conors of Connaught contended with one another for the supreme crown of Ireland. Roderick O'Conor, who abdicated in 1184, was the last Milesian King of all Ireland, although the provincial rulers remained monarchs, in name at least, until the reign of Elizabeth.

MRS. GREGORY STAPLETON.

## BURKE ON RELIGION AND THE CHURCH.

SIR EDMUND BURKE says that man is a religious animal. When Wordsworth notes that Shakespeare's plays are not so much interested in or occupied with religion as men really are, he quickly gains our assent. Those who say they do not think of the matter do protest too much. The more irreligious an assembly pretends to be, the greater its excitement about religion. Burke's day saw that; and we see the same. Religion touches on everything, our plain man Matthew Arnold said. "It is indeed quite astonishing how we ever stumble on theology in all our political questions"—but the only astonishing thing in that remark is M. Proudhon's astonishment. Still his socialism knows how things stand and what men are. It, too, is a doctrine, a religion—that men are sinned against, not sinning; the fault is in our stars, not in ourselves.

Burke's doctrine was the opposite, the Christian. He accepted an imperfect state, never to be wholly re-made in this world, full of evils which it is our duty to mitigate, though they cannot be altogether removed. The ideal for eye, ear and heart is to be reached, but not here. He would have happiness for all; he thinks it a statesman's interest to make men happy. But how? "He is not deprived of a due and anxious sensation of pity to the distresses of the miserable great." Even if we have what the world can give, yet "to the great the consolations of religion are necessary, . . . and its instructions. . . . Religious instruction is of more consequence to them than to any others; from the greatness of temptations to which they are exposed; from the important consequences that attend their faults; from the contagion of their ill example; from the necessity of bowing down the stubborn neck of their pride and ambition to the yoke of moderation and virtue; from a consideration of the fat stupidity and gross ignorance concerning what imports men most to know, which prevail at courts, and at the head of armies, and in senates, as much as at the loom and in the field." Religion is a condition of lasting happiness—for all.

In this matter Burke was consistent throughout. And again his words of self-criticism apply: "I believe if he could venture to value himself upon anything, it is on the virtue of consistency that he would value himself most. Strip him of that and you leave him naked indeed."

As early as 1773, in a speech on a bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters, he had maintained what religion is in society. "The most horrid and cruel blow that can be offered to society is through

atheism. Do not promote diversity; when you have it bear it; have as many sorts of religion as you find in your country; there is reasonable worship in them all. The others, the infidels, are outlaws of the constitution; not of this country, but of the human race. . . . How shall I arm myself against them? By uniting all those in affection who are united in the great principle of the Godhead, that made and sustains the world. They who hold revelation give double assurance to the country. Even the man who does not hold revelation, yet who wishes that it were proved to him, who observes a pious silence with regard to it, such a man, though not a Christian, is governed by religious principles. Let him be tolerated in this country. Let it be but a serious religion, natural or revealed. Take what you can get; cherish, blow up the slightest spark. One day it may be a pure and holy flame.<sup>1</sup> By this proceeding you form an alliance, offensive and defensive, against those great ministers of darkness in the world who are endeavoring to shake all the works of God established in order and beauty."

There are but two attitudes of mind, Burke would say—the proud intellectual, or defiant, restless and dreaming of perfection on earth, or paralyzed morally, wholly disheartened by false principles that turn difficulty into doubt; and, on the other side, the acceptance of our middle state, the submission, the wonder and awe, with reverence, the intellectual sanity, the welcoming of all truth, the acknowledging of difficulties impossible to answer, the trust, the act of faith as an effort of intellect and will. That is, he lives and moves by Catholic principles.

"I confess I trust infinitely more (according to the sound principles of those who have at any time meliorated the state of mankind) to the effect and influence of religion than to all the rest of the regulations put together." So when the churches were shut up in France, the people (he so expressed it) were hungering and thirsting for religion. And by educating without religion you neglect the chief means to the end proposed. Religion of all subjects is the most interesting to the statesman. And he calls "atheism the great *political* evil of our time." Guarding himself, he goes on: "I hope I need not apologize for this phrase, as if I thought religion nothing but policy. It is far from my thought, and I hope it is not to be inferred from my expressions. But in the light of policy alone I am considering the question." And he adds, as one might expect: "I speak of policy in a large light; in which large light policy, too, is a sacred thing. The State is to be looked on with

<sup>1</sup> Burke fitted up a place of worship on his own property for some Brahmans who, being in England, were exposed to coldness and contempt as to religion, and thus fearful or disheartened in practicing the only religion they knew or would live by.

reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead and those who are to be born. Each contract of each particular State is but a clause in the great primæval contract of eternal society." And: "An alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth is, in my opinion, an idle and fanciful speculation. An alliance is between two things that are in their nature distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign States. But in a Christian commonwealth the Church and State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole.<sup>2</sup> We have consecrated the State. . . . He who gave our nature to be perfected by our virtue willed also the necessary means of its perfection. He willed therefore the State; He willed its connection with the source and original archetype of all perfection. They who are convinced of this His will, which is the law of laws and the sovereign of sovereigns, cannot think it reprehensible that this our corporate fealty and homage, that this our recognition of a seigniorly paramount, I had almost said this oblation of the State itself, as a worthy offering on the high altar of universal praise, should be performed, as all public and solemn acts are performed, in buildings, in decoration, in speech, in the dignity of persons, according to the customs of mankind, taught by their nature; that is, with modest splendor, with unassuming state, with mild majesty and sober pomp. For those purposes they think some part of the wealth of the country is as usefully employed as it can be in fomenting the luxury of individuals. It is the public ornament. It is the public consolation. It nourishes the public hope. The poorest man finds his importance and dignity in it, whilst the wealth and pride of individuals at every moment makes the man of humble rank and fortune sensible of his inferiority and degrades and vilifies his condition. It is for the man in humble life, and to raise his nature, and to put him in mind of a state in which the privileges of opulence will cease, when he will be equal by nature and may be more than equal by virtue, that this portion of the general wealth of his country is employed and sanctified."

The Church of the poor; the home of the poor; and this instructor in lofty ideals, in art and its hidden, maybe unrecognized teachings, the devotion to something apart from the sphere of our

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<sup>2</sup> Speech on the petition of the Unitarians.

sorrow; the ever present witness against our materialism, the supernatural, the incarnate as it were in our midst; the champion of the oppressed; the bold face towards the rich and powerful; the maker of Christian marriage laws, the protector of women; the equalizer, under whose civilization none feel degraded; the institution whose Popes are, it may be, princes or sprung from the poor and the humble, whose priesthood and orders hide all distinctions and carry out the fraternity the cruel world raves about—who is this? What is this? With how much greater force Burke's words apply to her of whom Lecky writes: "That Church which often seemed so haughty and overbearing in its dealings with Kings and nobles never failed to listen to the poor and the oppressed; and for many years their protection was the foremost of all the objects of its policy," than they apply to the product of the Reformation—triumph of Kings and nobles, of rack-renters and those who could be henceforth at their will either employers or despoilers of the championless poor; that modern Church of England (Burke's Church), described in its origin even by Arnold of Rugby when he wrote: "Our Church has ever borne the marks of her birth, the child of regal and aristocratical selfishness and tyranny."

But Burke writes as the statesman, though he says he knows that religion must first be looked at otherwise. He found no time to bring his mind well to bear on this earlier aspect. And finding the noble and just men, past and present, who had settled into conformity with the body that originated in Macaulay's "political job," or who had given a being, by their piety and godly traditions, to what they would have shrunk from as an ill-looking spiritual non-entity at its inception, Burke therefore accepted what he found thus beautifully ennobled by its members' works; just as he had accepted the Establishment in Scotland. It is as it was with the English Prayer Book, once so scorned by the Catholic English, but when forced upon them then accepted, and gradually gathering round its fragments the holy associations of personal devotion and the piety of those beloved, not without the traditions of the sacred dead, and the halo of a national institution. In a letter to his own much-loved son he writes: "I do not pretend to take pride in an extravagant attachment to any sect. Some gentlemen in Ireland affect that sort of glory. It is to their taste. Their piety, I take for granted, justifies the fervor of their zeal, and may palliate the excess of it. Being myself no more than a common layman, commonly informed in controversies, leading only a very common life and having only a common citizen's interest in the Church or in the State, yet to you I will say, in justice to my own sentiments, that not one of those zealots for a Protestant interest wishes more sin-

cerely than I do—perhaps not half so sincerely—for the support of the Established Church in both these realms. It is a great link towards holding fast the connection of religion with the State and for keeping these two islands, in their present critical independence of constitution,<sup>3</sup> in a close connection of *opinion and affection*. I wish it well as the religion of the greater number of the primary landed proprietors of the kingdom, with whom all establishments of Church and State, for strong political reasons, ought, in my opinion, to be warmly connected. I wish it well because it is more closely combined than any other of the Church systems with the *Crown*, which is the stay of the mixed constitution, because it is, as things now stand, the sole connecting political principle between the constitutions of the two independent kingdoms. I have another, and infinitely a stronger reason for wishing it well—it is that in the present time I consider it as one of the main pillars of the Christian religion itself. The body and substance of any religion I regard much more than any of the forms and dogmas of the particular sects. Its fall would leave a great void which nothing else of which I can form any distinct idea would fill. I respect the Catholic hierarchy and the Presbyterian republic. But I know that the hope or the fear of establishing either of them is in these kingdoms equally chimerical, even if I preferred one or the other of them to the Establishment, which I certainly do not. I wish to see the Established Church of England great and powerful; I wish to see her foundations laid low and deep, that she may crush the giant powers of rebellious darkness; I would have her head raised up to heaven, to which she conducts us. I would have her open wide her hospitable gates by a noble and liberal comprehension; but I would have no breaches in her wall. I would have her cherish all those who are within and pity all those who are without; I would have her a common blessing to the world, an example, if not an instructor, to those who have not the happiness to belong to her; I would have her give a lesson of peace to mankind, that a vexed and wandering generation might be taught to seek for repose and toleration in the maternal bosom of Christian charity, and not in the harlot lap of infidelity and indifference. Nothing has driven people more into that house of seduction than the mutual hatred of Christian congregations. Long may we enjoy our church under a learned and edifying episcopacy. But episcopacy may fail and religion exist. . . . The cause of the Church of England is included in that of religion, not that of religion in the Church of England. I will stand up at all times for the rights of conscience,

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<sup>3</sup> From 1782 to 1800 the only link between Great Britain and Ireland being the holding of the two crowns by the same prince.

as it is such, not for its particular modes against its general principles. One may be right, another mistaken; but if I have more strength than my brother, it shall be employed to support, not oppress his weakness; if I have more light it shall be used to guide, not to dazzle him."<sup>4</sup>

Newman almost echoes Burke, but with what a different intention. It illustrates his own steady words: that I will not admit anything until I know what use you are going to make of what I say; and again, that most arguments are useless because men do not agree about the premises. As to the Church of England: "For the first time I looked at it from without, and (as I should myself say) saw it as it was. Forthwith I could not get myself to see in it anything else than what I had so long fearfully suspected—a mere national institution. . . . I recognize in the Anglican Church a time honored institution of noble historical memories, a monument of ancient wisdom, a momentous arm of political strength, and to a certain point a witness and teacher of religious truth."<sup>5</sup> But, as indeed Burke had implied, if we place him with Newman at the supernatural and thence judge: "It has no traditions; it cannot be said to think; it does not know what it holds and what it does not; it is not even conscious of its own existence. It has no love for its members, or what are sometimes called its children. . . . Its fruits, as far as they are good, are to be made much of as long as they last, for they are transient and without succession. Its former champions of orthodoxy are no earnest of orthodoxy now; they died, and there was no reason why they should be reproduced."<sup>6</sup> I have said all this not in declamation, but to bring out clearly why I cannot feel interest of any kind in the National Church nor put any trust in it at all from its past history, as if it were, in however narrow a sense, a guardian of orthodoxy. It is as little bound by

<sup>4</sup> Speech on a bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters.

<sup>5</sup> "Apologia," p. 339.

<sup>6</sup> At any time since Newman wrote one may hear words—are they pathetic or only plaintive; or are they proved a little silly?—such as these from a tormented ritualist: "Surely what is necessary is a real collective episcopal pronouncement on the doctrine of the Church of England. . . . We do not want the opinions of individual Bishops, because it is notorious that they are not agreed amongst themselves, and that the opinion of the Bishop in no wise binds the successor in his see. We cannot keep on changing our religion to satisfy the variant views of an unlimited number of infallible [*sic*] Popes." (The Rev. H. Evans, *Church Times*, Nov. 14, 1902.) The poor man would also echo a ritualist brother's cry: "I am heartsick and weary of having part or lot with the inheritance of those bold, bad men, the reformers, and of dwelling in the tents of the English Establishment." But the first quoted writer has done more since that note was taken, as he has left off walling at self-imposed tortures and has come to his realities of Rome and is now a priest. But others, in the weekly *Church Times*, still echo his old self, woefully.



what it said or did formerly as this morning's newspaper by its former numbers, except as it is bound by the law. . . . As the nation changes its political, so it may change its religious views."

To a typical English churchman that is, I think, no unreasonable relation between a nation and its religion. I remember hearing Mr. Gladstone make a speech, pleading for the religious life of the Church as something independent of connection with state or nation; and, incidentally (in the presence, by the way, of the present Protestant Primate of all Ireland, then disestablished Bishop of Derry), the author of the Irish Church Disestablishment Act spoke of the advantages of a free life for the Church. Full of religious enthusiasm the speaker seemed to be. However, all the effect the eloquence had on an ex-Governor from Australia was that this gallant Imperialist made a speech, agreeing, he said, with Mr. Gladstone that the English Church was, indeed, to be cherished as a link that bound the colonies to the mother country. If I did not misunderstand Bishop Wescott of Durham, neither did he seem to follow Mr. Gladstone in his flight to that upper region, where Manning and Hope Scott had wondered, as they longed, whether Gladstone would not maintain himself. But indeed even good Roman Catholics are sound only materially when they quote from the "Idea of a University" Newman's description of a perfect gentleman of the world and dwell on it as the highest state a Christian can be supposed to reach, while the author wrote it to show how grateful, noble and just can be that man who is a pagan.

So true is it that most of us need daily reminders that God's ways are not our ways; that things are not what they seem; that natural goodness is beautiful and as often hollow and insincere, deceiving and deceived. Things are what they are. Therefore the Puritan did not feign at all, nor the cynic, when they told these home truths, though in their proud or uncharitable fashion. And therefore even their philosophy or religion is more interesting than any sentimental or inspiring appeals to the shifting notions that our family or friends or nation may happen to have. A national religion is of all the least interesting to poet, philosopher, saint or sinner.

Burke has, indeed, indicated a preference in matters of religion. And he does go one step anyway, as we have seen, behind legislative establishment, while, as he said before, generally treating religion as a statesman's affair. He does say: "Legislative authority cannot be the ground of religious persuasion. . . . Religion, to have any force on men's understandings—indeed, to exist at all—must be supposed paramount to laws and independent for its substance on any human institution. . . . Religion is not be-

lieved because the laws have established it; but it is established because the leading part of the community have previously believed it to be true. *To claim religious assent on mere human authority is absurd and preposterous.*" That places him with Newman on the road to the Church, though he stopped by the way.

Let us bear those words of his in mind and his exact old-fashioned use of the last adjective.

What, then, in Burke's mind, is the Church? We have seen that he speaks of the truth of religious teaching as something antecedent to its establishment. But as for forms of Christianity, though he considered that there were better and worse, yet once you had Christianity, then came the nation; and while your difference in religion did not suffice to cut you off from other members of the Christian commonwealth, it at the same time gave you within the borders of your own state (also a sacred entity) a form of the religion to which all within that nation might well bow. And so Church establishments, even if made by states, as the Whig doctrine seems to imply, were yet sacred, because life was sacred, because the nation was sacred, because Christianity in general was the truth, and State and Church were really one. If that was Whigism, it was Whigism lifted out of its commonplace, glorified by imagination and made beautiful by reverence. It might even satisfy a Tory of old, unless he were already a High churchman in a more modern sense.

Burke could not, indeed, make light in one sense of differences between Christians: "I shall never call any religious opinions which appear important to serious and pious minds things of no consideration. Nothing is so fatal to religion as indifference, which is at least half infidelity." It is the helplessness or madness of atheism, implying a state of moral being as well as of speculative intelligence, a total inversion of the true kingdom of man within. That is what Burke was always considering—as statesman, and also as individual responsible man, as Englishman, husband, father, friend. "What is Jacobinism? It is an attempt (hitherto but too successful) to eradicate prejudice out of the minds of men for the purpose of putting all power and authority into the hands of persons capable of occasionally enlightening the minds of the people. . . . As the grand prejudice, and that which holds all the other prejudices together, the first, last and middle object of their hostility is religion. With that they are at inexpiable war. They make no distinction of sects. A Christian as such is to them their enemy. What, then, is left to a real Christian (Christian as a believer and as a statesman) but to make a league between all the grand divisions of that name; to protect and to cherish them all,

and by no means to proscribe in any manner, more or less, any member of our common party? The divisions which formerly prevailed in the Church, with all their overdone zeal, only purified and ventilated our common faith, because there was no common enemy arrayed and embattled to take advantage of their discussions; but now nothing but inevitable ruin will be the consequence of our quarrels. . . . All the principal religions in Europe stand upon one common bottom. The support that the whole or the favored parts may have in the secret dispensations of Providence it is impossible to tell; but, humanly speaking, they are all *prescriptive* religions. They have all stood long enough to make prescription and its chain of legitimate prejudices their mainstay. The people who compose the four grand divisions of Christianity have now their religion as a habit, and upon authority, and not on disputation—as all men who have their religion derived from their parents, and the fruits of education, *must* have it, however the one, more than the other, may be able to reconcile his faith to his own reason, or that of other men. Depend upon it, they must be all supported or they must all fall in the crash of a common ruin. The Catholics are the far more numerous part of the Christians in your country [Ireland], and how can Christianity (that is now the point in issue) be supported under the persecution, or even under the discountenance of the greater number of Christians? It is a great truth, and which in one of the debates I stated as strongly as I could to the House of Commons in the last session,<sup>7</sup> that if the Catholic religion is destroyed by the infidels, it is a most contemptible and absurd idea that this or any Protestant Church can survive that event. Therefore my humble and decided opinion is that all the three religions, prevalent more or less in various parts of these islands, ought all, insubordination to the legal establishments as they stand in the several countries, to be all countenanced, protected and cherished, and that in Ireland particularly the Roman Catholic religion should be upheld in high respect and veneration, and should be, in its place, provided with all the means of making it a blessing to the people who profess it; that it ought to be cherished as a good (though not as the most preferable good, if a choice was now to be made), and not tolerated as an inevitable evil.”<sup>8</sup> “The Protestant Church’s religion, which the King is bound to maintain, has a positive part in it as well as a negative; and the positive part of it (in which we are in perfect agreement with the Catholics and with the Church of Scotland) is infinitely the most valuable and essential.”<sup>9</sup> Catholics are “men we know to agree in

<sup>7</sup> 1794; during the Reign of Terror in France.

<sup>8</sup> Letter to William Smith, 1795.

<sup>9</sup> Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, 1792.

every iota in every one *positive* doctrine which all of us who profess the religion authoritatively [*sic*] taught in England hold ourselves, according to our faculties, bound to believe. The Catholics have the whole of our *positive* religion; our difference is only a negation of certain tenets of theirs. If we strip ourselves of *that* part of Catholicism we abjure Christianity."

It is evident that there are two men here in Burke. He would, I take it, readily assent to Newman's basis of self-evident truths: the existence of God and his own existence. He would meet unbelief on another basis also, and would assert the absolute in morals. He might refuse to argue here, but refuse intellectually, seeing that there is an impossibility in utter negation, or agnosticism, as now he might be forced to say. Action is necessary, and man acting, immediately distinguishes, rejects, prefers, and reflecting on his action asks why he so acts and sees in the answer he must give the foundation of belief, even in the instinctive choice which by the constitution of our nature we find that we make.

If, then, there is a distinction between right and wrong, between objective falsehood and truth, there does yet remain a difficulty in facing varying religions and their claims, but only the difficulty already met and faced, the existence of evil. Having come up to Christianity, to suggest, then, that the rival claims of doctrines taught must be disregarded, seeing that Christianity in general is true, this is really to cast the mind down again to the denial of objective truth or right—that impossible state from which, as Burke agrees, the facts of our existence drive us upward. He spoke as a statesman, he spoke as an opportunist, in his own humane and noble sense, and then as a conservative, as a lover of order, in dread of disturbing men's beliefs and basis of action, as a philosopher who knew so much of men's weakness, of their thoughtlessness, their good instincts, their dangerous passions, their ready yielding to wickedness freely taught. But, as Aubrey de Vere says of Bacon, whenever the question of authority in religion was posed, as between Catholics and Protestants—shall we now say Rationalists?—he put it by. And yet here we are face to face with the question. What is our answer?

Burke lays firm a groundwork for the Theist, for the Christian. Religion he finds the great fact, the most real part of man's nature; revelation is neither impossible nor unlikely; the burden of proof is on the denier of that to which the best that is in man has borne testimony, from within and from without. Then there is an appeal made by the earliest Christian witnesses to facts. And of all men Burke must feel the full force of what the Church means by tradition in its organic life. And so, further, as reason within its limits

works its way, he would be the first to look up for the ray of grace by which faith (as one may put it)—reason further enlightened—makes acts of holy confidence. The Christian religion comes by authority, received by us more passively now, or less. Burke's statesman's fear of questioning the basis of things took possession of him, having said so much; and where he had reached the less difficult part of the problem these discussions between Christians became to him puzzlings in things hidden. Yet they are far less of a puzzle than his own disputes with the atheists. As he said, "with reverence"—in words almost identical in spirit with Cardinal Newman's—"the truths of Christianity are not so evident as are some of men's mutual duties to one another."<sup>10</sup> It is otherwise evident that you must have authority to witness to Scripture, and that Protestantism as such is neither witness nor teacher. Not to see this is ridiculous, Burke himself declares in words quoted further on. But "straightway he forgetteth." "He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it." But perhaps Burke never saw the "wafture of the hand," nor understood the beckoning if he saw. As I have just said, he has indeed admitted this and has here condemned himself.

Religion is authoritatively taught in England, he maintains—the established religion. So it was before this present religion of the country came into existence. So it is in the Scottish established religion. The old and the new differ in what it is vain to call trifles,

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<sup>10</sup> However, compare Butler's "Analogy," end of Part II., chap. vi. The state of religion implies state of probation. Credibility of a state of probation admitted, then there is no peculiar difficulty in supposing it to be just as it is.

The objections of the spirit of the revolution are really objections to the facts of existence. You cannot escape from this middle state. The objections might lead you to a nothingness, as Butler says. But that being impossible, you are started again (1) by facts without, (2) by facts within; and thus you must admit distinctions, and admit "difficulties, not doubts." "The evidence upon which we must act, if we will live and act at all, is perpetually doubtful to a very high degree." Newman's tribute to Butler is well known. But his early guide did not act as consistently as the disciple who "believed in a God on a ground of probability . . . believed in Christianity on a probability . . . and believed in Catholicism on a probability"—the last act of faith the easiest, the most imperative, as nearly all men judge who think well on it. There are: "Les ténèbres même, si je l'ose dire, et les saintes obscurités de la foi." But, in Newman's words in the "Apologia:" "Absolute certitude we are able to possess . . . whether as to the moral truths of natural theology or as to the facts of a revelation . . . [as] the result of an assemblage of concurring and converging probabilities . . . which did not reach to logical certainty, [but] might suffice for a mental certitude. He who has made us has so willed . . . and He coöperates with us . . . and thereby enables us to do that which he wills us to do, and carries us on, if our will does but coöperate with His, to a certitude which rises higher than the logical force of our conclusions."

if so be that Burke's own devout acceptance of revealed religion be a rational act at all. Nor is it less vain trifling to doubt for a moment that Burke's place would have been with Fisher and More. And yet in things of eternity they all stand or all fall together. Here is no time, but a thousand years are as one day.

Again, he did question Protestantism. By whose authority? Who made thee a judge of these Scriptures? For, as his subsequently quoted words but fairly state, they can be known to be what you say only by divine authority. He has asked that fatal question, fatal to him who cannot be a rationalist, who dares not be a Catholic or whose eyes are holden. He must give up further inquiry as puzzling; he must turn to his work in the world, it may be, with an honest and true heart. No wonder that a rumor grew up that Burke, thus at the threshold of the consistency of the Church, had taken the hand of his priest friend, Dr. Hussey, president of Maynooth, and had entered in. But doubtless he followed not the path to the Holy Doors, or else they were hid from his eyes. "Thou knowest not now; thou shalt know hereafter."

He frequently seems angered at the use of the word "Protestant;" not theologically, but because he was pleading with those who used it to justify or gratify themselves in persecution, and also because of its negative force. So he greatly disliked the use of the word "non-Catholicism"—in a toleration act in France in 1787—as if it meant to shelter all or any impiety. In a letter to his son (178-) he speaks against the new word Protestant *ascendency* in Ireland, the which in plain old English signified, he declared, pride and dominion on one part of the relation, and on the other subserviency and contempt. "By the use of this term the name Protestant becomes nothing more or better than the name of a persecuting faction, with a relation of some sort of hostility to others;" and, continuing, he expresses a certain irritation seemingly against the word at all as being a negation—"but without any sort of ascertained tenets of its own upon the ground of which it persecutes other men; for the patrons of this Protestant ascendency neither do, nor can by anything positive, define or describe what they mean by the word Protestant. It is defined as Cowley defines wit, not by what it is, but by what it is not. It is not the Christian religion as professed in the churches holding communion with Rome—the majority of Christians; that is all."<sup>11</sup> He goes on to say that this

<sup>11</sup> "We sometimes hear of a Protestant *religion*, frequently of a Protestant *interest*. We hear of the latter the most frequently, because it has a positive meaning. The other has none." In the "Reflections" (1790), however, are the words, expressing his ideal: "Violently condemning neither the Greek, nor the Armenian, nor, since the heats are subsided, the Roman system of religion, we prefer the Protestant; not because we think it has less of the Christian religion in it, but because, in our judgment, it has more. We are Protestants not from indifference, but from zeal."

negative attitude makes their persecution worse than that of the old persecutors, strong dogmatists. And still more eagerly he says this of the Jacobins who would go as far as the enforcing of no religion, or at least as the patronizing of such a state. But, "This much, my dear son, I have to say of this Protestant persecution in Ireland, that it is a persecution of religion itself." And, scoffing at this "junto" of ascendancy in Ireland, he wrote in the "Regicide Peace" (Letter iv.) that when the anti-Christian republic sends its ambassador to London "we shall then have a French ambassador without a suspicion of popery. One good it will have: it will go some way in quieting the minds of that synod of zealous Protestant lay elders who govern Ireland on the pacifick principles of polemick theology, and who now, from dread of the pope, cannot take a cool bottle of claret or enjoy an innocent parliamentary job with any tolerable quiet." So in the last year of his life: "Without in the least derogating from the talents of your theological politicians, or from the military abilities of your commanders (who act on the same principles) in Ireland," he says that for attacks on the Pope and all his adherents, they may think themselves inferior to "the Protestant Directory of Paris as statesmen and the Protestant hero Bonaparte as a general, . . . and to that true Protestant *Hoche*, with an army not infected with the slightest tincture of popery."<sup>12</sup> "I ought to suppose that the arrival of General Hoche is eagerly expected in Ireland; for he, too, is a most zealous Protestant, and he has given proof of it by the studied cruelties and insults by which he put to death the old Bishop of Dol [in Bretagne], whom (but from the mortal fear I am in lest the suspicion of popery should attach upon me) I should call a glorious martyr, and should class him amongst the most venerable prelates that have appeared in this century. It is to be feared, however, that the zealots will be disappointed in their pious hopes by the season of the year and the bad condition of the Jacobin navy, which may keep him this winter from giving his brother Protestants his kind assistance in accomplishing with you what the other friend of the cause, Bonaparte, is doing in Italy; and what the masters of these two pious men, the Protestant Directory of France, have so thoroughly accomplished in that, the most Popish, but unluckily whilst Popish, the most cultivated, the most populous and the most flourishing of all countries—the Austrian Netherlands."<sup>13</sup>

Burke was evidently angry enough when he wrote thus. His scorn was reserved, however, for what he thought at bottom an irreligious persecution, excited by interest rather than religion.

<sup>12</sup> A letter on the affairs of Ireland.

<sup>13</sup> A letter to the Rev. Dr. Hussey, 1796.

And about different religions as such he was serious, in his way. But, as we have seen, he would not concern himself deeply with the differences between Christians. At least: "I do not wish any man to be converted from his sect. The distinctions . . . may be even useful to the cause of religion. By some moderate contention they keep alive zeal."<sup>14</sup> "Whereas, people who change, except under strong conviction (a thing now rare. No converts will now be made in considerable numbers from one of our sects to the other upon a really religious principle. Controversy moves in another direction.), the religion of their early prejudices, especially if the conversion is brought about by any political machine, are very apt to degenerate into indifference, laxity and often downright atheism."<sup>15</sup>

Burke would not put country above *some* form of religion, some form of *Christianity* even. But, once you had that, you observed "with some concern that there are many whose minds are so formed that they find the communion of religion to be a close and endearing tie, and their country no bond at all." And they are led so far by these sympathies in religion that the nature of essential justice for them seems changed, according as the men concerned are Catholics or Protestants. He is appealing to Protestants in England to have sympathy with English and Irish Catholics, as they have with Protestants in France. "This hunting after foreign affections is a disarrangement of the whole system of our duties. This no one would help observing who has seen our doors bountifully thrown open to foreign sufferers for conscience,<sup>16</sup> whilst through the same ports were issuing fugitives of our own, driven from their country for a cause which to an indifferent [impartial] person would seem exactly similar."<sup>17</sup>

What, in his mind, was that national form of English religion to which he seemed sincerely attached?

If you alter her symbols you do not destroy the being of the Church of England. "The Church, like every body corporate, may alter her laws without changing her identity. As an independent church, proposing fallibility, she has claimed a right of acting without the consent of any other; as a Church she claims, and has always exercised"—"the national Church of my own country;" "another Church,"<sup>18</sup> he terms it, from the one plundered by Henry VIII.—"a right of reforming whatever appeared amiss in her doc-

<sup>14</sup> Remarks on the policy of the Allies, 1793.

<sup>15</sup> Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, 1795.

<sup>16</sup> Some eight thousand Catholic priests had been hospitably received in England when in danger of their lives in France.

<sup>17</sup> Tracts on the Popery laws.

<sup>18</sup> Letter to a noble lord.



trines, her discipline or her rites." He instances rejection of papal supremacy under Henry VIII., thinking of that "other Church," also, in its national aspect,<sup>19</sup> and then twice changing the liturgy under Edward VI.; establishing "articles which were themselves a variation from her former profession;" reducing 42 articles to 39; "and she certainly would not lose her identity nor subvert her fundamental principles, though she were to leave ten of the 39 which remain out of any future confession of her faith." Perhaps he seems half to wish that were to do; for he says that though "I will not enter into the abstract merit of our articles or liturgy, yet perhaps there are some things in them which one would wish had not been there. They are not without the marks and characters of human frailty." Following history, he says to Parliament—urging members not to alter the liturgy without due cause, but not thinking of denying their competency now, as in the past, and not doubting that he would accept alterations—"you altered the liturgy for the Directory. . . . At the restoration, both sides rejected the Directory and reformed the Common Prayer. . . . Two thousand clergy resigned their livings in one day rather than read it; and truly, rather than raise that second idol, I should have adhered to the Directory as I now adhere to the Common Prayer. . . . I have an high opinion of the doctrines of the Church. I receive them implicitly, or I put my own explanation on them, or take that which seems to me to come best recommended by authority [*sic*]. . . . Some persons think more rigidly of the doctrine of the articles relative to predestination than others do. They sign the article relative to it *ex animo*, and literally. Others allow a latitude of construction. . . . These two parties are in the church, yet we live quietly under the same roof. I do not see why, as long as Providence gives us no further light into this great mystery, we should not leave things as the Divine Wisdom has left them. . . . Instead of puzzling ourselves in the depth of the Divine counsels, let us turn to the mild morality of the Gospel." . . . But, "point your arms against men who, not contented with endeavoring to turn your eyes from the blaze and effulgence of light, by which life and immortality is so gloriously demonstrated by the Gospel, would even extinguish that faint glimmering of nature, that only comfort supplied to ignorant man before this great illumination—they who, by attacking even the possibility of all Revelation, arraign all the dispensations of Providence to man."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> "But you ought to think your conscience erroneous when you have against you the whole council of the nation." And the martyr, Sir Thomas More, answered: "I should if I had not for me a still greater council, the whole council of Christendom."

<sup>20</sup> Speeches on the Act of Uniformity and the bill for the relief of Protestant dissenters.

It is like the good folks who complain of the Church formulating a Creed of Pope Pius, or those who are sorry she amplified the Nicene into the Athanasian, or like Jeremy Taylor, who would have her content with that called the Apostles'. Well, it may not be the duty of every one to think a matter out, or seeing he may not see.

The question of religious Toleration is treated by Burke in three speeches :

1772. On the Act of Uniformity ; on the petition of some clergymen, lawyers and doctors to be relieved from subscription to the 39 Articles.

1773. On a bill for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters.

1792. On the petition of the Unitarians to repeal the test acts.

"If there was anything to which, from reason, nature, habit and principle, I am totally averse, it is persecution for conscientious difference of opinion." This, we might suppose, Burke would say, and this he does say in the speech on the Act of Uniformity. But he rejects the petition. He says there are only a few petitioners. Shall we for them change the constitution established in Church and State and alter our liturgy and articles? "Dissent, not satisfied with toleration is not conscience, but ambition." Let them go outside the establishment and be perpetually free. We have peace; let us keep it. They say that subscription usurps the rights of Providence. Yet if we have a religion publicly practised and publicly taught, we must have a power to say what that religion will be, and to distinguish it by such marks and characteristics as you in your wisdom shall think fit. Sensible of the force of these arguments, they answer that they admit of our subscription, that is, to Scripture. "I shall not consider how forcibly this argument militates with their whole principle against subscription as an usurpation against the right of Providence. I content myself with submitting to the consideration of the House that if that rule were once established it must have some authority to enforce obedience, because you well know a law without a sanction will be ridiculous. . . . They dispute only the extent of the subscription; they therefore tacitly admit the equity of the principle itself. Here they do not resort to the original rights of nature, because it is manifest that those rights give as large a power of controverting every part of Scripture, or even the authority of the whole, as they do the controverting of any article whatsoever. When a man requires for you to sign an assent to Scripture he requires of you to assent to a doctrine as contrary to your natural understanding and to your rights of free inquiry as those who require your conformity to any one article whatsoever. The subscription to Scripture is the most

astonishing idea I ever heard, and will amount to just nothing at all. Gentlemen have not, that I heard, ever thought of answering a plain obvious question—What is Scripture to which they are content to subscribe? They do not think that a book becomes of divine authority because it is bound in blue morocco. The Bible is a vast collection of different treatises—no one summary of doctrines in which a man could not mistake his way; . . . a man who holds the divine authority of one treatise may consider the other as merely human. What is his canon? The Jewish—St. Jerome's—that of the 39 articles—Luther's? . . . To ascertain Scripture you must have one article more, and you must define what that Scripture is which you mean to teach. . . . It is necessary to sort out what is intended for example, what only as narrative, what is to be understood literally, what figuratively, . . . what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation, what appropriated to one state and to one set of men and what the general duty of Christians. If we do not get some security for this, we not only permit, but we actually pay for all the dangerous fanaticism which can be produced to corrupt our people and to derange the public worship of the country.”<sup>21</sup> So he refused to grant the petition that asked for change within the Established Church, on grounds illogical and practically disturbing.

And so of religious toleration. Yield all you can. And it is possible to yield much. If I thought toleration to be against the interests of Christianity, I might be for intolerance. “God forbid! I may be mistaken, but I take toleration to be a part of religion. I do not know which I would sacrifice. I would keep them both; it is not necessary I should sacrifice either.” By intolerance you reach the conscientious; you let go free those with weaker consciences, or none. I consider this doctrine of toleration the best part of Christianity.” “And I will not,” as some ask me, “give heathens the glory” of it. Their tolerating spirit has been praised. However, “heathens, polytheists must permit a number of divinities. . . . But was it ever heard that polytheism tolerated a dissent from a polytheistic establishment, the belief of one God only? They tolerated also Epicureans, who “made it a principle of their irreligion outwardly to conform to any religion.” . . . Now, “I do not like the idea of tolerating the doctrines of Epicurus, but nothing in the world propagates them so much as the oppression of the poor, of the honest and the candid disciples of the

<sup>21</sup> “If we do not get some security.” Much virtue in *it*. What good security is there but the one? “People should not marvel that I hold to the interpretation of the Church in explaining the Holy Scriptures, for it is her authority that makes me accept those same Scriptures and which induces me to believe them.” (Erasmus to Ribaldus, 1527.)

religion we possess in common, I mean revealed religion. . . . My opinion is that in establishing the Christian religion wherever you find it . . . a man is much better justified in [thus] saying, Tolerate all kinds of consciences, than in imitating the heathens . . . in tolerating those who have none."<sup>22</sup> He maintains, therefore, that the dissenters outside have a right to toleration. They do not ask to teach what they like within the established order. They say: "Tolerate us—we desire neither the parochial advantages of tithes, nor dignities, nor the stalls of your cathedrals."

Twenty years later he resisted the petition of the Unitarians for repeal of the test acts, not only because he thought they were a new, until then unheard of society of persons, not yet having prescriptive rights to be heard, but also because he thought the petition to be really an effort of the faction desirous of subverting the English Constitution, after the manner of recent doings in France. The first duty of statesmen is to ask what are the circumstances. When he spoke of toleration and the Revolution he said: "We hear these new teachers continually boasting of their spirit of toleration. That those persons should tolerate all opinions who think none to be of estimation, is a matter of small merit. Equal neglect is not impartial kindness. The species of benevolence which arises from contempt is no true charity. There are in England abundance of men who tolerate in the true spirit of toleration. They think the dogmas of religion, though in different degrees, are all of moment, and that amongst them there is, as amongst all things of value, a just ground of preference. They favor, therefore, and they tolerate. They tolerate not because they despise opinions, but because they expect justice. They would reverently and affectionately protect all religions, because they love and venerate the great principle upon which they all agree, and the great object to which they are all directed. They begin more and more plainly to discern that we have all a common cause as against a common enemy. It is impossible for me to say what may be the character of every description of men amongst us. But I speak for the greater part; and for them I must tell you that sacrilege is no part of their doctrine of good works."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Speech on the petition of the dissenters, 1773.

<sup>23</sup> What would Burke not have felt and said in his heart had he lived through the sacrilege of the "great pillage?" Think of him as he saw "missals chopped in pieces, college libraries burned and plundered," when "plunder became the general law of the land" (Froude); or listened to "all the blasphemous mocking and scoffing which disgraced the Protestant party at the time of the Reformation" (Maitland); or watched them "throwing the country into convulsions, committing public robbery on an enormous scale and shedding streams of innocent blood" (Goldwin Smith—for a third Protestant historian). He would have judged the "national church" then,

This intolerance for what seems to cut at the root of society is inherent in Burke's estimate of this society as the great moral band enclosing the life of the civil man, within which he finds his nourishment, his means of right living here and his severe preparation for a world without evil. We must hate evil if we love good. We are not born to speculate, but to live, reflecting and accountable, and to die. Action is needful now and ever. We have received a guide, let us follow it. And anything further seems so confusing that, as Chaucer would say, the answer of it I leave to divines.<sup>24</sup>

and its altar-smashing Bishop of London, Ridley, as he judged his contemporaneous constitution civile and its "mountebank" Bishop Gobel, of Paris. The old sacrilege would have been judged as he judged the new. Of course, he had a vision of his own as he looked back through the years: "The teachers who reformed our religion in England bore no sort of resemblance to your reforming doctors in Paris. Perhaps they were (like those whom they opposed) rather more than could be wished under the influence of a party spirit; but . . . these men would have disavowed with horror those wretches who claimed a fellowship with them upon no other titles than those of their having pillaged the persons with whom they maintained controversies, and their having despised the common religion." "It was long before the spirit of true piety and true wisdom, involved in the principles of the Reformation, could be depurated from the dregs and feculence of the contention with which it was carried through." So now there are ascribed to the Revolution, with something of the same truth and error, principles which existed before it, and have happily survived both it and its elder sister fury. As to which elder's day, with all due respect to Burke, we now know that "it is true enough that each party abused the other, and that many keen, severe, false and malicious things were put forth by the Romish party; but for senseless cavilling and scurrilous railing and ribaldry, and for the most offensive 'personalities' for the reckless imputations of the worst motives and most odious vices. In short, for all that was calculated to render an opponent hateful in the eyes of those who were no judges of the matter in dispute, some of the Puritan (*i. e.*, early reformers) party went far beyond their adversaries. I do not want to defend the Romish writers . . . but it really appears to me only simple truth to say that, whether from good or bad motives [*sic*], they did, in fact, abstain from that fierce, truculent and abusive language and that loathsome ribaldry which characterized the style of too many of the Puritan ('reforming') writers." (Maitland, "The Reformation," pp. 47-48, ed. 1849.) "We cannot but remember that libels scarcely less scandalous than those of Hébert, mummeries scarcely less absurd than those of Clootz, and crimes scarcely less atrocious than those of Marat, disgrace the early history of Protestantism." (Macaulay, "Eayys" I, p. 227.) Consult Green, Froude, Gairdner for the facts, anyway, for blasphemy written and spoken for proposals of polygamy and for stabbing of priests at the altar in the days of that earlier "French Revolution." Of what Catholic priest leader could any one in his senses say what Lecky says of Knox—"this great apostle of murder?" ("Hist. Rationalism," II, p. 48.)

<sup>24</sup> The great heart and soul of Johnson—in whose intimacy Burke (none less great) lived, "except in opinion, not disagreeing," with that rival of his in old common sense and the worship of fit humility—have lately been brought before us again in his republished prayers, such as Burke might willingly have learnt of that religious and reverent friend: "O Lord, my maker and protector, who hast graciously sent me into this world to work out my salvation, enable me to drive from me all such inquiet and perplexing thoughts as may mislead or hinder me in the practice of those duties

"I will not enter into the question how much truth is preferable to peace. Perhaps truth may be far better. But, as we have scarcely ever the same certainty in the one that we have in the other, I would, unless the truth were evident indeed, hold fast to peace, which has in her company charity, the highest of the virtues."

It might hardly be uncharitable to smite Burke here "between the joints of the harness." They are gaping wide. He himself loosed them, tore them asunder.

Burke, in the modern period of revolution, has been compared (by Mr. John Morley) with Sir Thomas More in the revolution of the sixteenth century. Both full of learning, both earnest for reform, both judging widely of human affairs, both reverent, yet unwearied in efforts for their fellow-creatures; both, too, men of deep principle, but practical, keeping the place of the moral above that of the metaphysical. The real rights of the civil social man found in each their champion.

But there was this difference, to be seen even of men, expressive, perhaps, of that hidden difference between the man who was and the man who was not a saint. When the basis of religious authority was questioned, Burke seemed not to dare to inquire. Blessed Thomas More set himself to investigate into that, too, with the same energy which he, like Burke, gave to law, to Parliament, to the ruling of his family and the training of youth. At the end of seven years the disciple of the Carthusians came out, he tells us, convinced that what he had thought might be only an opinion was indeed part of the basis of Faith, and so he was prepared to suffer death for the divine authority of the Holy See.

Burke seems to us to open the door, then close it again. He seems confused and distressed, or even petulant, or scornful, at men's ignorance; or he helplessly wonders; thus influenced, it may have been, by the thought, or the lack of thought, of his time.

Therefore he turned at each opportunity to try to work for the laudable ambition (in some ways, if not in all, nor in the highest) of getting people to live by truth, and of himself leaving the world the better for having lived in it.

That within the limits he proposed to himself he succeeded, no one who considers human society has good reason to doubt.

W. F. P. STOCKLEY.

Cork, Ireland.

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which Thou has required. . . . And while it shall please Thee to continue me in this world, where much is to be done and little to be known, teach me by Thy Holy Spirit to with draw my mind from unprofitable and dangerous enquiries, from difficulties vainly curious, and doubts impossible to be solved. Let me rejoice in the light which Thou hast imparted; let me serve Thee with active zeal and humble confidence, and wait with patient expectation for the time in which the soul which Thou receivest shall be satisfied with knowledge."

## IRISH NAMES AND THEIR CHANGES.

IT IS something more than an antiquarian curiosity to trace here in America the variations of family names in the modern Irish race. There are good grounds for thinking that the Irish Celts are the largest numerical element in the mixed population of our land, and family names are a valuable historical help in examining the question scientifically. We know from documentary records that an Irish immigration, mainly Celtic, has been crossing the Atlantic from a date scarcely later than the Puritans of Plymouth Rock. Governor Winthrop's journal in the reign of the First Charles records the exploration of New Hampshire's White Mountains by "Darby Fieldagh, an Irish Papist." The list of soldiers in King Philip's War shows at least two hundred distinctly Irish names, less than forty years later. Many of them have been handed down in disguised forms, like Field and Patrick, as genuine English, but the race characters are not to be effaced as easily as the spelling of words. In Pennsylvania, too, we know from the records that the immigrants classed as English-speaking before the Revolution were in a large majority of Irish birth. How far they were of Celtic race can best be traced now by their names, making due allowance for the phonetic and other variations which have come in them by changes of time and place.

Those variations have excited a good deal of comment of late years since the Gaelic revival in Ireland itself. Most of it has been unfavorable, and considers the changes made, voluntarily or otherwise, in the old Irish names as an evidence of degeneracy or servility. The reproach may be deserved in some cases, but we think not in the majority, further than as a result of subjugation of the Irish people by a foreign power, a fact which needs no discussion. The present sketch will try only to set forth what the changes are in fact and how they have come. It may help to tell what the extent of the Irish race really is in the modern world of English speech. In that world it is certainly a distinct factor in many points, notably in that of religion. If we could pronounce accurately in the proportion of the Irish, English and Scotch elements in the general population of the United States, we would be helped to learn how the former has been affected in a religious point by the new conditions of life. We may also learn what part Celtic race character has played and is playing in the national character of the American people. Both are worthy of study.

Distinctive surnames were well established in Ireland before the Norman invasion. They are commonly attributed to the policy

of Brian Boru at the beginning of the eleventh century. He is stated to have urged each tribe to fix a name from its actual chief or one of his ancestors with the prefix of either "Mac," son, or "Ui or O," grandson or descendant of. The monarch's own family adopted his name as O'Brien, the dominant family of South Munster that of their King as MacCarthy. The O was much more commonly selected than Mac, but there was no distinction of rank involved. Duaid McFiris in the seventeenth century reckoned over two thousand different families whose name was completed by an O and less than three hundred by the prefix Mac. The conditions were reversed in Celtic Scotland, where Mac was almost universal and only three clans assumed an O as their designation. The two prefixes were so characteristic of the Celtic race at that time that a common Latin distich declared "Per O et Mac Hibernam scias genlem," and rejected from Irish nationality any name without either. The following two centuries of English dominion, however, were distinctly hostile to the old Celtic names, and especially the celebrated prefixes. In consequence they have been dropped by the majority, but the Celtic stock can still be traced in the mutilated modern forms very extensively.

Besides the pure Celtic names, a considerable number of Norman or Welsh origin were introduced by Strongbow's invasion, and have become thoroughly naturalized since among the Irish race. Of this class are Fitzgerald, Butler, Fitzmaurice, Fitzsimons, Grace, Rothe, Stephens and many others, often described as more Irish than the Irish. The Reformation may be said to have marked the absorption of the old Norman element, which had till then been called English Irish, with the native race among which they had long been intermarried. Both Celts and Norman Irish rejected the royal supremacy over the Church in Ireland in the sixteenth century. The term *Scoto-Irish* until then had often been applied distinctively to the first class. From the reign of Elizabeth it was replaced commonly by the terms *recusant* or *Papist Irish* as a general designation for the Catholic population without race distinction.

The actual amount of Norman blood, including under that name the French, Flemish and Welsh followers of Strongbow, was not large, but their names were extended by conquest and feudal customs to many of their Celtic tenants and connections. It is worth note that on the other hand many Normans adopted the Celtic "Mac" as part of their names. The Burkes of Connaught became MacWilliams; the Berminghams, McFeoris and MacJordan; the Stauntons, MacAveely; the Barrets, McWattin; the Nangles or Nagles, MacCostello. Some branches of the Fitzgeralds, the most



powerful of all the Norman nobles, took the names of McThomas and MacGibbons, one of the Butlers that of MacPierce. Marrying among the Celtic population and speaking their language during the four hundred years from Henry the Second to Elizabeth, the first Normans in Ireland became as completely a part of the old Irish race as the Howards and Talbots became English from a French ancestry in the same time. Their names, whether modified or unchanged, are to-day in most cases as clear an evidence of Irish race as the Celtic O's or Mac's. The same may be said of the older Danish names Plunket, Coppinger and Sigerson as of the Joyces, Burkes, Bodkins, Barrets and Nugents of Welsh or French descent, but in almost no case of Saxon English.

Even in the Celtic names the prefix O or Mac has been often superseded by suffixes given in Gaelic to distinguish branches of large clans. The MacCarthys of South Munster were thus divided into clans known as Moore, Reagh and Muskerry, the Connaught O'Connors into Don, Roe and Sligo, the O'Sullivans into More and Beare. The last designation in each of these cases is simply a name of place, and when used as a family name did not admit the prefix O or Mac. The most notable instance of this peculiarity is found in the name Cavanagh. It was adopted by the MacMurroughs, the royal family of Leinster, after the English invasion, from the circumstance that one of its chiefs was reared at the monastery dedicated to St. Kevin at Kilcavan, in Wexford. It has been retained now for over seven hundred years, and has almost entirely displaced the original name McMurrugh, though the latter was one of the most famous in mediæval Irish history. Desmond, Costello, Carbury and Finn are other instances of Celtic names to which no prefix can properly be given. The first three are taken from localities, the last merely an epithet, the fair, like Don, brown, and Roe, yellow.

Mac was often used in connection with a trade or profession to form a family name, but O never. MacGowan, MacIntyre, MacBaird, MacSaor or Seery are respectively "son of the smith, carpenter, poet and builder." This did not imply, however, that the first prefix had any inferiority in dignity, as the royal families of Leinster and Desmond were both Macs, McMurrugh and MacCarthy.

Another peculiarity in Irish names of the old time offers nearly as certain a guide to their Celtic origin as the prefixes. In adopting the names of saints of the Church in baptism it was usual to put the words "giolla or maol," servant, before the real title. Patrick was hardly ever given in other form than Giolla Patrick, and Mac was prefixed to the compound word to form the family name of the

chiefs of Ossory. Gilchrist, Gildea, Gilciaran, the servant respectively of Christ, of God and of St. Ciaran were other cases of family names formed from baptismal ones. Maol appears in Mulconry, Mullally and Mealoughlin. Either is sufficient evidence of genuine Celtic origin wherever found.

The formation of family names in Ireland between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries was thus carried out on a more definite system than in other European countries at the time. In both England and France surnames were little used by any but the aristocratic classes or the wealthy burgesses. A workingman's trade or place of residence was counted sufficient for all purposes in ordinary life. The clan system of Ireland, among both Celts and Normans, made the use of surnames universal there. It was noted as a national characteristic by the English Government as early as the fifteenth century, and as such was marked for proscription. An act of Edward IV. in 1465 took up seriously the suppression of Irish names in nearly the same spirit as the Russian and Prussian Governments in our own time have undertaken to suppress the Polish language in their empires. It runs in the following quaint but precise language:

"At the request of the Commons it is ordeyned and established that every Irishman that dwells betwixt or among Englishmen in the County of Dublin, Myeth, Uriell and Kildare (the whole extent then of English dominion) shall goe like to one Englishman in apparell, and shaving off the beard above the mouth and shall take to him an English surname of one town as Sutton, Chester, Trym, Skryne, Corke, Kinsale; or color, as White, Black, Brown; or art or science, as Smith or Carpenter; or office, as Cooke, Butler, and that he and his offspring shall use this name under peyne of forfeiting of his goods yearly till the premises be done, to be levied two times by the year to the King's warres, according to the discretion of the lieutenant of the King or his deputy."

A hundred and thirty years later Spenser, the author of the "Faerie Queen," urged the revival and extension of this policy, which evidently had not so far won much headway. In his "View of the State of Ireland" he wrote, in 1585:

"Moreover, for the better breaking of these heads and septs, which was one of the greatest strengths of the Irish, methinks it should be very well to renew that old statute of Edward the Fourth, by which it was commanded that from henceforth each one should take on himself a several surname, either of his trade and faculty, or of some quality of his body or mind, or of the place where he dwells, so as every one may be distinguished from another, whereby they shall not only not depend on the head of their sept as now

they do, but also in time learn quite to forget his Irish nation. And herewithal would I wish also all the O's and Mac's, which the heads of septs have taken to their names, to be utterly forbidden and extinguished. For that being an ordinance (as some say) of O'Brien for the strengthening of the Irish, the abrogation there of will as much enfeeble them."

Though Spenser's wishes were not embodied in legislation, they are a faithful expression of the sentiments of the English governing class towards Celtic Irish names and speech. They are further singularly like the views of the French Jacobin legislators of the Reign of Terror towards the cidevant noble names of France and even those of its historic provinces and festivals.

In the same work Spenser made a curious though groundless claim that several of the leading Irish septs were actually of English or Norman descent. The MacMahons, the MacSweenys, the MacNamaras, the MacSheehys, the Cavanaghs, O'Tooles and O'Byrnes were asserted to be of Norman or Welsh stock. The first he identified as Fitzursulas, the second as DeVeres. The poet added regretfully that many families of high rank bearing English names had become wholly Irish in sentiments. "Other great houses there be of the English in Ireland which through licentious (illegal) conversing with the Irish, or marrying or fostering with them, or lacke of meet culture, or such other unhappy occasions, have degendred from their ancient dignities and are now grown 'as Irish as O'Hanlon's breech' as the proverbe there is."

It was a strange irony of history that less than seventy years after this complaint Oliver Cromwell was called to grant protection to "an Irish Papist" as the grandson of the poet Edward Spenser.

The century that followed the publication of Spenser's "View" was one of unmixed misfortune for the Irish race. The struggle for independence on the old tribal system, carried on through the last years of Elizabeth by Hugh O'Neill, was crushed by Lord Mountjoy. That for Home Rule, by Celt and Norman combined in the Confederation of Kilkenny, fell before Cromwell fifty years later, and the defeat of James II. by William of Orange at the close of the century was followed by a century in which the whole Catholic population was reduced to a state lower than the Christian rayas of Turkey. Though no special new legislation was directed against the Irish language or names, both fell under the ban of the Penal Code against the national religion. Schools and teaching were both forbidden by law to the Irish Papists, and literary cultivation of their national language became thus impossible. No important work in Irish was published after the close of the seventeenth century, and scarcely any printing of the old works attempted. Dr.

Hyde's remarks in some recent lectures on the literary activity of the Irish-speaking population in the eighteenth century have, it must be said, but a slight base of fact. The assertion certainly that every well-to-do farmer in that time could read and write Irish is not warranted by the tradition of the old Catholic families who have preserved a share of literary culture. The language, indeed, was preserved to a considerable extent, but only by spoken usage. That the original names should suffer marked phonetic changes under such conditions was a necessary result, and they have done so. The dropping of the once universal O's and Mac's to a large extent may, however, be set down largely to their unpopularity with the English ruling and landlord class, which in that has shared for the last two centuries the sentiments expressed by Spenser. Yet with all these forces of opposition the Celtic element still predominates in the names of the Irish race. It can be recognized if we take the right tests of recognition, and it is mainly for that end that we go into the various modifications of old Celtic names to their existing representatives.

The late Dr. O'Donovan in a series of papers published in 1840 in the Dublin *Penny Journal* gives a remarkable list of changes made at that time in many Irish names, and also enumerates the causes of such change. He believed that in Dublin and the counties near it the translation or assimilation of Irish names to English forms had been largely made in consequence of the legislation of Edward the Fourth already mentioned. He quotes Sir Henry Piers, of Westmeath, in the reign of Charles II., for the change of MacGowan to Smith, McIntyre to Carpenter and Shinnagh to Fox by translation, and of MacSpallane to Spenser and McCogry to L'Estrange by mere supposed likeness of sound. O'Donovan fixes the period after the Battle of Aughrim, in the end of the seventeenth century, as that when disuse of the O's and Mac's became general. They were mainly preserved during the eighteenth century by the Irish emigrants on the European continent in the service of the Catholic powers, France, Spain and Austria. O'Donovan, whose authority on the subject is unquestioned, stated that sixty-five years ago no Celtic family in Leinster had its ancient name unchanged. The resumption of the prefix O, according to the same authority, had been made largely in the nineteenth century. The revival of patriotism in this matter is certainly more than half a century older in Ireland than the last Gaelic revival. The fact involves no lessening of credit for the latter, but should be mentioned for that of an older generation of Irishmen. O'Donovan adds that Daniel O'Connell's father always used the name of Connell in writing, and the head of his own clan had only resumed the use

of the O in 1829. That prefix appears to have been banned fiercely by the ruling landlord class all through the eighteenth century, and consequently to have only been retained by a few families of sufficient standing to defy official opinions on the subject.

The list of name changes given by Dr. O'Donovan is a singular one and throws much light on many modern Irish names which belong in race to the Celtic stock. In addition to the changes which naturally follow in the course of years every spoken language, he gives two special reasons for those alterations in his own time. The principal one in O'Donovan's belief "was the difficulty felt by magistrates and lawyers unacquainted with Irish language in pronouncing Irish names, and their constant habit of ridiculing them in consequence. This made the Irish feel ashamed of names difficult of pronunciation in English, and led them by degrees to change them, either by translation into what they thought their meanings in English, by assimilating them to local English surnames or by paring them so as to be easy of pronunciation to English organs."

He added in 1840: "The families of the lower ranks who have changed their ancient surnames are very numerous and daily becoming more. Besides the cause already mentioned we can assign two others for the rage which prevails at present among the lower classes for the adoption of English surnames. First, there are many Irish surnames that do not sound euphoniously in English, which is now becoming the common spoken language of these classes. Secondly, the names changed are, with very few exceptions, of no celebrity in Irish history, and when they do not sound well in English, the bearers wish to get rid of them that they may not be counted of Attacottic, or plebeian Irish origin." He goes on:

"In the County Sligo the ancient name O'Mulclohy has been changed into Stone from a guess translation that such is the meaning of 'clohy,' the latter part of it. In Leitrim McConnava has been made Forde, from the mistaken notion that its last two syllables are a form of 'atha,' of a ford. In Munster the ancient name O'Knavin is anglicized Bowen, because 'knavin' signifies a small bone. In Terconnell O'Mulmoghery is now rendered Early, because *moch cirghe* means early rising. In Thomond O'Marcachain is translated as Ryder by some, but anglicized as Markham by others. O'Lahiff is made Guthrie without any reason. In Tyrone O'Rory is invariably made Rogers because it is supposed that the English Christian name Roger is the same as the Irish Ruadri or Rory. The ancient name McConry in Connamara is now translated to King because its last syllable sounds like *righ*, the Irish term for that dignity. The ancestor from whom their surname came was Curoi, in the genitive Conroy, and had nothing to do with King."

The cases enumerated above are all attempts at translation according to the real or supposed meaning of the original names in Irish. The list of names changed to English form by mere approximation of sound is a far longer one. O'Donovan gives the following as only a few of many:

In Monaghan MacMahon, the very name which Spenser had claimed as an Irish translation of Fitzursula, was anglicized as Matthews, MacCawell as Campbell, Howell and Cauldfield, O'Haughey to Howe, O'Hir to Hare, McFirbis to Forbes, O'Creighan to Graham, O'Sesnan to Sexton, Kinsellagh to Kingsley, O'Cirey to Curry, O'Conaing to Gunning, O'Hargadon to Hardiman. The last, by the way, was the name taken by the compiler of the Irish minstrelsy and author of the "History of Galway." O'Cluman is little changed as Coleman, O'Conagan as Cunningham or O'Clery as Clerke, but none of the last suggest their real origin. Hand for MacLave, Fox for Shanahan and Merryman for MacGillymire are translations simply.

O'Donovan's statement shows how far the changing in Celtic names had been carried out in Ireland itself before the great emigration caused by the famine. The same process to some extent has been continued on in the United States. Dr. Hyde mentions an O'Gara translated to Love, Brehony to Judge, O'Hea to Hayes, McIr to Shortall and Short. Others changes mentioned by him in Ireland are Gilespie to Bishop or Archibold, MacGillree to King, MacGauran to Somers, MacGinty to Noble and Mac an Baird to Ward. The list is far from a complete one, but it gives a sufficient idea of the way in which Irish origin may be disguised under Anglo-Saxon forms in our country to-day. To a certain extent Irish names have shared the fate of the national tongue, but as the race character has survived the loss of the last, so it can that of the first. The facts may be regrettable, but at least it is well to know them when we inquire how far this country is really Anglo-Saxon in its race elements.

The disappearance of Irish Christian names has kept pace with that of the clan titles, and even more so. Some continue in modified forms with sufficient distinctness to show their origin in Gaelic times. Thus Aneslis is perpetuated among the O'Grady family in Ireland as Standish, Finghin among the Sullivans and MacCarthys as Florence, Morlagh as Mortimer. In Thomond O'Hiomair was anglicized as Howard by the gentry when bearers of it and as Ivers by the peasantry. O'Beirne was variously turned as Bruin in Roscommon and Byron in Clare, though kept in its original form by the gentry in the first county. In Connaught O'Donovan found O'Heraghtys changed to Harringtons, and in Limerick an

O'Shaughnessy who took the title of Sandys. The same name in the early history of the United States was turned into Chauncey.

The changes in Ulster in O'Donovan's lifetime were still more numerous. O'Brollaghan had become Bradley; O'Creighan, Creighton; O'Fergus, Ferguson. MacTeighe was Montague; O'Mulligan, Molyneaux; MacGilclusky, Cosgrove. MacGillyglass was translated to Greene, from its last syllable, MacShane to Johnson. Stranger was the transformation of Carolan to Carleton, of O'Hea to Hughes and O'Tuathalain to Toland. Hughes was also substituted for Mackey in many places. The change was made on the supposition that the Irish Christian name Aodh, from which Mackey was formed in Gaelic, was equivalent to Hugh.

In some cases the new names were coined so peculiarly that their Irish character remains evident under the new dress. Of this class are Hearne and Heron, Hynes, Rooke, Owens, Hussey, Reynolds, Norton, Conway, Agnew and Leonard, which are commonly recognized as Irish, though scarcely Celtic. They all, however, are of that class, and seventy years ago were Ahearne, O'Heyne, O'Rourke, O'Howen, O'Heosa, MacRannal, O'Naghton, O'Conwy, O'Gruve and MacGillyfineen. The name Leonard was also adopted by a branch of the MacGuires, of Fermanagh, and has a distinctive Gaelic origin there. In Connaugh, according to O'Donovan, Mulligan was often turned into Baldwin.

The selection of English forms is more marked in the changes from MacGuigin to Goodwin, O'Luain to Lambe, Eoghan as Eugene. In Ulster the last name is Owen in modern form, as Aodh or Ed is Hugh. Other names formerly common were Cormac, Conn, Tirlough, Art, Rory, Coll, Cathal, Randal, Eochy, Eamon, Manus, Teige, Donough, Murrough, Diarmud, Domnall, Felim and Connor. Donnough and Murrough are only preserved among the O'Briens in their original form. Dr. Hyde thinks that Patrick, Brian, Owen and Cormac are the only ancient Irish names that hold their place in general use to-day. Teigue has become Thadeus or Tady in the families which preserve it in a way for tradition sake. Cathal has become Charles, Diarmud Jeremiah or Darby, Domnall Daniel, Felim Felix, Turlough Terence and Eamon Edmund. Of female names Bride has become Bridget, Nora Honora, Una Winny, Mave Maud, Eileen Ellen. Efee, Sive, Nuala and Fionuala, once common, are now scarcely found even in Ireland.

Of changes in historic Irish names to other than English forms, and which may be supposed to have been a natural development apart from official interference, O'Donovan gives some curious particulars. MacGiolla Patrick of Ossory was changed to the French looking Fitzpatrick. O'Dorcy in Galway took the French

form D'Arcy; O'Dulaine, a family settled from time immemorial in the Queens county, is now Delany. A former editor of the London *Times* of this stock further altered it to Delano. O'Mullaville in Connaught in like way has become Lavelle and McCogry, Lestrangle. Most of the French names in Ireland to-day are, however, of Huguenot origin and identified closely with the English element. LaTouche, Dubedat and Lefanu are prominent examples. On the other hand, a German element introduced under the first George as a Protestant colony from the Palatinate of the Rhine has been absorbed into the Irish Catholic population in all but name. Henricken, Brann, Brownrigg and Delmege are of this class.

The origin of the Murphys, the largest in number of any name in Ireland to-day, is traced by O'Donovan to two stocks. One was the royal family of Leinster, MacMurrough, the other an offshoot of it long distinguished as O'Murchadoo. Both the original forms have almost disappeared, but the Celtic type is clearly preserved in the Murphy form.

The list of changes of Celtic names given by O'Donovan and Dr. Hyde is so long that one might be inclined to believe it included the majority of the race. Such is very far from the fact. The families who readily swapped their surnames for others were mostly of small clans. The great body of the population fell into larger divisions—the O'Neills, O'Briens, MacCarthys, O'Connors, O'Ferralls, O'Donnells, O'Kellys and other powerful clans. These have rarely changed except by omitting the prefix O, which was generally dropped after the Williamite Conquest. It evidently was regarded with special disfavor either as aristocratic or connected closely with the clan system. The Mac was less strictly proscribed, probably on account of its prevalence in Scotland as well as in Ireland.

It is strange to find O'Donovan in 1840 writing: "In Leinster it is certain there is not a single instance in which the O or Mac has been retained by any of the aboriginal inhabitants. I mean the ancient Irish Leinster not including Meath." Nevertheless, in Leinster, as in the rest of Ireland to-day, the great majority of the names show unmistakably a Celtic origin. It may be regretted that a certain proportion of the Irish people have shown a readiness to change their fathers' names for motives like those given by O'Donovan, but it must not be assumed that anything like a majority have done so. The change of language from Irish to English during the nineteenth century led to most of the alterations.

A similar result follows in nearly every case where a population is brought by migration or other causes under the influence of a new tongue. It is marked among the Scandinavian and Portuguese



immigrants to our own land to a much wider extent than among the Irish, even those from Irish-speaking districts. On the whole, the Irish race abroad retains its national names almost as it does at home, and its extent may fairly be traced in any district by their prevalence.

A curious list was prepared by the Irish census authorities a few years ago which confirms this view. We have not it under our eyes at present, but it showed an overwhelming predominance of Celtic names. The largest in numbers was Murphy, the second Kelly, neither with the national prefix for the most part, but neither mistakable for any but Gaelic origin. The first numbered sixty-two thousand, about one in eighty of the whole population; the Kellys, fifty-six thousand, or one in ninety, approximately. Sullivans and O'Sullivans were somewhat over a half per cent. in the whole population, and O'Neills not much less numerous. Spenser's desire for the total abolition and forbidding of the hated prefixes is yet very far from accomplishment; indeed, they have revived very considerably since the very time when O'Donovan wrote. It may be an earnest of a wider national revival in other ways. In the meantime it may be interesting for any one interested in tracing the Irish element's extent in this country to try the proportion of Murphys, Kellys or Sullivans in a city directory.

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### LORD BACON AS A POET.

THE immensity of Bacon's genius is a sore trouble to his biographers. So say two of them, Professor Gardiner and Dr. Edwin Abbott in his preface to *Bacon's Life*. The truth of the saying has been practically illustrated with regard to the poetic aspects of Bacon's mind and works. That aspect has been for centuries usually taken for granted rather than discussed or denied. Recent controversies, however, have brought it into prominence and elicited contradictory views. Into the general merits of those controversies this paper does not mean to enter. What I wish to examine is how far a weapon serviceable for any cause or a breastplate of truth against any attack can be forged out of the belief that Bacon was little or nothing of a poet. That belief has sometimes been expressed with considerable emphasis. I consider, however, that it implies a total misconception of Bacon's

peculiar genius. The immensity and many-sidedness of his powers, his ambitions and his efforts have caused a certain number of writers who speak as having authority to misconceive and deny one of the most essential, if perhaps least obvious, characteristics of his genius and its manifestations. Not only is the question "Could Bacon have written the Shakespeare plays?" a perfectly reasonable one, but to answer it in the negative seems to me, after much study of both great writers, very much more difficult than some recent anti-Baconian advocates have found it. I am indebted to so many and various books, that I feel at liberty to mention none of them in particular. I may refer, however, to Mr. Read's "Francis Bacon Our Shakespeare" as one of the best of "Baconian" books, and I may say that I owe nothing to Mr. Stronach's article in the current *Fortnightly Review* on "Bacon as a Poet," which singularly coincides in every respect, as far as its brevity permits, with the present paper.

I have been asked to justify myself for speaking of "Lord Bacon." No such title, I am reminded, was ever known to the Heralds Office. It is enough for me, however, that this convenient appellation is justified by a long line of the highest literary authorities. The following are the more important writers whom I have noted as using the form "Lord Bacon:" Pope, Swift, Hume, Dr. Blair, Dugald Stewart, De Quincey, Hallam, Macaulay, Coleridge, Shelley, Emerson, Lord Byron, Lord Mahon, Alex. Smith, Edgar Poe, Francis Palgrave, Stopford Brook, Spedding, Ellis & Dixon (Bacon's biographers), Matthew Arnold and Thomas Arnold. Even a shorter list would probably have satisfied the minds of my inquiring friends.

In fact, the vehement negative, garnished with abusive rhetoric, which has been put forth by some influential critics—English, American and German—almost compels me to believe that its supporters had taken no trouble to become really acquainted with the works of Bacon. In some unexpected cases there is further evidence for so believing. Take, for example, Professor Wülker, known as an authority on Anglo-Saxon matters, as a writer against the Bacon-Shakespeare theory and as the author of a well-known history of English literature. This latter work gives me serious reason to doubt whether Professor Wülker has more than a nodding acquaintance with Lord Bacon and his writings. It will be hardly believed, but it is a fact, that in this history of English literature, which devotes a dozen pages to Lord Lytton, sixteen or seventeen to Dickens and one or two, oddly enough, to the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, Lord Bacon is otherwise completely ignored.

Take, again, Professor Heusler, of whose knowledge of Bacon

I know nothing except what I conclude from some of his statements. For example, that "Bacon was not only not a poet, but his manner of thinking and feeling was eminently prosaic . . . and so are his most original images."

In England and America we come across Mr. Churton Collins and Mr. R. G. White, who have courageously committed themselves to statements of the utmost plainness and directness. "Bacon," they say (more or less in these words), "was utterly devoid of the poetical faculty even in a secondary sense. He was a cautious observer and investigator, ever looking at man and things through the dry light of cool reason; a logician, a formalist, a man without a spark of genial humor, without a trace of dramatic imagination, without any light play of wit and fancy, any profound passion, any æsthetic enthusiasm, anything, in fact, which goes to make up a poet of any kind." Then there are other popular arguments to the same effect. Bacon was a busy lawyer, who could not have time or interest to spare for the quiet doings of the muses. He was a scientist, though in truth a somewhat unaccountable one; he was the champion of a philosophy which aimed at bringing down philosophy from soaring in the heavens to walk upon solid earth, and therefore was produced by an unpoetical mind. He was an ambitious man, full of Machiavellian saws, keenly set on office, favor and promotion; obviously the antithesis of a poet!

It appears to me that these views are due, on the part of those who know something about Bacon, mainly to controversial heat, and on the part of the many who know little or nothing, to the customary unwillingness to accord to any individual preëminence in more than one or two things, to ignoring the vagaries of human inconsistency and to forgetting the power of great genius to break way for itself in many directions at once.

Let us begin, then, by remarking the evidence which Bacon, lawyer, judge, philosopher and scientist as he was, gave, nevertheless, of his interest in works of pure literature, even of light literature. There seems no doubt that his propensities in that direction seriously hampered his advance in his chosen profession. He was looked upon as a dreamer and a theorizer, one from whom it was not safe to expect the concentration of the practical lawyer or the tact and push of the man of business. Hence for long years he was by no means "a busy lawyer" (as we have seen him frequently styled), and, consequently, far indeed from being a wealthy lawyer. He was constantly in dire straits for money, and once in prison for debt. I have spoken of the law as his "chosen profession," but in reality, as he did not choose it of his own free will, so neither did he love it at all for its own sake, but merely regarded it as a stepping-

stone to power, wealth and leisure which might then be utilized for far nobler aims than law. He declared emphatically that he was born for literature rather than for active life. He had taken all knowledge for his province; it was his ambition to promote the highest good of all men, and with that object in view, and no other, while acknowledging himself "more fit to hold a book than to act a part on the public stage," he embraced the law and became an importunate, a too importunate, suitor for advancement to high legal and political place. He tells us this himself; we know most of it from other sources also.

Still the literary proclivities of this bright and active mind were apparently too strong to be wholly kept from public manifestation. We possess various records of Bacon's share in the preparation of masques and other theatrical performances presented at the Inns of Court. In 1589 he designed the "dumbshow of the misfortunes of Arthur," performed before Queen Elizabeth. In 1592 he is one of the authors of the "Conference of Pleasure," a mask in which the story of Julius Cæsar is touched on (as his biographer, Spedding, remarks) in a manner suggestive of that developed in Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar." In 1594 he writes the speeches of six councillors for the masque of the "Order of the Helmet," and speaks of himself in a letter to Essex as "drinking the waters of Parnassus."

In 1595 he is part author of the "Devise of the Indian Prince," which has been noted for an ingenious passage of flattery to Queen Elizabeth. A couple of years later he joins in writing and producing the "Devise of Philautia" in honor of Lord Essex, his friends Southampton and Tobie Matthew also taking part in the entertainment. Again, he tells a friend how, although "he did not profess to be a poet," he had "indited a sonnet in honor of the Queen." When he became Solicitor General his fondness for active theatrical work does not desert him. In 1612 he occupies himself with a gorgeous masque entitled "The Marriage of Rhine and Thames," to celebrate the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth. As Attorney General he is joint author of a "Masque of Flowers" to greet the ill-omened union of Lady Essex and the royal favorite, Somerset.

We have in all this the evidence of strong taste for poetry and the drama, if not of distinguished poetic or dramatic faculty. That Bacon, however, was gifted with that dramatic faculty which Mr. Collins so expressly denies him we find good reasons for thinking. He was a singularly versatile conversationalist. To quote what his biographer Mallet says of him: "In his conversation he would assume the most different characters and speak the language proper to each with a facility that was perfectly natural; for the dexterity of the habit concealed every appearance of art." His friend

Osborne speaks in still more striking terms: "I have heard him entertain a country lord in the proper terms relating to hawks and dogs, and at another time out-cant a London chirurgeon." The same gift was manifest in letters which he wrote in the name of others. Of these letters Dr. Abbott says: "The wonderful exactness with which he has caught the somewhat quaint, humorous, cumbersome style of (his brother) Anthony, and the abrupt, incisive, antithetical and passionately rhetorical style of Essex, makes the perusal of these letters a literary treat." "Few men," continues Abbott, "have shown equal versatility in adapting their language to the slightest change of circumstance and purpose." Elsewhere this careful biographer says that the leading peculiarity of Bacon's style is its sympathetic nature, its versatile adaptation to every slightest variation of subject and aspect of subject. Such evidence as this should make us cautious in our assertions as to what Bacon could or could not have done had he devoted himself to the drama.

A curious and mysterious proof of Bacon's general interest in the muses is contained (apparently) in his brief letter to John Davies, afterwards Attorney General for Ireland, and already well-known both as poet and lawyer, which was written as James I. was leaving Scotland for his new realm of England. Bacon's object is to engage Davies (as he says) to "imprint a good conceit and opinion of him in the King;" and he concludes: "So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue your assured friend &." Spedding, like preceding biographers, admits his inability to explain these words.

Let us, in the next place, take by the horns a difficulty which meets every advocate of Lord Bacon as a poet. It is the argument that Bacon has actually committed himself to poetry, in the strictest sense of the word, and that the few pieces known as his are so poor as poetry as to destroy the writer's claim to any kindred with the muses. We may ask, however, whether the production of two or three worthless pieces necessarily negatives the possibility of their author's being a great poet? If it were so, some of the most famous names in literature might suffer eclipse. If Milton were known only by his version of the Psalms, who would not scoff at the rash speculator who should claim for him the authorship of "Paradise Lost?" There are few works of Shakespeare more certainly his own than the miserable epitaph on his grave and the disgusting lampoon on "Lousy Lucy." These are things far below any production credited to Bacon. But no one judges Shakespeare by them. In the next place, we may flatly deny the general badness of these acknowledged pieces of Bacon's. We shall find on our side the encouraging authority of Mr. Palgrave, editor of the

"Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics." In that admirably chosen anthology figure Lord Bacon's meditative stanzas beginning:

The world's a bubble, and the life of man  
 Less than a span;  
 In his conception wretched, from the womb  
 So to the tomb;  
 Cursed from his cradle, and brought up to years  
 With cares and fears.  
 Who, then, to frail mortality shall trust  
 But limns on water, or but writes in dust.\*

That piece is fairly well known. But what of the translations of the Psalms? They are mostly poor; but they were written, be it remembered, in Bacon's declining years and to while away the enforced leisure of a sick bed. Few who have endeavored, even in the height of their powers, to render in modern verse these sublime but obscure and abrupt songs of David, have enjoyed any greater success. "For our French versifiers," says a recent French critic in the *Etudes*, "it always seems to have been a superhuman task to translate the Psalms." The same might be said of English versifiers or of English great poets.

Here are some verses of Milton's, written in the prime of his powers, between "Comus" and "Paradise Lost:"

For cloyed with woes and trouble sore  
 Surcharged my soul doth lie;  
 My life at death's uncheerful door  
 Unto the grave draws nigh.

Thou dost my friends from me estrange  
 And mak'st me odious;  
 Me to them odious, for they change  
 And I here pent up thus.

And here is one of Bacon's psalms, which I venture to give you at length:

PSALM 137.

When as we sat all sad and desolate  
 By Babylon upon the river's side,  
 Eased from the tasks which in our captive state  
 We were enforced daily to abide;  
 Our harps we had brought with us to the field,  
 Some solace to our heavy souls to yield.

But soon we found we failed of our account;  
 For when our mind some freedom did obtain,  
 Straightways the memory of Sion's Mount  
 Did cause afresh our wounds to bleed again,  
 So that with present griefs and future fears  
 Our eyes burst forth into a stream of tears.

As for our harps, since sorrow struck them dumb,  
 We hang'd them on the willow trees were near;  
 Yet did our cruel masters to us come,  
 Asking of us some Hebrew songs to hear;  
 Taunting us rather in our misery,  
 Than much delighting in our melody.

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\* There is insufficient reason for questioning Bacon's authorship of this piece.

Alas! (said we) who can once force or frame  
His griev'd and oppress'd heart to sing  
The praises of Jehovah's glorious name,  
In banishment, under a foreign king?  
In Sion is His seat and dwelling-place,  
Thence doth He show the brightness of His face.

Jerusalem, where God His throne hath set,  
Shall any hour absent thee from my mind,  
Then let my right hand quite her skill forget,  
Then let my voice and words no passage find;  
Nay, if I do not thee prefer in all  
That in the compass of my thoughts can fall.

Remember, Thou, O Lord! the cruel cry  
Of Edom's children, which did ring and sound,  
Inciting the Chaldean's cruelty;  
"Down with it, down with it, even unto the ground."  
In that good day repay it unto them  
When Thou shalt visit Thy Jerusalem.

And thou, O Babylon, shalt have thy turn  
By just revenge, and happy shall he be  
That thy proud walls and towers shall waste and burn,  
And as thou didst by us so do by thee.  
Yea, happy he that takes thy children's bones  
And dashes them against the pavement stones.

It seems to me that if Milton had written that, even Milton need hardly be ashamed of it.

The next set of evidences to be considered is that of contemporary panegyrics on Bacon's poetic powers. And here, though its importance has probably been exaggerated, I cannot pass over Ben Jonson's curiously worded testimony to Bacon's literary excellence. After Shakespeare's death Jonson had written of him:

When thy socks were on  
Leave thee alone, for the comparison  
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome  
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

Now, after Bacon's death Jonson writes of him: "He hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome." Jonson was not a man usually short of words, and it is odd, unquestionably, that he should give to the world two panegyrics so similarly worded on two persons apparently so different, and whom he knew so well as the Chancellor and the Player. Still more, however, has been made by Baconian advocates of the fact that the panegyric bestowed on the Chancellor should seem of the two the one better fitted for the Player. For, "to fill up all numbers," said of Bacon, seems a natural expression of praise only for a poet. "Numeri" in Latin, "Numbers" in English, applied to literature mean nothing else than verse and even seem to exclude prose. Thus Tibullus writes: "Numeris ille, hic pede libero scribit." (One writes in verse, another in prose.) And Shakespeare has the same antithesis in "Love's Labor Lost" (IV., 3): "These numbers I will tear and write in prose." Yet all this does not settle the matter.

For "Numeri" is also used in the sense merely of "parts." Pliny speaks of a prose work as perfect in all its parts: "Omnibus numeris absolutus." And Cicero says of a plan of life: "Omnes numeros virtutis continet." (It contains every element of virtue.) So that Jonson may have merely meant to say in slightly pedantic phrase that Bacon had passed away, "all parts fulfilled," the expression actually used by Pope of Queen Caroline.

But if we refuse to attach much importance to these expressions of Jonson, a similar difficulty presently meets us. We have to examine a singular and even mysterious cloud of witnesses. These are the writers of elegiac verses on the death of Bacon, collected and edited with a brief preface by Dr. Rawley, Bacon's chaplain and secretary. Here we have writer after writer apparently extolling the illustrious departed as a poet. Among the writers are George Herbert, Henry Ferne, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and Thomas Randolph, the dramatist, then only twenty-one years old. Though they had appeared collected together in the forefront of Blackburne's edition of Bacon in 1730, no particular attention was paid to them until 1896, when Dr. George Cantor, professor of mathematics and doctor of philosophy at the University of Halle-Wittenberg, a savant of European reputation, was struck by their peculiar form and edited the longest of them. They appear to have led Dr. Cantor into the Baconian camp, of which he is now a chief ornament.

Yet I think we should be extremely rash if we allowed them to carry us so far. The Baconian argument is that these elegies point so distinctly to Bacon as a poet—a great poet—that their writers must have held him to be the author of some mighty poetical works that have not come down to us under his name. But to this position there is the obvious answer: How is it that so many men could have known or at least guessed his authorship of these mysterious works and not have published their knowledge of the secret, or at least allowed it to leak out by the ordinary channels of human indiscretion? Again, if these mysterious great works were really the Shakespearean plays, we come into conflict with another portion of the Baconian argument, namely, that those plays were not then, about 1625, at all looked upon as the great works they have since come to be considered, that consequently their true authorship might remain undetected and uninquied into. Here, on the contrary, we are asked to believe that these funeral versifiers knew the secret and looked to the plays as an unsurpassed title to fame. We cannot, then, allow the Baconians to build arguments on premises that are mutually destructive. At the same time, it must be allowed that these elegies are curious and deserve that limited



amount of attention that has lately been bestowed on them. One begins:

Plangite jam vere Clio, Cliusque sorores;  
Ah decima occubuit Musa, decusque chori.

Now weep indeed, Clio and ye sisters of Clio; the tenth Muse has sunk in death, the glory of your choir.

Another describes Melpomene, the muse of tragedy and elegy, as indignant with the cruel Fates, and hails Bacon as "Musarum phosphorus," "the morning star of the muses," and now "the grief of Apollo." Another declares that Apollo will henceforth have to be content with nine muses. But another indignantly asks: "Thinkest thou, foolish passer-by, that the leader of the choir of the muses and Apollo lies buried in this cold marble? No; he has gone to join their company on Olympus, a muse more rare than the noted nine. Another calls him "Reconditarum gemina pretiosa litterarum" (the precious gem of hidden or abstruse letters), an expression which, as we might expect, has been eagerly seized on by the Baconian advocates. Another exclaims: "If thou wilt claim, O Bacon, all thou hast given to the world and to the Muses, then love, the earth, the Muses, Jove's treasury, prayer, heaven, song, incense, grief will become bankrupt." Nothing about science or law—love, the Muses and song—with these has Bacon enriched the world. Another, the dramatist Randolph, declares that "Phœbus did not heal Bacon lest he (Bacon) should become King instead of himself."

All this reads like language that had missed its address when it found its way to the tomb of a lawyer, a philosopher and a scientist. Curious, too, is a lament where the imagery of the drama is employed in connection with Bacon's treatment of philosophy, and where Aristotle, of all unlikely people, is brought in to swell the chorus of praise: "Verulam found philosophy creeping on low socks (the footgear of comedy), he rose on a loftier cothurnus; and Aristotle, alive again, flourishes in the *Novum Organum*."

Another poet exclaims: "Yield, then, ye Greeks, give place, O Virgil, first in Latin story." And finally we have this curious panegyric: "He taught the Pegasean arts to grow, he grew like the spear of Quirinus, and in a short time was a bay tree . . . and therefore no ages shall dim his glory." The Pegasean arts are, of course, the arts of poetry. "But why," asks Dr. Cantor, "is the spear dragged in here apropos of growing, and whence comes the significant name Quirinus, the spear-shaker?" We need not follow Dr. Cantor along the daring path of conjecture thus opened up, if we are satisfied that the spear of Quirinus might come in here appositely enough without any *arrière-pensée* about "Shakespeare," that

the Muses are here taken as the patrons of learning and genius in general, and that an age of undeveloped criticism confounded learning and poetry in a way that for us has become impossible. One recalls the well-known passage concerning "the thrice three Muses in mourning for the death of Learning late deceased in beggary," and an Elizabethan lyric beginning, "O that the learned poets"—that is, simply, the *great* poets. I confess, however, that this explanation hardly seems quite adequate to explain the vehemence and insistence of the language in these panegyrics.

Passing on from these outbursts of valedictory grief, we scarcely again find the distinctly poetic laurel assigned to Bacon with the same emphatic fervor. Praised as a poet he continues to be, but it is as a poet in the broader sense of the word, a poet because of the poetic spirit throbbing beneath the prose veil of the *Novum Organum* and the *Fables of the Ancients*. The denial to him of any poetic spirit whatever was reserved for critics of our own day. Addison finds that Bacon "possessed at once all those extraordinary talents which were divided amongst the greatest authors of antiquity. . . . One does not know," he says, "which most to admire in his writings—the strength of reason, force of style or brightness of imagination." "His prayers and private devotions," says Addison, himself a devout man, "are more like the devotion of an angel than of a man." These testimonies of the "Spectator" are in startling contrast with Mr. Churton Collins' view of Baconian characteristics. Among other eighteenth century panegyrists we may quote Pope, who, besides his rather notorious and oft-misquoted antithesis concerning the "wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," also said that Lord Bacon was "the greatest genius that England or, perhaps, any other country produced." But perhaps my reader will discount the verdict of the eighteenth century. He may say that their notions of genius, of imagination, of poetry destroy the value of their poetic diploma. Well, then, let us hasten on to the "romantic" poets and critics of the nineteenth century; and here we meet Macaulay, whose deplorable misrepresentations of Bacon's life and philosophy need not destroy the value of his opinions on Bacon's literary merits. "No man ever had an imagination," says Macaulay, "at once so strong and so thoroughly subjugated. . . . In truth, much of Bacon's life was passed in a visionary world, amid things as strange as any that are described in the *Arabian Tales*. . . . The small fine mind of La Bruyere had not a more delicate tact than that large intellect of Bacon. His understanding resembled the tent which the Fairy gave to Prince Ahmed—fold it, and it seemed the toy of a lady; spread it, and the armies of a powerful Sultan might repose beneath its shade." Mackintosh

assigns to Bacon: "The utmost splendor of imagination." Dr. Shaw remarks that "in his style there is the same quality that is applauded in Shakespeare—a combination of the intellectual and the imaginative, the closest reasoning in the boldest metaphor." Sir Alex. Grant says: "It is as an inspired seer, as the prose-poet of modern science, that I reverence Bacon." Lord Lytton finds Bacon's "thoughts and style pervaded and permeated with poetry." Taine declares that "Bacon thinks in the manner of artists and poets and speaks after the manner of prophets and seers." Very interesting is the dictum of Alex. Smith, himself a poet and an essayist, in reference to the *Essays*, which I consider, in opposition to Mr. Stronach, as amongst the least poetic of Bacon's works: "Bacon seems to have written his *Essays* with the pen of Shakespeare." More striking still is the splendid testimony of Shelley in his admirable "Defense of Poetry." It is true, of course, though the Baconians do not refer to the fact, that in that Essay Shelley shows the broadest charity in his application of the name "Poet." In one place he goes so far as to say that "all great historians, Herodotus, Plutarch, Livy, were poets." Yet this, though it impairs, does not destroy the dignity of the special rank he assigns Bacon. In one passage he ranks him with the supreme poets and artists, in antithesis to such leaders of positive thought as Locke, Hume, Gibbon, Voltaire and Rousseau. Benefactors of humanity as these undoubtedly were, according to Shelley, still the world could have got on without them. "But it exceeds all imagination to conceive what would have been the moral condition of the world if neither Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Calderon, Lord Bacon nor Milton had ever existed; if Raphael and Michael Angelo had never been born; if the Hebrew poetry had never been translated;" and so forth. Here this most quintessential poet sets Bacon among the typical poets, between Calderon and Milton, near Shakespeare and Raphael. Elsewhere in the same eloquent essay he says: "Lord Bacon was a poet. His language has a sweet and majestic rhythm which satiates the sense no less than the almost superhuman wisdom of his philosophy satisfies the intellect; it is a strain which distends and then bursts the circumference of the reader's mind, and pours itself forth together with it into the universal element with which it has perpetual sympathy." Shelley's meaning may not be very transpicuous, but its general purport is plain enough for our present purpose.

Confronted with these critical utterances and with the facts on which they are based, some of the depreciators of Bacon's poetical glory adopt subtler plans of attack than flat negatives or pointless ridicule. Bacon was not really (they say) a great poet, but only an

excellent counterfeit. His contemporaries testified that he had the tongue of a splendid orator; we find that he has the pen of a splendid rhetorician. He had a rare imagination—of a kind, but not that of a poet. “We must not,” says Professor Kuno Fischer, “mistake the enthusiasm of the orator for the sacred fire of poetry.”

Well, let us take some of his images and see whether, except for their prose garb, they essentially differ from those of the acknowledged great poets:

Thus Shakespeare writes—what we all quote :

There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune, etc.  
And we must take the current as it serves  
or lose our ventures.

Bacon writes :

“In the third place, I set down reputation because of the peremptory tides and currents it hath, which, if they be not taken in their due time, are seldom recovered.”

It is surely fine poetry when the love-sick Orsino recalls the enchanting strain of music: “O! it came o’er my ear like the sweet south (or is “sound” the reading?) that breathes upon a bank of violets, stealing and giving odours.”

But is our unpoetical Bacon so far behind? “The breath of flowers,” he writes, “is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand.”

Again, the heedless, thoughtless Shakespeare opposed by Mr. Grant White to the judicious Bacon, was wise enough to write :

Before the times of change . . . men’s minds mistrust  
Ensuing danger; as, by proof, we see  
The waters swell before a boisterous storm. (Rich. III., II., 3.)

And the unpoetical Bacon of the same Mr. White expresses with no ungraceful brevity the same image :

As there are . . . secret swellings of seas before a tempest,  
so there are in states. (Essay on Seditious.)

Let me show you a few more bricks as proof of the house. This is how our unpoetic Bacon writes in the dedication of a grave legal treatise: “The reasons of laws severed from the grounds of nature, manners and policy are like wall-flowers, which they grow high upon the crests of states, yet have no deep roots.” Can we find in any poetic couplet a happier union of profound truth and apt fancy? When Bacon refers to the earth-circling navigators of his day he does it in this style: “Memorable voyages after the manner of heaven about the globe of the earth.” In this phrase the harmonious words seem trembling into verse. So also when he speaks of the themes of the antiquary: “Remnants of history which have

casually escaped the shipwreck of time." He speaks of the unchanging "Ocean, the solitary handmaid of eternity." Has any singer thrown a lovelier flower upon ocean? All the poetry of the sea appealed to him, as I could show by many quotations. But Bacon has not merely short swallow flights of poetic expression; he has also sustained elevations. Take his famous passage on the "end of studies;" observe its grandeur of moral sentiment as well of imagination. "Other errors there are in the scope that men propound to themselves . . . in the mistaking or misplacing of the last and furthest end of knowledge. For men have entered into a desire of learning and knowledge sometimes upon a natural curiosity and imaginative appetite, sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight, sometimes for ornament and reputation and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction, and most times for lucre and profession, and seldom to give a true account of their gift of reason to the benefit and use of man, as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereon to rest a searching and restless spirit; or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a fort or a commanding ground for strife or contention; or a shop for profit and sale, and not a rich store-house for the Glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

This wealth of imagery, never diluting, but always enriching the thought, cannot, I think, be fairly ranked as the mere exuberance of the rhetorician.

Nor is Bacon incapable of sympathetic and tender strains. He does not lack that "sense of tears in mortal things" without which a poet is but a tinkling cymbal. Read, for proof, Bacon's pathetic exposition of the fable of Memnon, son of the dawn goddess, early slain and turned to ashes beside the walls of Troy. He sees, pictured in all the mythical details, the unfortunate destinies of young men, "who," he says, "like the sons of Aurora, puffed up with the glittering show of vanity and ostentation, attempt actions above their strength. For among all disasters that can happen to mortals, there is none so lamentable and so powerful to move compassion as the flower of virtue cropped with too sudden a mischance. . . . Lamentation and mourning flutter around their obsequies, like those funeral birds around the pyre of Memnon."

Or hear his tribute to the value of true friendship: "A crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. . . . It is a mere and miserable solitude to want friends, without which the world is but a wilderness." One is reminded of an exquisite passage in

"Prometheus Unbound," where Shelley speaks of "the happiness which comes with the voice of one beloved and leaves this peopled earth a solitude when it returns no more."

Let me finally quote a longer extract from the *Essay on Death*, which, following some previous examples, I have turned into blank verse. The changes made are of the most trifling character; I have not, for example, added a single epithet:

Oft have I thought on Death, and find it still  
 The least of all our evils. Why is man  
 Enamoured of his fetters, though of gold?  
 But art thou drowned in security?  
 Then thou art dead indeed. For though thou movest,  
 Thy soul is buried in thee, and thine angel  
 Either forsakes his kindly guard or sleeps.  
 Naught lives upon this earth (save a true friend,  
 Whom never may I count with things that perish)  
 To which my heart yet leans. And this dear freedom  
 Hath gotten me this peace, that I mourn not  
 That end which must needs be, nor spend one wish  
 To add one hour to my uncertain years.  
 Yet there are few that have bespoken death.  
 Death arrives gracious only unto such  
 As sit in darkness, or lie heavy-burdened  
 With grief and irons; to the poor Christian  
 That sits bound in the galleys, to despairful  
 Widows, pensive captives, kings deposed;  
 To those whose fortune runneth back, whose spirit  
 Rebels at destiny; to such comes death  
 As a redeemer, and the grave appears  
 A harbour of retiredness and rest.

Had these conceptions and images of Bacon's had the good fortune to be ranged in verse by a Shakespeare, we might, perhaps, have ranked them with the noblest passages of Hamlet and Macbeth.

I can only touch briefly in this paper on those profounder aspects of Bacon's character and work which affect the question of his poetic equipment. As to his character, without our entering into the vast difficulties which its study raises, a glance through his most authorized biographers will show how much of the distinctively poetical peculiarities he held ingrained. His inattention to facts, combined with power of observation, his prehensile yet slippery memory, the self-possession and self-satisfaction with which he wraps himself up in a world of his own, his "sanguine and restless disposition," his zeal for the abstract and remote, combined with his assiduity in walking the crookedest paths of the courtier; his "portentous power of adapting his mind to the mind of others," his singularly high-flown ambitions and daring purposes, his unusual combination of eloquence and humor with the speculative faculty—all these become more and more evident to the student of his life and character, and all these belong to the marks and the promise of a poet.

Turning with similar brevity of observation to his treatment of his themes as a philosopher, we find what we have already glanced

at, the irrepressible, incurable propensity to construct fairy worlds of imagination. In the fables of ancient paganism Bacon finds mysterious adumbration of profound moral and scientific truths. He seeks to explain to us the origin of the world from atoms by the myth of Cupid. His explanation of the fable sets forth a form of the atomic theory which he flatters himself is "more severe and sober than that of Democritus."

Never surely was doctrine so weighty set forth in guise less severe or sober. Cupid stands for matter itself in its most elementary conception. He has, according to the fable Bacon selects, no parents, that is to say, primary matter has no natural cause of any kind. *Cum sit, post Deum, causa causarum ipsa incausabiles.* "Nothing," he continues, "has more corrupted philosophy than inquiry after the parents of Cupid." Philosophers decline to take things simply as they are in nature, but confuse issues with dialectical and mathematical notions.

Bacon quotes Scripture to explain why Cupid was fabled to be sprung from an egg hatched by Night. "God made all things beautiful in their seasons and gave the world to their disputes." But yet so that the supreme law of being can only be understood by the human intellect through negative, not positive demonstrations. As negative demonstrations are a kind of ignorance and night, "the truths proved by them are justly signified by eggs hatched by Night."

Dr. Kuno Fischer is indignant (perhaps excusably) at the "utter worthlessness" of these interpretations. "Bacon is no more an interpreter of the myths (he says) than Æsop is a zoölogist." Take, for another illustration, Bacon's development of the myth of Pan. The god Pan represents (so he expounds) the aggregate of earthly things. These are doomed to be transient, and a definite period of duration is assigned to them by nature. Therefore the Parcae or Fates are the sisters of Pan. The horns of Pan are pointed upwards; and in like manner does nature ascend from individuals to species, and from species to genera, after the fashion of a pyramid. These horns, retaining their pyramidal form, reach to the sky; thus do the highest generic ideas lead from physics to metaphysics, from physics to speculative theology. The body of Pan is covered with hair, symbolizing the rays of light that emanate from shining bodies. It is composed of the human and the brute forms, to correspond to the transition from lower to higher grades and that mingling of them that everywhere appear in nature. The goats' feet of Pan, suited as they are for steep climbing, denote the upward tendency of the terrestrial bodies; his pipes express the harmony of the world; the seven reeds signify the seven planets; the curved staff

represents the "circular" operations of Providence (which Bacon elsewhere explains). Lastly, Echo, the spouse of Pan, is a symbol of science, which should be the echo and reproduction of the cosmic order.

Here, surely, we have the "fairy tales of science" in their most shining glorification. It is but a specimen of Bacon's prevailing methods of scientific and philosophic investigation. The very titles which he strews throughout his most grave and abstruse works tell the same story of his prevalent turn of mind. "The thread of the labyrinth," "the male offspring of time," "the ante-chambers of death," "the ladder of the intellect"—such are his headings of treatises where the discussion, as we have seen, though concerned with the gravest topics, is sometimes more strangely fanciful than even such fanciful titles could have led us to anticipate.

Whatever, then, may be the value of Bacon's contributions to science and philosophy from the point of view of the scientist and the philosopher, when we come to estimate them with the eyes of the student of poetry we can hardly resist Taine's verdict: "This man thinks in the manner of artists and poets, and speaks after the fashion of prophets and seers."

The severest judgment we may be inclined to pass upon Bacon's life-work will hardly be severer than that delivered by Joseph de Maistre from his standpoint as a Catholic philosopher. Yet his two volumes of hostile analysis are none the less an eloquent testimony to Bacon's poetic temperament and poetic power. "Parement il résiste," says De Maistre, "à lénire d'être poète." An image, an analogy, a fanciful trope presents itself to Bacon's mind, and he seeks no better argument, but rather proceeds to prop up fancies with sophisms. "C'est la manière éternelle de Bacon." It is an element in nearly all the misdemeanors wherewith De Maistre charges him. The stern champion of conservative orthodoxy, running full tilt against Bacon's philosophy, and the dreamy revolutionist Shelley, who would enthrone Bacon beside the "divine" Plato, are at one in their recognition of Bacon as a poet. They would be equally amazed at such unfortunate specimens of literary criticism as those we quoted at the outset from some prominent "anti-Baconian" controversialists.

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"THE LOGICAL BASIS OF PHYSICAL LAWS."

THE advance of physical science may be truly said to be one of conquest. In the face of difficulties often formidable, and at the cost of untold and persevering labors, men have penetrated farther and farther into the region of the unknown, have laid bare the secrets of nature and have discovered the laws which rule her actions. Like the heroes of ancient Greece, of whom Pericles speaks, who received their empire from their ancestors and handed it down to posterity, not only unimpaired, but enriched with new and distant territories, each generation builds upon the inheritance left it by its predecessors and in turn contributes its mite to the world's store of knowledge. So it comes to pass that many things which now seem almost self-evident to us in their simplicity were mysteries and fertile topics of speculation to those who have gone before us.

Physical science, however, is not content with the mere observation or investigation of isolated facts. It seeks unity in complexity, identity amid diversity. It strives to connect passing phenomena to make known the constancy and uniformity that characterize them, and to determine the forces which underlie them. To these constant and uniform modes of action and—in so far as they may be ascertained—to the causes from which they spring, it gives the name of laws. By means of these laws it expresses in simplest form the great truths of nature so as to make it possible to determine not only what is, but also—supposing, of course, no exception or change—what has been and what will be.

If, now, we regard the development and establishment of the laws of nature from an historical point of view, we are confronted by a curious fact. Laws which were once supposed beyond all question to exist have come to be disproved completely, while others, though admitted to possess some truth, have in time called for extensive modification. Thus, for example—to take an instance in the history of astronomy—it was the belief of the ancient astronomers that the heavenly bodies moved with uniform motion in circular orbits. The grounds for this belief seem to have been of an *a priori* nature, and the validity of the law, for such it was considered, was not questioned until the time of Kepler, who was the first to show that it had no foundation in fact.

Again, in the life of Galileo we read of his oft-quoted quarrel with his fellow-professors of the University of Pisa, who upheld the law commonly taught at the time regarding falling bodies. According to this law heavy bodies fall with a velocity proportional to their masses, or, in other words, in any given locality the heavier

a body is the more swiftly does it fall to the earth. At first sight this seems plausible enough to preclude all doubt, but Galileo, with true scientific instinct, if not with equal scientific calm and dispassion, proved to his colleagues that the velocity of a freely falling body is independent of the amount of matter that it contains by his historic experiment of dropping cannon balls of different sizes from the top of the leaning tower of the city. The proof was as simple and direct as it was conclusive, for his discomfited adversaries could not deny the testimony of their senses, and so their cherished law passed from the domain of reality to that of fiction.

These instances might be multiplied. Even in our own day scientific research often brings to light phenomena which make imperative the amendment of some of our enunciations regarding the laws of nature. A realization of this change in our views of physical laws has led to a reaction. Thus Professor Langley, in a paper<sup>1</sup> read in Washington a few years ago, remarked: "There is growing to be an unspoken, rather than clearly formulated admission, that we know little of the order of nature and nothing at all of the laws of nature." He also cites an example to illustrate his point. It is the supposed establishment of the existence of phlogiston, an essential constituent of all combustible bodies, which was given up by them during combustion. After quoting Priestley's confident words, "If any opinion in all the modern doctrine concerning air be well founded, it is certainly this, that nitrous air is highly charged with phlogiston. If I have completely ascertained anything at all relating to air, it is this," he continues: "Phlogiston, then, was to the science of a former age in this sense a law of nature, and at least as great a generalization as the kinetic theory of gases is to us, as widely accepted, as firmly believed and as certainly known—but what has become of it now?" It must, indeed, be admitted that not only has phlogiston long since disappeared from the field of science, but many other supposed facts have met a similar fate. If, however, it be true that we are often compelled to modify our concepts of the laws of nature and at times even to abandon them altogether, we may well ask, what is after all their logical basis? Can we ever rest secure in our knowledge of them, or must we always place ourselves in an attitude of doubt?

Before entering upon this question it will be of advantage to determine precisely what is meant by the expression "physical law," since it is clear that there are various aspects under which it may be considered. To the physicist it commonly represents a constant relationship existing between certain phenomena. It may, for example, be the relationships existing between the pressure volume

<sup>1</sup> Smithsonian Report, 1901.

and temperature of a gas, or between the current, electro-motive force and resistance, or between the resistance and temperature of an electrical circuit. Numberless instances could easily be cited. Or, again, it may be some great generalization, such as the law of universal gravitation, or the law of the conservation of energy, which connects and accounts for many particular laws and phenomena. It is the province of the physicist to investigate the divers relationships which research has brought to light, to formulate them and to endeavor to explain them, at least proximately, by theory. The metaphysician goes further and philosophically examines the causes of which constancy and uniformity of action are but an effect. He studies the essential nature of a law, its varieties and the possibility of its suspension in the present order of things. There is also another way of viewing a physical law, which we may term that of the logician. For him it takes the form of a judgment which professes to contain a certain degree of truth, or, to put it technically, a certain degree of conformity between the intellect and its corresponding object in the order of nature. He examines this conformity and inquires especially into the validity of the methods by which it has been obtained and the extent to which we are justified in asserting it.

Regarding, then, physical laws simply according to their scientific definition, and independently of their metaphysical aspect, or of the technical methods which the scientific investigator employs in his experimental researches to determine their existence and character, it is evidently a question of some interest to establish the logical basis upon which they are founded, according as they are obtained by the various methods provided by logic for arriving at new knowledge. Our problem, then, is primarily one pertaining to logic, though it may perhaps also justly claim a place within the province of that new and rapidly growing field of thought—the methodology of science—which received special recognition at the late International Congress of Arts and Science, where the sessions devoted to it were addressed by scholars such as Ostwald and Erdmann.

For the sake of clearness, but one class of physical laws will be considered, viz., those which admit of quantitative, *i. e.*, of mathematical expression. Concreteness, moreover, will be gained by taking a particular law of physics and inquiring into its logical basis while at the same time tracing its development. An apt example is furnished by the well-known and fundamental Boyle's law, which expresses the relationship existing at any given temperature between the volume and pressure of a gas. It is a matter of common experience that the volume of a mass of gas, as, for example, air, varies with the pressure. Increase of pressure is

accompanied by a proportional decrease in volume. The law in its mathematical expression takes the simple form  $pv = c$ , in which  $p$  = pressure of the gas,  $v$  = its volume and  $c$  = a constant or the more general form, when combined with the law of Charles or Gay Lussac,  $pv = RT$  where  $R$  = constant and  $T$  = the absolute temperature. At any given temperature, then, whatever may be the corresponding values of  $p$  and  $v$ , the pressure and volume respectively of the gas, their product, according to the formula, will always be equal to the same constant quantity.

This law is evidently the expression of a mediate judgment. To arrive at it, therefore, the methods provided by logic for obtaining mediate judgments must be employed. It is hardly necessary to state that the two great methods are the analytic or inductive and the synthetic or deductive. To these a third may be added which holds a high place in scientific discovery, viz., the combination of the two methods just mentioned, which may be characterized as the analytico-synthetic method.

The various branches of mathematics furnish perhaps the best example of the workings of the deductive method. Thus geometry starts with a series of postulates or axioms which are regarded as so evident as not to need proof. From them as first principles all succeeding propositions are derived by syllogistic reasoning, and upon them they ultimately depend for their truth. It is obvious, however, that this method cannot be employed in the immediate study of natural phenomena. The analytic or inductive method, on the other hand, has found its greatest application in the study of nature. It adopts an opposite mode of procedure and consists in the derivation of a general principle or law from particular instances. It was by this method that Boyle's law was established—first by Boyle in 1662 and seventeen years later by Mariotte. The method itself was well known to Aristotle and the scholastic philosophers of the Middle Ages, but it was raised to a higher plane and perfected by Lord Bacon and his school.

Bacon, in the study of nature, insisted upon the empirical collection and classification of facts and the subsequent inference from them of general laws. Many of the principles laid down by him are of high value and have had most far-reaching consequences. It has been the fashion, however, to laud the English philosopher to the skies and to bestow upon him the title of "the father of the inductive method," while the marvelous advances in physical science in modern times are ascribed mainly to the results of his teaching. Without detracting in the least from the credit due to Bacon, it is worth noting that his influence on modern scientific and industrial progress and the method which bears his name have both been

greatly over-rated. Stanley Jevons, indeed, takes the view, which he admits is extreme, that "Francis Bacon, although he correctly insisted upon constant reference to experience, had no correct notions as to the logical method by which from particular facts we educe laws of nature."<sup>2</sup> Whatever be the truth of this second statement, we must agree with him when he says: "The value of this method may be estimated historically by the fact that it has not been followed by any of the great masters of science. Whether we look to Galileo, who preceded Bacon; to Gilbert, his contemporary, or to Newton and Descartes, Leibnitz and Huyghens, his successors, we find that discovery was achieved by the opposite method to that advocated by Bacon."<sup>3</sup>

We have now to consider the analytic method more in detail and see how it works in practice. As the purpose of the scientific investigator in employing it is the derivation of some general law connecting a number of particular instances, the first step to be taken is evidently the collection of the necessary data. This is done by simple observation when the phenomena in question are beyond his control, or by experiment and observation when their conditions can be varied at will. At the very outset, however, he will find himself confronted by a serious difficulty. It may happen that the constant relationship which he is investigating does not depend solely upon the phenomena themselves, but is also effected by other causes which, if not taken into account, may completely vitiate his results and so make them worthless as material upon which to base any inductive reasoning.

Our gas law is a case in point. We notice, for example, that the volume of any gas depends in some way upon its pressure, and we wish to determine how these two factors are connected. As a matter of fact, as the pressure of a gas is increased its volume is diminished. Precisely the same volume change, however, may be brought about by keeping the pressure constant and lowering the temperature. Moreover, if the gas be suddenly compressed, the temperature rises, and in this case pressure and temperature tend to produce opposite effects on the volume. Here, then, is at least one element which may exert a considerable and undesired influence upon our results. Others, too, may be present, though perhaps not to so great an extent and will at least call for careful investigation in order that error may be avoided. Evidently, then, there is need of some principles which may serve as a guide in eliminating all such disturbing factors, in order that the precise relationship which is being sought may be attained.

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<sup>2</sup> "Principles of Science," preface to first edition.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Book IV., chap. xxlii.

These principles have been developed by John Stuart Mill in his "System of Logic," Book III., chap. 8. The first he calls the method of agreement, which is thus enunciated: "If two or more instances of the phenomenon under investigation have only one circumstance in common, the circumstance in which alone all the instances agree is the cause (or effect) of the given phenomenon." Apply this now to the determination of Boyle's law. It gives some aid, but clearly it is not sufficient to establish the law. For the instances of the phenomenon of volume change have not the one circumstance of pressure change in common, but the phenomenon of temperature change also plays a considerable and as yet undetermined part. Our next step, then, will be to eliminate the temperature effect as we wish to discover the influence of pressure alone upon the volume of the gas. In other words, it will be necessary to make a series of simultaneous measurements upon the volume and pressure of our gas at constant temperature and, as far as possible, under identical conditions. The successive measurements then will have every circumstance in common except that of volume and pressure change, and consequently we may expect to receive more light upon the relationship existing between them. Now this way of proceeding is an application of Mills' method of difference, viz.: "If an instance in which the phenomenon under investigation occurs and an instance in which it does not occur have every circumstance in common save one, that one occurring only in the former, the circumstance in which alone the two instances differ is the effect, or the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon." The one instance in our case is the pressure, and hence it is "the cause, or an indispensable part of the cause of the phenomenon" of volume change. We cannot, then, be certain yet of the precise nature of the relationship between pressure and volume.

A third method may be tried, viz., "the method of concomitant variations," which is thus stated: "Whatever phenomenon varies in any manner whenever another phenomenon varies in any particular manner is either a cause or an effect of that phenomenon or is connected with it through some fact of causation." By varying, then, the pressure of our gas—all other conditions remaining the same—we notice a corresponding change in the volume—the greater the pressure of a given mass, the smaller the volume, and conversely. In fact, there is apparently a quantitative relationship, for if the pressure is doubled the volume is reduced by a half; if the pressure is made four times as great the volume is reduced to one-fourth of its original value, etc. Mill has given still a fourth method, which may also be taken into account before formulating the precise nature of this relationship. It is termed the method of residues,

viz.: "Subduct from any phenomenon such part as is known by previous inductions to be the effect of certain antecedents, and the residue of the phenomenon is the effect of the remaining antecedents."

Boyle and, after him, Mariotte, by following at least equivalently these canons established their law for air. Expressed mathematically as  $p v = c$ , it is universal and exact and it naturally represents the concept of the law which we form. But what is the logical basis of such a concept? We cannot, of course, doubt the existence of some definite law if the requisite conditions in determining it have been fulfilled. To what extent, however, are we justified in accepting this simple mathematical formula as an expression of what actually occurs in nature? The subsequent history of the law has furnished the best answer to this question.

The experiments of Boyle and Mariotte were naturally somewhat crude and were made only upon air. Nevertheless, the relationship established was regarded as exact. It was not until the nineteenth century that more extensive studies were made, and Despretz, in 1826, was the first to disprove its universality by showing that such common gases as carbon dioxide, hydrogen sulphide, hydrogen and ammonia deviated quite sensibly from it. But was the law exactly and universally true even for air? The French physicists Dulong and Arago were led to investigate this question a few years later. Their main purpose was to study its validity at comparatively high pressures without, as it seems, doubting its exactness at ordinary pressures. They carried the pressure up to 27 atmospheres and "observed that the volume of air always diminished a little more than is required by Boyle's law. But as these differences were very small, they attributed them to errors of observation and concluded that the law was perfectly exact, at any rate up to 27 atmospheres." (Ganot, Book IV., chap. 2.)

The logic of their reasoning—an observation for which the writer is indebted to Professor C. R. Cross—was characteristic of a time when scientific men were inclined to hold that the laws of nature were capable of simple and exact expression by mathematical formulæ, and it is worthy of notice, since it brings out a point of fundamental importance in the employment of the inductive method. The sole data upon which Dulong and Arago could base a legitimate conclusion were the results which they had obtained in their measurements. Now, the close agreement between the observed volumes of air and the volumes computed by the formula  $p v = c$  justified them in concluding immediately that Boyle's law was very nearly exact for air up to 27 atmospheres. The small deviations which they found certainly contained the errors of observation, but

they might also have been caused in part by the departure of the law from the simple mathematical form. To proceed a step further, then, and assume without proof—where proof was clearly needed—that the deviations in their results were due to errors of observation alone and, in consequence, to infer that the law was exact within the range of pressure investigated was to go beyond their premises, and such a conclusion could find no warrant in the inductive method. In other words, they possessed no objective evidence to justify them in passing with certainty from the one judgment, "Boyle's law is *nearly* exact for air up to 27 atmospheres," to the other very different, as was shown later; in point of truth, "Boyle's law is *exact* up to this pressure."

The conclusions of Dulong and Arago were accepted, and it remained for Regnault in his classic investigations in 1847 to settle beyond all doubt the question of the validity of the law. His work was carried out with an elaborateness and thoroughness that were characteristic of this French physicist. Profiting by the experience of his predecessors, he sought to eliminate as far as possible every known source of error, however slight it might be. His results, therefore, possess a high degree of precision. Regnault, moreover, removed all doubt regarding the source of the deviations which they indicated by showing that these were greater than any possible errors in his observations. He was forced to conclude, therefore, that they were caused by a departure of the law from the simple form  $p v = c$ . Besides air, other gases were studied, and it became evident that Boyle's law holds exactly for no actual gas, and consequently cannot be represented *exactly* by the formula  $p v = c$ , except in the case of the so-called perfect, *i. e.*, hypothetical gas. Later investigations have all served to confirm this conclusion.

Some stress has been laid upon this single instance from the history of physics, because it is typical of the establishment of a physical law and because it shows the working of the analytic method better than an abstract discussion could do. It indicates, too, the tendency to hasty generalization which seems characteristic of the method, and which experience and advancing knowledge have so often proven to be unwarranted. Moreover, it emphasizes the fact that our certain knowledge of the laws of nature is limited by the data regarding them at our disposal. This is the sole evidence upon which we can build a certain judgment without fear of having to change it. When we argue beyond this evidence we enter the region of probabilities. Such further inference is, no doubt, in many cases quite legitimate, provided that we bear in mind that we are dealing simply with probabilities. It must be said, however, that as research advances this probability regarding the



enunciation or universality of particular laws becomes very high. In the case of some—as, for example, that of gravitation, at least within the limits of the solar system, where even the apparent deviations have been shown to be in accordance with the law itself—the probability of their exactness and universality approaches well nigh to certainty. Still as it is physically impossible to verify experimentally any law or even any single instance of a law with absolute exactness, there is some ground, however slight, for doubting the precise formula by which the law is expressed or at least its universality.

Not only is there danger of unwarranted inference when the actual data determined by experiment or observation are subject to analysis, but the liability becomes even greater when extrapolation is resorted to, *i. e.*, when, after plotting such data, the curve upon which they lie is extended beyond the limits of actual observation, and conclusions are drawn from the knowledge—purely hypothetical, it is to be noted—which it affords. Professor E. L. Nichols has pointed out ("Concepts of Physical Science," *Popular Science Monthly*, November, 1904) the uncertainty attendant upon such procedures and cites in confirmation several striking instances. When direct observation is impossible and the speculative element enters as a factor in our conclusions, "we are compelled," as he says, "to make use of analogy. We infer the unknown from the known. Though our logic be without flaw and we violate no mathematical principle, yet are our conclusions not absolute. They rest of necessity upon assumptions, and these are subject to modification indefinitely as our knowledge becomes more complete."

Great care, then, is required in the use of the inductive method, and the experienced physicist in employing it will not readily commit himself to broad statements which have no real foundation in fact. So, for example, Gay Lussac, in striking contrast to Priestley's confident words quoted by Professor Langley, ends his account of his important researches on the free expansion of gases with the modest statement: "I think I may repeat that I present these conclusions only with great reserve, knowing myself how I need to vary my experiments and how easy it is to go astray in the interpretation of results."

The purely synthetic method, as has already been noted, cannot be employed in the immediate study of natural phenomena, and so the analytico-synthetic method next claims attention as a logical basis of physical laws. It seems paradoxical at first sight to speak of the use of any kind of deductive reasoning as a means of arriving at the truths of nature. Yet it is rather to this latter method, and not to the purely inductive method, that the great advance of physical science since the days of Newton is chiefly due. Newton

himself excelled in its application and was among the first to make extensive use of it. Briefly stated, it consists in anticipating nature rather than groping blindly in the dark to solve her mysteries. Intellect and imagination, as well as the senses, are brought into play in the quest for new truths. The scientific investigator by a study of the facts at his disposal, and often with the aid of analogy, pictures to himself what may be and then proceeds to see whether his suppositions or their legitimate consequences have any foundation in fact.

The method of procedure is simple in principle and may be stated in a few words. Its first step consists in the framing of some plausible hypothesis which will account for some, at least, of the phenomena in question. This hypothesis, generally speaking, always remains an hypothesis, since it is usually made up of assumptions which from their very nature cannot be directly proven. Starting from these assumptions as first principles, a body of conclusions and laws is derived which constitutes the theory. The reasoning employed in the exact sciences is commonly mathematical and of course rigid. But what is the value of the conclusions which are thus obtained? As far as the reasoning itself goes, they are undoubtedly exact, but viewed in the light of their actual correspondence with nature, they must be regarded as purely hypothetical until subjected to verification, inasmuch as they are conditioned by the assumptions upon which they are based.

Boyle's law will also serve as an apt illustration of the deduction of a physical law by means of the analytico-synthetic method. As is well known, the kinetic theory of gases has for one of its first consequences this fundamental gas law in its exact form  $p v = c$ . This theory explains and develops the properties of gases upon mechanical grounds. It is based upon the assumption that the molecules, of which, according to the molecular hypothesis, all gases are composed, are perfectly elastic and, while moving about with rectilinear motion, are so far separated as to exert no appreciable attraction upon one another. Starting, then, with this assumption and the laws of mechanics, this relationship between the pressure and volume of a gas might have been derived without a single experiment. But it never could have claimed the dignity of an actual physical law until it was shown by the canons of the inductive method to possess a foundation of truth in nature. Indeed, without careful experimental verification, the slight but sensible deviations of ordinary gases from the simple mathematical formula would undoubtedly have remained unsuspected. The difference between a verified law and a law which has been established simply by theory, but cannot be directly confirmed, is well

illustrated in the case of Avogadro's principle, viz., that under the same conditions of temperature and pressure equal volumes of all gases contain the same number of molecules. This principle can be deduced from the kinetic theory of gases with the same validity as Boyle's law. But as it cannot be experimentally verified, it still remains hypothetical and cannot strictly be called a physical law, though it often bears this title. Its probability, however, is certainly increased by this independent *a priori* derivation apart from all chemical evidence in its favor.

Not only can the analytico-synthetic method suggest the existence of hitherto unsuspected laws, but it is often able to take into account and explain deviations from laws which had been assumed to be exact. Thus—to return to our example of Boyle's law—when it was found that actual gases departed from its simple, mathematical form, efforts were made without much success to express the relationship existing between the pressure and volume of a gas by means of empirical formulæ. Now Regnault's investigations showed that if the kinetic theory was to account satisfactorily for the properties of actual gases, a change was necessary in some of its postulates which, in all probability, could not be sensibly true except in the case of an ideal gas. For it had been assumed that both the volume of the molecules themselves and their attraction upon one another were quite negligible. By making allowance, then, for these two factors, it becomes possible to deduce, as Van der Waals did in 1873, a formula which not only has a theoretical basis, but also represents with a certain degree of accuracy the known facts. This is the so-called Van der Waals' equation:

$$\left(p + \frac{a}{v^2}\right) (v-b) = \text{Const.}$$

This equation, as will be noticed, is obtained from the formula  $p v = R$  by applying a correction both to the pressure ( $p$ ) and to the volume ( $v$ ) of the gas. As the molecules have an appreciable volume of their own which is designated by the constant  $b$ , the available space throughout which they can move will be less than the apparent volume of the gas by an amount  $b$ . The quantity  $v-b$ , then, takes the place of  $v$  in the simple formula. Molecular attraction, on the other hand, will make the pressure of the gas less than it would be if the molecules had no influence on one another. For this attraction will evidently diminish the force of impact of the molecules on the walls of the containing vessel, to which, according to the kinetic theory, the pressure of the gas is due. The pressure  $p$  then must be increased by a quantity which takes the form  $\frac{a}{v^2}$  where  $a$  is a constant and  $v$  is the volume of the gas. Instead, then, of  $p$  in the simple formula, we have in its place the expression  $p + \frac{a}{v^2}$ . The values of the constants  $a$  and  $b$  will, of course, differ

for various gases. In determining the form of the constant  $\frac{a}{v^2}$  Van der Waals supposed that the mutual attraction of the molecules depended solely on the volume of the gas. His equation was afterwards modified by Clausius, who made the further assumption that the molecular attraction is also a function of the temperature. It may be noted, however, that either form of the equation is only an approximation of the exact law for actual gases.

The great value of the analytico-synthetic method lies in its power of suggestion. It serves as a guide and helps to open up new and often vast fields of research, while it stimulates and arouses the interest of the investigator. A good theory obtained by its aid will not only account for known phenomena, but also furnish conclusions, some novel and before altogether unknown, which only need the test of experiment to take their place in the depository of human knowledge. It is always necessary to bear in mind, however, that such conclusions require verification in order to have any logical value as truths of nature, and they can be accepted as true only in so far as they agree with experience. To quote the words of Professor Dewar in commenting upon the various conjectures made as to the properties of hydrogen when reduced to the liquid state: "No theoretical forecast, however apparently justified by analogy, can be finally accepted as true until confirmed by actual experiment."

To conclude, then, it must be admitted that it is within our power to gain certain knowledge of the laws of nature unless, indeed, we deny the very existence of such laws or question the validity of the logical methods for establishing them. And such knowledge is not made any the less certain by the fact that it may be, and indeed often is, very inadequate, provided, of course, that the methods of acquiring it have been properly applied, and facts are discriminated from hypotheses, however great the probability of the latter. Physical laws are facts and not hypotheses, and hence our concepts of them, once legitimately formulated, cannot be shown to be false unless the laws themselves should change. The analytic and analytico-synthetic methods, as applied to the study of nature, are not entirely distinct. They differ in their manner of arriving at truth, but they must necessarily go hand-in-hand. Indeed, they may be regarded as different aspects of a single method, and their conclusions, however obtained, must possess, if they are to be accepted as true, the one essential note in common, viz., agreement with observed facts, for that is our only criterion where there is question, not of eternal and necessary truths, but of the truths of nature.

HENRY M. BROCK, S. J.

SIGISMUND KRASINSKI, THE POLISH MYSTIC AND  
POET.

ISAIAH lifted up his eyes in prophetic vision and beheld light breaking over the land that was heavily burdened and on the people that sat in darkness and in the shadow of death. He saw Jerusalem arising from her bondage, her sons and daughters gathering about her, and the Kings and peoples of the East and West walking in her splendor. Twofold was the inspiration of him whose lips were touched with the coal of divine fire, that of the two most mighty, most passionate emotions of the human heart—religion and patriotism. And under their united and intertwining power, blended mystically, the great Hebrew Vates poured forth his exalted utterance—the noblest poetry, the loftiest prophecy that mankind has ever heard.

What Isaiah was to his race, so in his lesser degree to the Polish people was Sigismund Krasinski, the poet-prophet of Poland, who at the price of cruelest suffering, through “the pains of hell and toils of Purgatory,” to use his own words, conceived and bore that message not only to his nation, but to every human soul, which wedded to an exquisite diction, glowing with rich harmonies of color and music, has forever placed him in the class of poets who, in Klacko’s phrase, have consoled humanity at the cost of their own tears and anguish and heart rendings.<sup>1</sup>

Krasinski was born of a noble house in 1812 and died in 1858. That is to say, he belonged to that period of his nation’s history that was rent with struggle as regards her political life, that brought forth not only Adam Mickiewicz, the greatest Polish, the greatest Slavonic poet, but so noble and so numerous a band of singers, inspired by sorrow, as to be justly reckoned the golden age of Poland’s literature. Add to these circumstances that the attitude of Krasinski’s father, who had formerly played a distinguished part in the Napoleonic wars, but had since transferred his allegiance to Russia, thereby becoming a bye-word of reproach to the whole nation, darkened all Sigismund’s career with a strain of peculiar bitterness. So painful was the dilemma between filial duty and an ardent patriotism that the poet left his country and wandered for the most part abroad in so far as the heavy hand of the Russian government permitted his movements. Racked by bodily ill health, consumed by melancholy and torn with mental sufferings, the “Anonymous Poet,” for such was the cognomen under which Krasinski always wrote, consecrated his sad life to framing the

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<sup>1</sup> *Causeries Florentines* par Julian Klaczko.

poetry of love and sacrifice and sorrow by which he was fain to open a way of light to Poland in the depths of her dejection.

We should remember that at the time that first saw Krasinski taking his place in the ranks of the Polish writers, namely, from 1833 upwards, the life of the nation was dependent on her poets to a degree unprecedented in any history save that of ancient Greece.<sup>2</sup>

*Mondes*, Jan. 1, 1862.

The poets led the nation. It was their strains that, written for the most part by exiles and emigrants, smuggled into Poland as Klaczko has so vividly described,<sup>3</sup> devoured by the Polish youth at dead of night behind bolts and bars, with one of their number acting as sentry to give the alarm and knowing all too well that discovery meant imprisonment and Siberia. It was their strains that taught the nation her history, aims and ideals that could be learnt in no other manner under the iron rule of Nicholas I. Under overwhelming difficulties to both reader and writer, the Polish poets carried out the vocation they held so sacred and inculcated the stern lessons of patriotism and self-devotion, all illumined, glorified, etherealized by the unearthly light of that form of Polish mysticism which is known as Mesyanism and which touches its highest level in the work of Krasinski, the most purely spiritual of its exponents.

Weighed down by the misery of their nation, the Polish poets devoted their genius to discovering some theory that might not only explain the working of Providence in the present, but that should give to the nation cut off from all active life another sphere of action, a reason for her being, an object of endeavor, and thus prevent the moral decay that by the very nature of things must result from a paralyzed and hopeless existence. Intense suffering, said they, is sent as a direct preparation to some special calling. The Via Dolorosa leads at last to the glory of the Resurrection. Poland, therefore, has passed through the furnace till, purified by its fires, she reaches a great moral regeneration when she will take the leadership of Christian and more especially of Slavonic nations, and initiate the spiritual revolution of the universe which will behold all governments united in Christ and ruling in Christ. Such, roughly speaking, is the fundamental doctrine of Mesyanism in its purest form, and it inspired the Polish nation with a literature which for artistic beauty, passionate religious feeling and deep pathetic power ranks with the finest productions of European letters.

To races more materialistic than the Slav the theory of Mesyanism might at first sight appear too unreal to be taken seriously. But if we lay aside all preconceived ideas and consider the question from an exclusively Polish standpoint, we shall see how admirably

<sup>2</sup> Julian Klaczko, "Le Poète Anonyme de la Pologne," *Revue des Deux*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

adapted this spiritual nationalism was to the moral conditions of Poland at the height of her suffering. On one side we have an enthusiastic and a high-spirited people, with a glorious past behind them, bowed down beneath an intolerable present; a people who have always clung passionately to their faith and nationality and to their rich language; a people, moreover, of a peculiarly mystic tendency of mind. It was to save and to console this nation, withheld from leading the most ordinary life of the Commonwealth, galled by language prohibitions, by a press censorship of the most rigorous description, by the secret police, by imprisonment, by banishment to the mines, oppressed, in short, by all the Asiatic methods of a rule determined to crush every vestige of Polish nationality—it was to this nation that the Polish poets preached Mesyanism.

Such were the conditions under which Krasinski wrote. He saw his nation an outcast, ravaged by the two great banes of a conquered race—internal factions and temptation to revenge. To the calling, then, of showing Poland her one way of salvation Krasinski gave his life and genius. Gradually, painfully, through disappointment, weariness, perplexity, after a terrible wandering in God-forsaken spiritual darkness, did he learn and proclaim that truth so vital to the very life of a subject people: that the nation that would save herself by hatred and ignoble means must surely perish, for love is the one creating power and suffering the one road not only of redemption, but of glory. Suffering in Krasinski's scheme is the great moral regenerator of the universe and of the individual. It is the road by which humanity, as he says in the "Psalm of Faith," must travel back to its "Father's city." By personal martyrdom shall salvation be procured for others. In his "Psalm of Good Will" he thanks God for His greatest gifts, namely, a pure life, "therefore worthy of the Cross," and the Cross itself, "but such as brings us to Thy stars." He sang in the "Psalm of Love" of man rising Phoenix-like from sin, new-born by pain. He taught the soaring of the soul through suffering to heights of spiritual grandeur unknown to those who walk the paths of pleasantness. The might of sacrifice, he said, is the great strength of the world, stronger than fate itself.

This message he addressed to his country now in the form of allegory, a method largely used at that period of Polish literature for the sake of safety; again, as in his great lyric "Dawn," in the shape of visions, mystical and ecstatic, of the spiritual restoration of Poland; and yet again in the "Psalms of the Future" it became a pointed warning in the particular dangers to which Poland was exposed. But intensely national as Krasinski is, it must not be

imagined that he is any less a poet for all humanity than any of those great figures whose inspiration has become the lawful heritage and the beacon-light of the struggling human race. Dante has said that every work of serious purpose must not only be understood in a literal sense, but in that of allegory also. So spiritual is Krasinski's presentment of the moral struggle and victory of his nation, so peculiarly closely does it touch in many points the story of the travail and temptation of each interior life that as in the pages of Isaias the voice of Sion is the cry of the human soul, "Surge illumine Jerusalem," the high-water mark of a national and individual mysticism, so we cannot doubt that even in those passages where Krasinski does not deal directly with the particular spirit, but with the sorrow, combat and triumph of Poland, Poland stands as a type not only of the grief, temptation and victory of every child of Eve, but of his own storm-swept heart. For he exacted of his countrymen nothing that he himself had not given. His battle was gained hardly. Needs must be for the soul to wander in exceeding anguish through dark and desolate places without finding any rest till its new life is born at the price of its bitterest pangs. As Dante to reach the Empyrean went down into the pit of never-ending dole, so the great Polish poet only won to peace after he had wrestled long with a spiritual agony, stamped deep, indelibly branded on every line he wrote.

In Krasinski's days the lives of the Polish poets were interwoven with the national history in a peculiar manner. We can, in fact, best realize the agonies of Poland in the terrible years succeeding the hapless Rising of 1830 from the poetry of that period. Hardly could there exist a sadder literature. It is one cry of passionate grief, written, as a Polish author words it, "in tears and blood," revolutionized by a nation's mourning. It was the sufferings of Poland that drove the great Mickiewicz and many another of Poland's most gifted sons into the labyrinths of a strange illusory religious creed, where in the very flower of his splendid genius the magnificent poet of the Lithuanian forests was lost for the rest of his life to Polish literature. It was beneath their weight that, as we shall see, Krasinski sank before he rose redeemed to sing salvation to his people.

It was amidst pain and anguish of no ordinary degree that Krasinski turned his weary eyes to a dream country, pure, beautiful, spiritualized. "My country," he says in "Dawn," "is not to me a home, a country, but is both faith and truth;" in other words, his ideal and something like a religion. And his vision soars far beyond that of an individual nation and her resurrection. He sees before his prophetic gaze the day-spring of humanity—the new



world of which he sings in "Dawn," where there is one God, one love, no sin or bloodshed, the explanation of the long riddle of pain and temptation—ushered in by his nation's suffering. That became Krasinski's one dream. He and his countrymen had no earthly nation; then they should have one, raised to heights of spiritual glory if—and here enters his grave condition—if the nation by heroic bearing of her sorrows, by preserving her shield free from stain, should prove herself worthy of her great destiny. This exalted aspiration, to be realized only by ceaseless and painful striving, at once raises Krasinski to the rank of the great mystic teacher of his people. To a mind that like his could conceive such a mission for his race and so noble an outcome to pain, every national sin and moral weakness would be in the highest degree abhorrent and a direct apostasy from the appointed vocation. Here, then, we have the key to Krasinski's loathing of evil means wherewith to purchase good, to his horror of revenge and violence. Against these he lifted up his voice as long as speech was in him. His nation was to conquer by virtue alone. In his "Psalm of Love" he laments that black thoughts are born of fetters and declares that the torments of Siberia and the barbaric knout pale before those of a "poisoned mind," which he calls the "sorrow of sorrows" of an oppressed people. Hence follows the motive of his great prose drama, "Irydion."

"Irydion" was written in 1836, while Poland was groaning beneath the vengeance of Nicholas I. for the Rising of 1830. Hatred begets hatred, and Krasinski, seeing his nation's peril, sent forth his earnest warning under the figures of the struggle between subject Greece and Rome.

Irydion is the son of a Greek and of a Scandinavian priestess. Nursed on hatred of Rome, brought up from his cradle to the destiny of the avenger, he and his evil genius, Masynissa (in reality Mephistopheles), carry on the plot by their united scheming. No consideration save his enemy's fall is sacred to Irydion's soul; no means to this end too ignoble to employ. Torn by anguish, but relentless to her tears for mercy, he sacrifices his sister's honor to Heliogabalus, thereby working on the fears of the craven Emperor till he is completely in the traitor's power. He successfully undermines the loyalty of the Pretorians; he gathers together the fierce barbarian bands, thirsting for blood. So far all has played into his hands, but the crucial test now comes. Masynissa tells him that the whole enterprise depends on the adhesion of the Christians. Irydion therefore goes down into the Catacombs. There he receives a feigned baptism and afterwards proceeds to dupe in a manner peculiarly offensive to Christian feeling the maiden, Cor-

nelia, who is vowed to Christ and looked upon as a saint and prophetess by her fellow-believers and whose frenzied exaltation under Irydion's precepts becomes his most powerful aid. He then arms, apparently for the honor of Christ, the younger men. But it is in the hiding place of the persecuted first followers of Christ that the ethical significance of the whole drama receives one of its most pointed illustrations, for it is there that the minister of hatred has to pit his strength against a power greater than his own, by which he is vanquished in the end. In vain does Irydion strive to gain over the Pope and the older generation who preach to the hot-headed among their number of love and forgiveness for the persecutor. The hour of bloodshed that Irydion has so long prepared is at last at hand. Pretorians, slaves, barbarians are upon their arms waiting for the signal. With savage joy Irydion cries to the too tardy night, the last night of Rome, to hasten its coming. But where are the Christians? Irydion hastens to the Catacombs. There he hears Cornelia, exorcised by the Supreme Pontiff, acknowledge that it is the evil spirit that has spoken at Irydion's bidding through her lips words which will lose the Christian forever to his cause, and in his presence she expires, breathing with her last sigh her pardon for him who wronged her.

Doomed to failure, the maddened Irydion dashes the cross he wears to the ground and rushes to the scene of war to battle to the end, more, say his foes, like the spirit of incarnate hatred than mortal man; but in vain. He has failed. Masynissa leads him to a mountain near Rome. Then in the dark hour of his impotent anguish Irydion curses his master for having deluded him with false promises, and declaring that had Cornelia's God existed it is to Him that in his despair he would now call, he adjures Masynissa to tell him if Christ be truly God. Masynissa confesses Christ, but as his immortal enemy, and foretells to Irydion that the "city of his hatred" will once more rule all nations in the name of Christ. But, continues the tempter, a far-off day will dawn when the reign of the Crucified will be over, when "in the Forum there will be dust, in the Coliseum ruins and on the Capitol shame." If Irydion will foreswear the Enemy of Masynissa, the latter will cast the Greek into a trance of ages till he awakes to behold the shame of Rome. Irydion agrees to the bond, and he sinks into a deep slumber in a cave near Rome. The hoofs of Alaric's hordes thunder above his head—the triumph of Charlemagne. But not till the centuries have run does Irydion awake.

Then he arises in the strength of his youth (at the date of the drama), and gazes on the ruins of Rome—on the fallen Palatine, the silent Forum, the crumbling Coliseum. It is in the mighty amphi-

theatre that the last judgment upon Irydion's soul takes place at the foot of the Cross against which he once fought in vain, which now he dimly acknowledges as the symbol of sorrow, even as he himself had sorrowed, even as the Hellas of his love had sorrowed—and "holy for evermore." The ruin is bathed in the cold rays of the moon. The sighs of the martyrs and the hymns of the saints fill the arena. Above Irydion shines the angelic face of Cornelia. Her wings flash white in the light of the moon as she battles for the salvation of her betrayer. But below is the fury of Masyntis, striving to tear him from the Cross around which the struggle rages for his soul.

"Immortal Enemy," is the cry of Hell, "he is mine, for he lived in vengeance and he hated Rome." But higher still rings Cornelia's entreaty for forgiveness: "Oh, Lord, he is mine, for he loved Greece." And Irydion is tossed between the powers of darkness, howling for their prey below, and heavenly love, interceding for him on high—a contest that admirably illustrates the motive of the play. The plea of love prevails, and here let the great moral of the drama be observed. The chief character in Krasinski's earlier play, "The Undivine Comedy," is lost because he had loved nothing except himself. Irydion is saved because although he hated Rome he had one love left to his soul—he loved Greece. But because (and here we have one of Krasinski's leading tenets), because he loved so sinfully, because he used such foul weapons for the object of his love, he is only saved under conditions. In the sentence of expiation pronounced upon him Krasinski partly throws off the allegory and speaks more directly to his country. It should be remarked that when the poet alludes to what he calls his Thought, this Thought and the personality of Irydion are identical. Thus, then, does the drama end. Irydion is bidden:

"Go to the north in the name of Christ. Go and halt not till thou standest in the land of graves and crosses. Thou wilt know it by the silence of men and the sadness of little children. . . . Thou wilt know it by the sighs of My angels, flying o'er it in the night. . . . There is thy second trial. For the second time thou wilt see thy love transpierced, dying . . . and the sorrows of thousands shall be born in thy one heart. . . . Go and trust in My Name. . . . Be calm in face of the oppression and the derision of the unjust. They will pass away, but thou and My word will not pass away. . . . Go and act, although thy heart should faint in thy bosom; although thou shouldst lose faith in thy brethren; although thou shouldst despair of Me Myself; act ever and without rest . . . and thou wilt rise not from sleep as erst, but from the work of ages; and thou wilt be the free son of heaven.

"And the sun rose above the ruins of Rome. And there was none whom I might tell where were the traces of my Thought. But I know that it lasts and lives."

These striking words give us the clue to the rest of Krasinski's work. His thought both lasted and lived. He is the poet of one idea, his only deviation therefrom being during the seven years that elapsed between the publication of "Trydion" and of "Dawn." He has left the lasting record of those sad years in the lines of ineffable pathos and purest beauty with which he opens his noble lyric, "Dawn." Here he tells how, his faith staggered by the sight of his country's misery, he sank into an abyss of despair and doubt, where all light was changed into eternal night; where one only inscription was writ large, "There is no hope here;" where he "dwelt, dwelt long, torn by wild rage and despair that knew no shore." "Like Dante, during life I went through hell." But he sings in the same prologue of the "joy of faith, the mighty strength of hope" that returned to him at last; how his sighing "passed away to song;" how sudden light broke over the storm-racked skies and "the mist becomes the golden house of God."

From henceforth we have to follow him along an ever upward road. More and more does he become the great moral teacher, the poet of love and of the sorrow that worketh not death, but life. "Dawn," the child of his pain-fraught travail, the joyous birth after his long agony, may be called the apotheosis of suffering. It consists of a series of mystical musings on love and self-sacrifice, linked on to the question of Poland, culminating in glorious visions of the nation heralding through her anguish that better epoch of humanity for which the poet never ceased to sigh. It is in this work that Krasinski gives forth the declarations that who loves cannot perish; who dies a sacrifice lives forever in the lives of others; in the spiritual world death and love are one. The great have grown from pain, not ease. The poem, which is considered the finest expression of Mesyanism in the Polish language, is rich with the gorgeous imagery and word music characteristic not only of Krasinski, but of the other poets of his race, and it rises to raptures of spiritual exaltation in its close when the poet, doubly inspired no doubt by the memory of his own soul's uprising, in a grand paean of triumph solemnly thanks the Eternal God of his fathers for long torment of mind and body, for although they who endured them were weak and poor, Christ's kingdom shall be born therefrom, and the seeming eternity of anguish was but the night of test, the rung on the ladder, the ante-chamber, and where weeping once resounded stands now "the second house of God."

But his efforts were not to end here. His noble gift was em-

ployed as a direct mode of serving the nation that he loved so well and for which he could labor in no other way. His country's need inspired the "Psalms of the Future," which contain his two greatest poems, the "Psalm of Love" and the "Psalm of Good Will."

Apart from its high literary merit, the "Psalm of Love" possesses an abiding and pathetic interest of its own from the tragic circumstances that gave it birth. It was written in 1845. Although Krasinski was both a mystic and a dreamer, he was at the same time politically clear-sighted to a remarkable degree. Revolution was then preparing, and the poet, foreseeing all too plainly that it would end as it did in the terrible massacres of Galicia,<sup>4</sup> sent forth the only means of warning open to him in the strains of the "Psalm of Love," that solemn summons of the angel of peace to pause before the horrors of the crimson-stained field of fratricidal war. Count Tarnowski places this psalm among the world's splendid failures of political eloquence.<sup>5</sup> No note that could appeal to a patriotic heart is left unsounded. It is a passionate pleading adapted to one nation and to all the world against the weapons of violence and against the sully of the soul and of the national ideal by evil. Against hell alone, the poet at one moment cries, should our arms be carried, and brute violence is the language of races in their infancy. Now is the time for man to take upon himself the harder toil of him who would be like the angels, to cast off with loathing all that is foul and by that very spurning to rise superior to bondage. Transformation through love is the one God-like fruitful truth. Or, again, he cites the example that will live forever, not of the blood-stained tyrants of history, but of those who have labored without rest, who have immolated themselves on the altar of sacrifice for the land of their heart. Then he sings in an exquisite lyric of his ideal; conquering the moment of death and despair by the one strength of bitterest martyrdom, and rising in that power to dry all tears, to cure all sin, to be the herald of the everlasting love. Sorrowfully does the poet turn his yearning gaze from that fair vision to stern reality in the oft-repeated and, in the light of what was to follow, the tragic refrain, "Fling away your murderous weapons." "God," he concludes mournfully, "will not turn away His Face" if the struggle be holy and in His name.

Krasinski followed up this poem by the "Psalm of Faith" and the "Psalm of Hope." The former is one of his most mystical and least national utterances. It is, as the name implies, his confession

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<sup>4</sup> It will be remembered that the machinations of the Austrian Government turned the arms of the Polish peasants against the land owners, and an appalling butchery took place.

<sup>5</sup> *Pisma Zygmunta Krasinskiego . . . przedmowa Stanisława Tarnowskiego.* Cracow, 1890.

of personal and political faith. He describes in somewhat obscure language how the spirit, casting off the withered leaves of its body, soars aloft on unwearied wings, with the twilight depths of the past behind it and the measureless stretches of what may not be spanned before it, till it reaches the bosom of its Creator.

"Thither," says the poet, speaking from the fulness of his restored heart, "thither I without ceasing travel, there first must I go through the pains of hell, through the toils of Purgatory till I begin to put me on body and soul more radiant and ascend to the other world." Thence he passes to the clearer hymning of Him who is the desire of the soul, in whom there is "love without measure, that is life without end," who is "Being, Spirit, Life—Father, Son and Holy Ghost," He in whom man must "live . . . eternally by eternal love." And as the soul works its way back to its Author, so each nation travels thither likewise, each on the particular road allotted to it. For to each some deep thought has been sent down from the Heart of the Creator to become the special predestiny of that people. And some are chosen before all others to combat for God's beauty upon this earth and to bear the crimson-tracked cross of pain. Such, continues the Polish prophet, is the calling of his own nation if, he adds in an exceedingly beautiful passage striking home to every sorrow-stricken soul, she will understand that "Oh, God, Thou lovest without measure those sons whom Thou dost crown with thorns, for the thorn steeped in blood is the everlasting flower, and with it Thou shalt renew the youth of all humanity." His concluding words are an exhortation to the human race to follow in the footsteps of Christ, "Who bore all thy vicissitudes in His Flesh, who showed thee all thy hopes;" to leave in the pit the slavery of Satan and the fetters of falsehood, and on the wings of heavenly knowledge and of eternal love to soar into the worlds of light. The "Psalm of Hope," written in the same year, sets forth in almost martial strains the same ideal.

The next psalm he wrote after the massacres in Galicia had dealt Poland one of the deadliest blows from which she has ever suffered. To this poem its author gave the significant title of the "Psalm of Grief." It is said that two thousand nobles were butchered during the outbreak. Whole families were swept away. But not even the catastrophe that paralyzed Poland for fifteen years could destroy Krasinski's spirit. For two years his anguish brought him to the gates of death; but by an almost superhuman effort he rose above his pain, and out of his own agony wrung words of consolation for his despairing nation. Krasinski is the saddest of poets, but he is no pessimist. He is the singer of hope. Nothing could shatter his confidence, his certainty; no shock, however rude, could shake

his faith in his fair ideal of moral beauty. In his "Psalm of Grief"—enduring monument though it be to a nation's sorrow—he still spoke of the Holy Ghost shedding peace and harmony over a distracted world; he sang of brotherly love as the means of salvation on the very brink of the eternal abyss; he pointed to the soul winning her way to God through purity and pain.

And what was practically his last poem, the "Psalm of Good Will," marks the glorious highest point not only of his teaching, but also of his poetic genius. It is, indeed, more than that—it is the grand closing of the mystic prophetic phase of Polish literature, that literature so strange, so sad, so haunting in its beauty. What, then, was Krasinski's last message to the people for whom he had spent his life? Its title is the answer—that the greatest ideal may be reached with heart's blood, with tears and travail, *if good will be there.*<sup>6</sup> The noble prayer rolls on in long, sweeping lines of incomparable majesty like deep organ harmonies, to use Klaczko's simile. The whole psalm breathes the solemn peace, albeit strongly tinged with the sorrow never absent from Krasinski's work, of one who had only gained thereto at the end of a bitter highway, only after passing through depths of unspeakable anguish.

In his last psalm Krasinski sings the magnificent vision of his nation's temptation. This is one of the best illustrations in his poetry of what we have already observed, namely, that his national mysticism is in reality that of each sore-beset unit of storm-tossed, tempted humanity.

We, says the poet, are above the yawning abyss, on the narrow isthmus. Our wings are pointing to the resurrection, our lips are parted for the song of joy. From the blue heavens, as though from the bosom of God, as though His sheltering arms shoot down the golden shafts of the dawn that will take from our weary brows the weight of sorrow. The life-giving east is aflame and the angels are at gaze; but from the precipice rises the darkness, heaving, growing, measuring itself towards us (this sort of imagery is very characteristic of Krasinski), seething with passion, hatred, falsehood—the pit itself, eternal death. Behold us, then, suspended between that never-ending death and life. If one glance is cast towards the darkness, if one step be turned to meet it, then the light of dawn will vanish from our foreheads, and neither Christ's pity nor the consolation of His Paraclete will be for us.

"Have mercy, Lord," cries the poet. "Defend us, be Thou with us." Then despair tells him that in that supreme moment of their fate none may aid, and that the tempted stand alone to make of their crisis what they will.

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<sup>6</sup> Count Tarnowski, *op. cit.*

But one name rises to his fainting heart, the name with which "upon their lips millions of Polish souls have gone to death," the name of Mary.<sup>7</sup> Let her, prays the poet, remember them. "Look upon her, oh, Lord," as she is borne by those spirits who have been so true to her beyond the Milky Way, beyond the sun, across measureless space till she kneels at the feet of God while all the universe waits and hearkens. Below, hell clamors with its bitter laughter. The roar of its furious waves is in our ears, its darkness, by which it would drag our souls to death, is about us. Oh, vain one, cries the poet, it seeth not what is being wrought on high; it seeth not that its rage is nought since that pitiful heart for us is wrung. Then he pours out the last cry of his soul, his farewell to his nation, in the prayer that flows on to the end of the psalm like a majestic and untroubled sea:

"Oh Lord, Lord, not for hope do we pray—as a flower shall it be strewn; not for the death of those who have wronged us—their death will dawn with to-morrow's clouds; not for the rod of rule, not for help (for Thou hast already opened wide the field of events before us); but for one thing only in the terrible convulsion of such events do we implore of Thee, oh Lord, only a pure will, oh Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Oh Thou most dear, hidden and universal One, visible beyond the veil of transparent worlds; oh Thou all present, Immortal Holy One, oh Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Thou who hast commanded to the being of man, puny in strength and little in birth, that by the might of sacrifice he should become even as the angels, we beseech Thee, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, with the simplicity of children, with the lowliness of women—before Thee, oh God, we are children and women, but to the world men—we, suspended betwixt the abyss and Thy kingdom, oh Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we beseech Thee, with our foreheads bowed to earth, our temples bathed in the breath of Thy spring, surrounded by perishing government and worn out times; oh Father, Son and Holy Ghost, we beseech Thee create in us a pure heart, make new our thoughts, from our souls uproot the weeds of sacrilegious falsehood, and give us that gift, eternal among all Thy gifts—*give us good will.*"

With these words closes the life work of Sigismund Krasinski.

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<sup>7</sup> For the better appreciation of this passage, it should be understood that the deep devotion of the Poles to the Blessed Virgin is of an intensely patriotic as well as religious character. Many of their most sacred national associations are connected with the Madonna of Czenstochowa.



## THE GOOD FAITH OF UNFAITH?

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran than that this universal frame is without a mind.—Lord Bacon, *Essay on Atheism*.

**I**N CERTAIN quarters not too well informed there is an impression abroad that the theory of evolution has demolished the doctrine of theism; that physical science has disproved the existence of God, and that unbelief is based on reason, but belief on unreason.

These pretensions it is not proposed here to discuss. Unbelief, in point of fact, is a negation of reason. But is the unbeliever at any rate *bona fide* in his unbelief? To that question we propose in this paper to supply an answer.

### I.

And, first, as to the declarations of Scripture—declarations, it will be remarked, that were supernaturally uttered, but declarations of arguments that are wholly natural. Of these natural arguments, of these appeals to reason, two classes are put forth by Holy Writ as leading to knowledge of God—the historical and the cosmological. The historical argument was twice, at least, indicated by St. Paul, at Lystra and at Athens.

Preaching to the men of Lystra St. Paul said (Acts xiv., 14-16): "God, who made the heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them; who, in times past, suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. Nevertheless, He left not Himself without testimony, doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness."

And again, in the Areopagus at Athens: "God it is who giveth to all life and breath and all things; and hath made of one all mankind to dwell upon the face of the earth, determining appointed times and the limits of their habitation, that they should seek God, if haply they may feel after Him, or find Him, although He be not far from every one of us; for in Him we live and move and are."

In these texts the Apostle refers to the secondary causes of the physical order which, in God's guiding hand, minister to the preservation and well-being of mankind. Created things without a mind move towards an end, and in the main towards the relatively best end. The uniformity of their operation proves this. Nor is it less evident that motion towards an end must have an intellectual superintending cause. What is this cause? It cannot be the non-intellectual creation, animate or inanimate. It can only be God. St. Paul had also in mind the history of the nations of the earth, a

history so ordained by God that in the course of events men who were willing to see could not fail to see the divine element underlying and showing through the human: "Who in times past suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; nevertheless, He left not Himself without testimony."<sup>1</sup>

What was this testimony? St. Paul answers: "Doing good from heaven, giving rains and fruitful seasons; filling our hearts with food and gladness." And this the Creator does with this object that: "Men should seek God, if haply they may feel after or find Him."

Lastly, the Apostle alludes to the benevolent providence of God which guides and directs the life of each individual human being, so that not even a hair falls from your head without His full permission: "God is not far from each of us; for in Him we live and move and are."

Thus St. Paul sets forth a threefold aspect of God's paternal guardianship of man: First, He guides the brute creation, animate and inanimate, to a definite end for the good of man; secondly, He moulds the history of nations; thirdly, He shapes the life of the individual.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this evidence is too obvious to need expression, and therefore the Apostle does not express it. We may sum it up thus: Man is shown to be a dependent being; he has a Guardian; he is, consequently, a ward, with the rights, the duties, the obligations of a ward. Moreover, not only is man a ward, but he knows that he is a ward. Man knows, and cannot but know, his own dependence; for in every man in full possession of his reason there is begotten—spontaneously and inevitably—a knowledge, obscure indeed and confused, and yet withal unmistakable, of a Supreme Being watching over him, caring for him, teaching him right and wrong, threatening him for evil doing, promising reward for uprightness, so that he is led to grope after God and to find Him more clearly and know Him more explicitly through a consideration of the manifold blessings of Divine Providence.

<sup>1</sup> To this "testimony" no race of men has ever been wholly blind. Taylor ("Primitive Culture," I, 384) says: "So far as I can judge from the immense mass of evidence, we have to admit that the belief in spiritual beings appears among all low races."

And C. P. Tiele ("Kompendium der Religionsgeschichte," p. 7), the distinguished Assyriologist, declares that "no tribe or nation has ever been found which did not believe in beings greater than man, and that to assert the contrary is to be confuted by obvious facts."

Oskar Peschel, the noted ethnologist ("Völkerkunde," fifth ed., p. 260), having inquired whether or not anywhere on earth a tribe has been found entirely destitute of religious notions, answers: "Nowhere and never."

As Max Müller says pithily ("Science of Language," second series, p. 436): "All nations join in some way or other in the words of the Psalmist, 'It is He that hath made us, and not we ourselves.'"

II.

So much, in brief, for the historical or teleological argument for God's existence. We now pass on to a consideration of the Scriptural testimony to the value of the physical or cosmological argument. This is clearly set forth both in the Old and in the New Testament.

We take the older text first (Wisdom xiii., 1-10): "1. All men are vain (fools) in whom there is not the knowledge of God; and who, by these good things that are seen, could not understand Him that is; neither, by attending to the works, have acknowledged who was the Workman. 2. But have imagined either the fire, or the wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the great water, or the sun and moon, to be gods that rule the world. 3. With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took *them* to be gods, let them know how much the Lord of them is more beautiful than they. For the First Author of beauty made all those things. 4. Or if they admired their power and their effects, let them understand by them that He who made them is mightier than they. 5. For by the splendour of creatures' beauty, the Creator of them may be seen, so as to be known thereby. 6. But yet (it may be objected) as to these they are less to be blamed. For they perhaps err, seeking God and desirous to find Him. 7. For being conversant among His works, they search; and they are persuaded that the things are good which are seen. 8. But then again (it is answered) they are not to be pardoned. 9. For if they were able to know so much as to make a judgment of the world, how did they not more easily find out the Lord thereof? 10. Therefore, unhappy are they and their hope is among the dead."

That is a striking passage indeed! It is couched, no doubt, in a rugged, old world style, but its argument is obvious and irresistible.

The New Testament text is from St. Paul to the Romans (i., 18-25), and runs thus: "18. For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and injustice of those men that detain the truth of God in injustice. 19. Because that which is known of God is manifest in them. For God hath manifested it unto them. 20. For the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things which are made; His eternal power also and divinity. So that they are inexcusable. 21. Because that when they knew God, they have not glorified Him as God, nor given thanks. But they became vain (they became fools) in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. 22. For professing themselves wise, they became fools. 23. And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the

likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of four-footed beasts, and of creeping things. 24. WHEREFORE God gave them up to the desires of their heart unto uncleanness to dishonour their own bodies among themselves. 25. Who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshiped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed forever. Amen."

The parallelism between these two passages is so clear that we have no need to draw it out. The introductory proposition of Wisdom (verse 1), it will be noticed, is identical with the final conclusion of Romans (verse 21)—viz., that ignorance of God is only pretended;<sup>2</sup> that is "vanity" and "folly."

There is not much doubt about Scripture's opinion of the atheist: "The fool hath said in his heart: There is no God" (Psalm xiii., 1). For the sake of clearness, let us repeat that the objective principle of the demonstration in both these classical passages is the natural world, and is not supernatural revelation. We have, indeed, an inspired criticism as to the value of the arguments, but the arguments themselves are drawn from the light of reason and are not drawn from the light of faith.

This is obviously the case with St. Paul. For the purpose of the Apostle is to prove that all men, Jew and Gentile, are alike guilty before God. He argues thus: All—all, without exception—had it in their power to know God, and to know the moral law; and yet they failed to honor and worship the one or to regulate human life according to the dictates of the other. Then—to forestall an objection of the Gentiles that they, having received no supernatural revelation like the Jews, had sinned from ignorance—St. Paul emphatically declares that God and His Law are naturally knowable from created things alone, without any supernatural manifestation.

Nor is this meaning less evident in Wisdom. The drift of the writer is this: All men are blameworthy who know not God—all, even those who live under no light of supernatural revelation. For to find God is, for all men, quite easy. Why? Because the ascent is plain from visible things that are good to the Invisible Good—to "*Him Who Is*" (verse 1)—from works to Workman—from law to Legislator—from rays of beauty to the Sun of Beauty—from limited power to Power Unlimited—from creature to Creator.

In the argument which we are studying two distinct questions present themselves for solution, and are solved differently:

"Is there a God?"

"What is God?"

Now, the imperfection of the creature solves the former question. There is a God. For the temporal implies the Eternal; the change-

<sup>2</sup> The great atheists are hypocrites.—Bacon, *Essay on Atheism*.

able, the Unchangeable; the moved, the Mover; the contingent, the Necessary; the limited, the Illimitable; the finite, the Infinite; the work, the Workman.

To answer the latter question and to investigate *what* God is, we must turn from the negative to the positive side of creation; from what the creature is not, to what it is; from imperfections to perfections. For just as these imperfect things, by virtue of their very imperfection, point to One more perfect, to One higher and nobler than themselves, and clamor inarticulately (as, articulately, Paul and Barnabas did to the Lycaonians): "*We are not thy God; seek higher;*" so, on the other hand, do they, by virtue of their perfection—by their beauty, or power, or wisdom, or justice, or love—point a definite finger to One, from whom all these attributes are derived; One in whom all these qualities are combined; One who is Absolute Beauty, Absolute Power, Absolute Wisdom and Justice and Love.<sup>3</sup> "Ask now the beasts, and they will teach thee; and the birds of the air, and they shall tell thee. Speak to the earth, and it shall answer thee; and the fishes of the sea shall reply. Who is ignorant that the hand of the Lord hath made all these things." (Job xii., 7-9.)

This twofold aspect of creatures—their perfection and their imperfection—is alluded to in that most beautiful verse of the eighteenth Psalm: "The heavens (by their magnificence) show forth the glory of God; and the firmament (by its want of absolute perfection) declareth the work of His hands."

### III.

1. Such is the emphatic teaching of Scripture, arguing from the light of reason. The very same doctrine is put forward in a tone not less uncompromising, and even more emphatically, by the Greek and Latin fathers. To a student of patristic literature the traditional teaching on the following heads will be abundantly clear: First, that this visible universe is a natural manifestation of God, appealing to man's unaided reason; secondly, that this objective manifestation, and the subjective power of the mind to grasp, realize and appropriate it, are of such a character that in all men arrived at the full use of reason there arises—as it were, spontaneously—a knowledge of God at least confused and indistinct;<sup>4</sup> thirdly, that to develop this primitive cognition, to make it full and explicit, to render it clear and distinct, there are ample means at hand—whether we consider the native powers of the human understanding itself or

<sup>3</sup> God is Love. I. John iv., 8.

<sup>4</sup> For now we see in a mirror (Greek text reads, in a riddle), darkly . . . now I know in part. I. Cor. xiii., 12.

the traces of God in creation—to enable the mind to mount from creature to Creator.

2. But it may be well to recall to mind that the Fathers recognize and insist on two separate and distinct stages in the natural knowledge of God; the one, obscure, confused and more or less spontaneous, which impels a reasoning man to examine further; the other, clear, distinct, reflex and philosophical. Of course this philosophical knowledge presupposes a trained and educated mind. It presupposes an intellect cultured enough to grasp the essential dependence of the universe, to understand what contingent being is, and to realize how the finite, imperfect, created implies of necessity the Infinite, Perfect, Self-existent. It presupposes a power to appreciate the "greatness of the beauty of the world," its unity in multiplicity, the marvelous subordination of the vast and the tiny, the gigantic and the microscopic to their proximate, mediate and final ends. It presupposes a capacity to analyze and synthesize the "works" and thus elaborate and "pick out" a clearer notion of the "Workman."

Such a study is not necessarily a process merely *à posteriori*. For when the existence of a first cause has once been demonstrated *à posteriori* from contingent being, than by an *à priori* method, by a study of the intrinsic and essential constitution of necessary being, we can arrive at a more elaborate and explicit knowledge of God. The subtle-minded Augustine when he fell to the contemplation of "What God is" betook himself to the metaphysical order; he sifted eternal and immutable truth as it reveals itself in mathematics and the other sciences; he analyzed the ideas of wisdom, justice, truth, goodness; he examined into the metaphysical laws which—rooted in the divine essence, though independent of all will, even the divine—rule and govern not only the actual, but the possible; and by these means he strove to gain an extended view of the truth, wisdom and substantial goodness which are the foundation and exemplar of the whole metaphysical and notional order as well as the cause of the light of reason<sup>5</sup> by which we understand that order. Such a study is obviously beset with difficulties, and though within the *physical* competence of all men it is within the *moral* and practical capacity of few. Hence the reasonableness of the dogmatic decree of the

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<sup>5</sup> God is the creator of man's intellectual life. For "in Him was life, and the life was the light of men" (John 1., 4). God "enlighteneth every man that cometh into this world" (John 1., 9). For that light is the light of reason, the light of the intellect; and the divine intellect is to the human what the seal on a delicately-cut and priceless gem is to the coarse image of itself stamped on clay. Hence the Psalmist (iv., 7) says: "The light of Thy countenance, O Lord, is sealed upon us." The human intellect is a finite copy of the infinite intellect of God.

Vatican Council<sup>6</sup> that to supernatural revelation it is due that all men can know God *easily, with certainty and without admixture of error*.

3. But it is with the non-philosophical knowledge of God we are here concerned. The Fathers teach, with striking unanimity, that besides and prior to the knowledge of God acquired by scientific demonstration there is a knowledge of the divine existence common to all men who have not quenched the torch of reason within them. That in a paper like this there is not space for more than a few specimen passages from patristic writings, such as strike the keynote of tradition on the subject, is sufficiently obvious. For the argument to the existence of God is repeated, inculcated and driven home on every possible occasion by practically every Father from Justin to Bernard, and a complete catena would fill a volume.<sup>7</sup>

The Fathers presuppose the existence of God as a first principle, which no man in his wits would question. Clement of Alexandria has left us most valuable testimony. For he was born, about A. D. 150, of pagan parents, spent his younger days among pagans and was highly educated in all that the pagan world had to communicate. So that if any man ever understood the difficulties of those Greeks and Romans of whom St. Paul had spoken so severely, it was St. Clement. And yet he speaks of the existence of God as a fact so evident to a reasonable man that to question it would be an absurdity: "Peradventure, the proof of God's existence ought not even to be undertaken, since His Providence is plainly seen from a glance at His works, works full of art, and wisdom, and order, and method. But He who gave us being and life gave us also reason and willed us to live according to that reason"<sup>8</sup> (and not to ignore our Maker).

Furthermore, addressing his contemporaries, he proves to them at great length, from their own literature, that all men know, *naturally and without instruction*, not only of the existence, but also of the providence of God. From a vast array of quotations, culled from every class of the pagan authors, he shows that the Greek philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, were not alone in attributing to God a watchful providence over men—to God, invisible, one, all-powerful, infinitely wise cause of all goodness and all beauty—but that this same knowledge, although less developed, was spread through all classes of human society and through the peoples of all countries: "God, our Parent and the Creator of all things, is seen in all things, through the inborn power of the mind, and without teaching, by all men. But no class of men anywhere—bucolic,

<sup>6</sup> Constit I., Cap. 2, De Revel.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Kleutgen, "Theologie der Vorzeit," Tom. II., Petavius. De Deo I., 1.

<sup>8</sup> Stromata, Lib. V., Cap. 14, 612.

nomad or city resident—can fail to have their minds filled with one and the same primitive conviction of the being of Him who set up the world.”<sup>9</sup>

The Fathers again testify most unmistakably to the value of the theistic argument. St. John Chrysostom, commenting on the classical passage of St. Paul to the Romans,<sup>10</sup> writes: “Whence, O Paul, is it known that God implanted this knowledge of Himself in the nations? Because (saith he) *that which is known of God is manifest in them.* This, however, is assertion, not proof. But do thou demonstrate to me and make it clear that the knowledge of God was manifest in them, and that with open eyes they turned aside. Whence, then, was it manifest? Did He send them a voice from above? Not at all. But He *made* what attracted more than any voice. He created and set this universe before their eyes, so that wise man and witling, Scythian and barbarian, being penetrated through sight with the beauty of things seen, could mount up to God. Wherefore he hath it: *the invisible things*, etc. What, too, saith the prophet? *The heavens declare the glory of God.* What excuse, then, shall the nations make in the day of wrath? We knew Thee not? Knew Me not! Heard ye nought then telling of Me? Not the firmament proclaiming Me by its aspect? No harmonies and symphonies of the trumpet-tongued universe? None of the unchanging, ever stable laws of day and night, with the fixed and goodly order of winter, spring and the other seasons, together with the sea, ever tractable amid all its billows and its turbulence? Knew ye not of all these things, abiding in their order, preaching aloud the Creator by their beauty and their magnificence? All this forsooth, and more, doth the text of Paul sum up as in a nutshell.”

Theophilus of Antioch enforces the same doctrine by an apt similitude: “As the soul of man is itself invisible to men, but is perceived by the movement of the body, so, in like manner, God cannot be seen by the human eye, but is known by His providence and His works.”

The Fathers, moreover, teach with equal clearness that this knowledge of God’s existence is easy and accessible to all men who have not warped and debased their reason. So Augustine: “Such is the force of true divinity that from the rational creature, with full use of his faculties, God cannot be wholly and entirely hidden; for (excepting a few in whom human nature is too degraded) the whole race of men confesses God the Maker of the world.”<sup>11</sup>

Gregory the Great puts it pithily: “Every rational man—from

<sup>9</sup> Stromata, Lib. V., Cap. I., 547.

<sup>10</sup> “Hom.,” 3.

<sup>11</sup> In. Jo. 106, n. 4.



the very fact that he is rational—ought to gather from reason that his Maker is God.”<sup>12</sup>

And Chrysostom, with his golden eloquence: “Silent is the firmament, but its very aspect is more than trumpet-tongued in its appeal, not to ear, but to eye. Scythian and barbarian, Indian and Egyptian and every earth-treading man will hear this voice; . . . and whithersoever he goeth, by gazing on the sky, will find instruction enough in the look of it.”<sup>13</sup>

Nor can a man, according to patristic teaching, shut his eyes to God’s existence. He may, indeed, debauch and prostitute his reason, and thus in the end cheat and deceive himself, but as Tertullian emphatically expresses it: “No man denies—for no man is blind to what nature itself proclaims—that God made the universe.”<sup>14</sup>

To the same effect St. Cyprian<sup>15</sup> declares unbelief and agnosticism to be wilful blindness: “It is a capital crime (*summa delicti*) to refuse to recognize what you cannot ignore.”

St. Paul had said much the same thing (Romans i., 28): “They did not like to acknowledge God.”

And the sentence of Wisdom comes to as much: “All men are fools by nature who profess agnosticism.”

And in the same sense Gregory Nazianzen uses words almost too strong for the politeness of modern ears: “That God exists as the chief and primal Cause, Originator and Upholder of all things is a fact made patent both by external nature and by natural law. . . . Too dull and driveling assuredly is the man who does not by himself attain to this degree of knowledge.”

As a natural corollary of this teaching the Fathers hold the knowledge of God to be universal. This is sufficiently apparent from the foregoing extracts, which may, however, be supplemented by another from Tertullian, where, addressing pagans on the proofs of God’s existence, he says: “I call in a fresh witness. . . . Stand thou forth, O soul, in open court. . . . Not thee do I summon who hast been formed in the schools, trained in libraries, a frequenter of porches and academies, a babbler of crude wisdom. I address a soul, simple, rustic, unpolished, homely, such a soul as they possess who possess only thee; such a soul as we meet on the road, in the highways, at the shops of artisans. I have need of thy inexperience. . . . Thou art not, I know, a Christian. . . . Nevertheless Christians now demand of thee a testimony. . . . We give offense when we preach God as the One God, under the one name of God, from whom are all things and on whom the uni-

<sup>12</sup> Moral, p. 27, c. 5, n. 8.

<sup>13</sup> Hom. 9, ad pop. Antioch, n. 2.

<sup>14</sup> De Spectac., c. 2.

<sup>15</sup> De Idol. Vanit., n. 9.

verse depends. Bear then witness *thou* to this description of God, if thou knowest it to be true. For thee, too, we hear saying openly, at home and abroad, with a freedom denied to us, *May God grant it*, and, *If God wills it*. In such like words dost thou declare there is some God and makest confession of His Omnipotence, to whose will thou dost appeal; and at the same time thou dost deny the rest of them to be gods in that thou callest them by their proper names, Saturn, Jove, Mars, Minerva. . . . Thou affirmest also that He alone is God whom alone thou callest by the name of God. . . . Neither art thou ignorant of the nature of God whom we preach; *God is good* is thine own expression."<sup>16</sup>

Many Fathers go even further still. In teaching that the existence of God can be deduced from His works they seem so to exaggerate the facility and universality of the deduction as to reduce it almost to a simple intuition. They speak of this knowledge as "innate." Tertullian says: "Evidence of a soul *naturally* Christian! The soul's consciousness of God from the beginning is a *gift*."<sup>17</sup>

And John Damascene: "Not, however, in ignorance of Himself, utter and entire, hath God suffered us to be wrapped. For there is no man alive in whom the knowledge of God hath been *naturally* implanted."<sup>18</sup>

Not, of course, that the word "innate" is used in the Kantian sense of "subjective form," nor yet in that of the school of "Innate Ideas." The word is a rhetorical exaggeration to express the simple, easy and almost imperceptible process of reasoning which leads up to the knowledge of God. That the Fathers never meant to deny that there is some process of reasoning, and therefore an *acquisition* of this knowledge, the foregoing citations amply prove. "Innate," therefore, in this patristic sense is opposed not to "acquired," but rather to that reflex, philosophical knowledge begotten of study and meditation, and especially to that fuller, surer and more perfect knowledge of God imparted to the world by a supernatural revelation.

#### IV.

The teaching, then, of patristic theology touching the value of the arguments for God's existence is emphatic and unmistakable. The Fathers declare the knowledge of God to be accessible to all men, to be easily acquired, to be all but innate; and for the agnostic they can hardly find strong enough words of condemnation. Their

<sup>16</sup> De testimon. animæ, c. 1., 7.

<sup>17</sup> "Apol.," c. 17.

<sup>18</sup> "Fid. Orthod.," I., 1.

teaching then reiterates, explains and develops the teaching of Holy Writ. Moreover, precisely the same doctrine is inculcated by the great doctors and theologians, by the Franciscan Bonaventure,<sup>19</sup> by the Dominican Aquinas,<sup>20</sup> by the Jesuit Suarez.<sup>21</sup> St. Thomas stigmatizes the opposite opinion as "falsity and error."

Kleutgen,<sup>22</sup> summing up the views of scholastic writers, says: "Looking at doubt from the point of view of truths, knowable without divine revelation, we affirm that real doubt, in regard to many of these truths, is in all men immoral. . . . That beyond this world of sense there exists a Reality, unattainable by the senses . . . is a fact which man's own reasonable nature makes so evident that he sins if he doubts it. . . . Over and above the philosophical knowledge of God, there is another knowledge, so easy to acquire and so certain that ignorance or doubt can only be explained by guilty levity or proud obstinacy."

Herein Kleutgen was only saying more at length what St. Thomas had expressed in a few words: "The knowledge of God is inborn in us to this extent, that by principles inborn in us we can *with ease* perceive the existence of God. [Dei cognitio nobis, innata esse dicitur, in quantum per principia nobis innata, de facili percipere Deum esse possumus. *Opuse 70. Sup. Boeth. de Trinit.*]"

And last of all, the teaching formulated in Scripture, elaborated by the Fathers, explained by the Doctors of the Church and defended by her theologians, is enunciated also in the Councils. The Vatican Council<sup>23</sup> defined as follows: "Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God—Beginning and End of all things—can, through created things, be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason. *For the invisible things of Him, etc.*" (Romans i., 20.)

And again in the first canon<sup>24</sup> appended to the chapter of which the above is part: "If any one should say that God—One and True, our Creator and Lord—cannot be known with certainty by the things that are made, through the natural light of human reason, let him be anathema."

It will hardly be denied that these two dogmatic declarations are to the point. Short, clear-cut, unambiguous, they clinch the argument and leave no room for cavil or evasion. As far as Catholics are concerned they have given the death blow both to traditionalism and supernaturalism. These opinions are now formally heretical.

<sup>19</sup> "In Sent.," 1, 3, 2.

<sup>20</sup> "Cont. Gent.," I., 12.

<sup>21</sup> "Metaph.," D. 27, S. 3.

<sup>22</sup> "Philosophie der Vorzeit," Tom. I., Diss. III., Cap. I., n. n. 225-227.

<sup>23</sup> Sess. III., Cap. 2, Denzinger, n. 1634.

<sup>24</sup> Denzinger, n. 1653.

## V.

It may not here be inappropriate to introduce the question why God has not given us fuller evidence of His existence and made it easier for all men to believe. For no one can deny that there are grave difficulties in the way and that these difficulties God, by a few words, might have removed.

The answer to this question is, perhaps, that God has given enough evidence and judges it best not to give more. He might, of course, have given more. He might, indeed, have given so much that we should have had no choice but to believe. God might have so inundated the mind with intellectual light that we should have had to admit the truths of religion just as we have to admit the truths of mathematics. But God does not want to compel belief. For He demands a *rationabile obsequium* (Romans xii., 1). He calls for the voluntary submission of the mind before the abundant evidence which He has supplied. For He, the Light of the world, has sufficiently enlightened every man that cometh into the world. On this head Christ's mind is revealed to us in the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk. xvi., 31). When the rich man in hell begs Abraham to send Lazarus from the dead to warn the sufferer's five brethren lest they, too, should fall into fire, Abraham makes answer that they have the evidence of the prophets, and that that is enough. Nay, that if that convince them not nothing else will: "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose again from the dead."

So much for the Jews under the Old Law. And in the New Law Christ, time after time, declared that He had given the world superabundant evidence, so that men were responsible for their unbelief. To the unbelieving Jewish cities, in which He had wrought many miracles, He said: "Woe unto thee, Chorazain! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if in Tyre and Sidon the mighty works had been done which have been done in you they (the pagan cities) would long ago have repented in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment than for you."

And this menace Christ repeated against another Jewish city. He said: "And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down unto hell. For if the mighty works which have been done in thee had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee." (Matt. xi., 21-24.)

At Christ's bar will it, then, be a valid plea on the part of the

Jewish inhabitants of Chorazain, Bethsaida and Capernaum that their unbelief was due to insufficient evidence? Christ's words do not lend support to that suggestion.

Christ pronounces against the unbeliever a stern and unqualified condemnation: "He that believeth not shall be damned." (Mark xvi., 16.)

And in other places He says, without qualification, without limitation, in a tone that makes small allowance for the *bona fides* of unbelief: "Whoso shall deny Me before men, him will I deny before My Father who is in heaven." (Mark x., 33; Mark viii., 38; Luke ix., 26; II. Timothy ii., 12.)

## VI.

1. It may not be useless here to set forth and answer a popular objection which by not a few is thought to invalidate the foregoing argument. The ancient authorities adduced above, it is urged, are obsolete. They had not the full evidence of facts before them, and thus their testimony is discounted. For the theory of Evolution, we are told, has revolutionized men's ideas on these fundamental questions, and has cut away the basis of the ancient standpoint.<sup>25</sup> In the simplicity of those old days men thought the earth was flat, like the slab of a dining table, and that the sun, moon and stars were fixed in a crystal firmament that rolled round the earth as its centre. But these and such like crudities science has swept away. Theologians do, indeed, cling to old-fashioned opinions, but theologians, we are assured, lie along the path of science like the strangled snakes around the cradle of Hercules. "Physical science," Mr. Huxley said,<sup>26</sup> "has brought to the front an inexhaustible supply of heavy

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<sup>25</sup> This objection is amazingly stated in Oliver Wendell Holmes' "The Poet at the Breakfast Table," sec. 6. After boiling liquid infusion for six hours, and then sealing it in a test-tube, the speaker says: "Do you know what would have happened if that liquid had been clouded and we had found life in the sealed flask? Sir, if that liquid had held life in it, the Vatican would have trembled to hear it; and there would have been anxious questionings and ominous whisperings in the halls of Lambeth Palace. The accepted cosmogonics on trial, sir! Traditions, sanctities, creeds, ecclesiastical establishments, all shaking to know whether my little sixpenny flask of fluid looks muddy or not! I don't know whether to laugh or to shudder. The thought of an œcumenical council having its leading feature dislocated by my trifling experiment! A wineglassful of clear liquid growing muddy! If we had found a wriggle, or a zigzag, or a shoot from one side to the other, what a scare there would have been, to be sure, in the schools of the prophets! Talk about your 'megatherium' and your 'megalosaurus,' what are these to the 'bacterium' and the 'vibris?' These are the dreadful monsters of to-day! If they show themselves where they have no business, the little rascals frighten honest folk worse than ever people were frightened by the dragon of Rhodes!"

<sup>26</sup> Hume, "English Men of Letters" series, p. 59.

artillery of a new pattern, warranted to drive solid bolts of fact through the thickest skulls." The old landmarks are swept away. By the discovery of Evolution science has invalidated the old world arguments, and among others the proofs of the existence of a Deity, etc., etc., etc.

2. Such is the objection, popular nowadays, but urged by sciolists, not scientists. Real students of science do not ramble thus. The leaders of science are among the first to admit that religion and science move on different and non-intersecting planes, and no more conflict than a whale conflicts with a camel. For the question of God's existence is not a problem of science at all. It belongs to metaphysics. It is the business of mind-science, not of matter-science. The physical scientist has for his subject-matter the material universe as he finds it, and the origin of this universe is no concern of his. He deals with matter (whatever matter may be) and with force (whatever force may be); or rather he deals with the relations between matter and force, for he can only define one by the other, and has no notion what his terms, taken absolutely, may mean. Of the relations between matter and force he can say much, but what matter may be in itself is an inscrutable mystery, and what force may be in itself is an inscrutable mystery.<sup>27</sup> But the *whence* of matter and force does not fall within the scope of his inquiries. In his weighing and measuring of the relations between matter and force he has no more to do with the metaphysical question of their origin than a stonemason has to do with the geological question of the origin of stone, or the bridge-builder with the mathematical question of the laws of geometry in accordance with which he carries out his work. If the student of physical science interests himself in questions that lie outside his domain—for instance, as to how that domain came into being—he has passed from physics into metaphysics, he has ceased to be a specialist, and his speculations deserve as much, or as little, respect as the speculations of any other active minded person who thinks fit to propound opinions on subjects for the consideration of which his training has in no way prepared him. As Lord Rayleigh in his presidential address to the British Association, 1884, remarked: "The opinion of a scientific worker may have a special value, but I do not think that he has a claim, superior to that of other educated men, to assume the attitude of a prophet. The higher mysteries of being, if penetrable at all by

<sup>27</sup> *Matter* is that which can be acted upon or can exert *force*. *Force* is that which changes, or tends to change, the state of rest or uniform motion of a *body*. *Body* is a portion of *matter* which is bounded by surfaces, and which is limited in every direction.—"Status and Dynamics," by S. L. Loney, fifth ed., Pt. II., ch. iv., n. 52. Matter and force are therefore known only as relations.

human intellect, require other weapons than those of calculation and experiment."

This view of the limitations of science is borne out by scientists themselves. Professor Huxley<sup>28</sup> said: "The scientific investigator is wholly incompetent to say anything at all about the first origin of the material universe." And Sir Robert Ball thinks the same: "We do not inquire how the original nebula came into being. We *begin* with the actual existence of this nebula." The existence of "this nebula," by the way, is a pure guess.

Professor Tyndal coincides:<sup>29</sup> "If you ask the materialist whence is this earth, of which we have been discoursing, he has no answer. Science is mute in regard to such questions. Science knows nothing of the origin or destiny of nature. Who or what made the ultimate particles of matter science does not know."

Professor E. Ray Lankester<sup>30</sup> wrote: "So far as I have been able to ascertain, after many years in which these matters have engaged my attention, there is no relation, in the sense of a connection or influence, between science and religion. . . . Science proceeds on its path without any contact with religion; and religion has not, in its essential qualities, anything to hope for or to fear from science."<sup>31</sup>

Professor Karl Pearson<sup>32</sup> also wrote: "It cannot be too often reiterated that the theory of Natural Selection has nothing whatever to do with Christianity."

<sup>28</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1886.

<sup>29</sup> "Scientific Materialism," p. 80.

<sup>30</sup> Letter to the *Times*, May 19, 1903, p. 3.

<sup>31</sup> "Religion has not anything to fear from science," but indirectly it has "something to hope from it." For though truth cannot conflict with, it can elucidate truth. The author of "Luke Delmege" has quaintly expressed this: "Has science pushed back religion behind its ramparts; and is it now forming *en echelon* for a final and overwhelming attack? No; religion is like the thrifty rook that follows behind the sower, pecks up the seeds he has dropped, and assimilates them into itself. Science tried to frighten religion away with a battered hat and a tattered coat streaming on a pole, but it only got laughed at for its pains. Religion uses every fact dropped from the bag of science for its own use. Science labels it 'Poison,' but religion smiles and pecks it up, stares at the scarecrow mocks at it and flies off with the plunder. Science would like to string up religion, but cannot catch it; it fires, but only blank cartridge. When science discovers that a new star has swum into our horizon; or has investigated a new cell; or has found out a new germ; or fished out a new animalcule, it expects religion to bring forth its treatises on Apologetics, to take off its hat and genuflect, and to say, 'Venite, adoremus!' Yet scientists are but delvers in darkness. Every jet of flame thrown on the secrets, down the subterranean vaults of nature, lights a lamp before the throne of the Eternal. Shout down to the blackened and begrimed miners in the coal pits of nature, 'Come up, come up, ye unbelievers! Ye are but laying bare, amid your 'potencies and potentialities of nature,' proof after proof of the Infinite Creator who formed it all."

<sup>32</sup> Letter to the *Times*, May 9, 1903.

4. Whether or not the material universe began as a nebula or a cosmos no amount of word-scattering can obscure the fact that the First Cause of that universe is a Being extrinsic to that universe. For the efficient cause of an effect is prior to and outside its effect. Now, a cause external to all matter is not material; and, if not material, it must be spiritual, a Spirit, a Mind. That Mind created Matter is conceivable, but that Matter was evolved into Mind is a hysteron proteron which is not conceivable.

This is the opinion of the greatest men of science of the modern world. But it was also the often-repeated doctrine of two minds of the old world, whose intellectual superiors, in all probability, earth will never witness—Plato and Aristotle.

Plato<sup>33</sup> said: "Mind is the Orderer of the Universe." And again:<sup>34</sup> "Mind is the ordering and containing principle of all things." And again:<sup>35</sup> "Mind was the Dispenser and Cause of all." And even more emphatically still:<sup>36</sup>

"Socrates: . . . 'Wisdom and mind cannot excel without soul?'"

"Protarchus: 'Certainly not!'"

"Soc.: 'And in the Divine Nature of Zeus, would you not say, there is the mind and soul of a King, because there is in Him the power of the Cause?'"

"Pro.: 'True!'"

"Soc.: 'Mind . . . is the cause of all!'"

And Plato's pupil, Aristotle—the greater disciple of a great master—in his own crabbed way, repeated the same truth: "Whoso affirms Mind to be, in the nature, the cause of the cosmos, and of the whole ordering thereof, is of sober temper, compared with the vain theorists of earlier ages."<sup>37</sup>

5. Moreover, a Mind competent to produce, out of nothing, by an act of will, the entire material universe, must wield infinite power; infinite, not because of the finite *thing* produced, but because of the *mode* of production—out of nothing. The First Cause of the material universe is an Omnipotent Mind, an Infinite Spirit—God.

That position Aristotle laid down with unmistakable clearness: "To all men doth God appear as a Cause and First Principle."<sup>38</sup>

6. These doctrines have, of course, not escaped attack. Both Bücher<sup>39</sup> and David Strauss,<sup>40</sup> to take two instances, in order to

<sup>33</sup> Laws XII., 967.

<sup>34</sup> Cratylus, 400 A.

<sup>35</sup> Phædo, 97 C.

<sup>36</sup> Philebus, 30.

<sup>37</sup> "Metaphysics," I, ch. iii., 984 B. Christ's ed., p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, I, ch. ii., 983 A, p. 7.

<sup>39</sup> "Kraft und Stoff," fifth ed., pp. 9, 78, 86.

<sup>40</sup> "Der alte und neue Glaube," p. 225.



avoid the First Cause, assume an infinite, and therefore headless, chain of effects; for, as matter cannot be destroyed, it cannot have been made; what cannot end cannot have begun! But, surely (we reply), an "effect"—whether one or an aggregate—presupposes a cause. The effect must be subsequent to and dependent on its cause. So that, even *if* the material universe were eternal, it would still be dependent on its Cause, and subsequent (if not in time, at least in nature) to that Cause. You cannot hang a chain in mid-air without a support by increasing the length of the chain! Moreover, though the *chemist* cannot destroy, and therefore did not create matter, God can destroy and did create it.

All opponents—materialists, evolutionists, pantheists—always suppose an *Eternal Something*; whether "Matter," or the "Great Unknown," or the "Absolute," or "Pure Ego," or the "Idea of Being," or "Will," or the "Unconscious." The point of their denial is this, that this *Something* is not intelligent, not free, not a person. They would write "First Cause" without capitals. Herbert Spencer, for instance, who *par excellence* is the philosopher of Evolution, denies that the First Cause is a Person; not indeed because that Cause is below, but because it is above, personality. The Spencerian "Unknown" is supereminently a Person.

To this sound philosophy replies that the First Cause (the *Something*) in time created, and therefore must forever have pre-contained, intelligence and free will, and thus must be a Person. For every created attribute which, in its very notion, contains no imperfection, can and must be predicated of its Maker. We cannot, it is true, say that God is a stone any more than we can say that a sovereign is a penny. God contains what perfection is in a stone, as a sovereign contains all the value that is in a penny. For matter (stone), by its very definition, is limited, and therefore imperfect. But we can say that the First Cause is wise, holy, good, intelligent, free, personal, etc.; because not one of these attributes (though all found in man) of itself connotes imperfection. Of course, no attribute is in creature and Creator in the same way; the *mode* is different; for in the creature the attribute in question is limited, dependent and of finite perfection; in the Creator it is unlimited, independent and of infinite perfection.

Moreover, that the First Cause is an Intelligence and therefore a Person is the repeated declaration of the distinguished scientists whose views are about to be set forth below.

7. Such is the bare outline of a proof which "Natural Theology" works out in detail, a proof which the advances of physical science have helped and have not harmed. That theology goes on its course independent of physical science is the concurrent testimony of nearly

all masters of physical science, as a few quotations from scientists themselves will clearly show.

Professor Huxley said:<sup>41</sup> "The doctrine of Evolution is neither anti-theistic nor theistic. It simply has no more to do with theism than the first book of Euclid has. There is a great deal of talk and not a little lamentation about the so-called religious difficulties which physical science has created. In theological science, as a matter of fact, it has created none. Not a solitary problem presents itself to the philosophical theist at the present day which has not existed from the time that philosophers began to think out the logical grounds of theism."

And Professor Jevons is equally plain:<sup>42</sup> "I cannot for a moment admit that the Theory of Evolution will destroy Theology. Atheism and Materialism are no necessary results of the scientific method."

Sir Oliver Lodge is just as clear:<sup>43</sup> "Science has never really attempted to deny God's existence." And Dr. Lodge might have added that science would have made itself a laughing-stock if it had!

Lord Rayleigh, president of the British Association, 1884, joins in the chorus: "Many excellent people are afraid of science as tending towards materialism. That such apprehension should exist is not surprising, for unfortunately there are writers, speaking in the name of science, who have set themselves to foster it. It is true that amongst scientific men, as in other classes, *crude views* are to be met with as to the deeper things of Nature; but that the life-long beliefs of Newton, of Faraday and of Maxwell are inconsistent with the scientific habit of mind is surely a proposition which I need not pause to refute."

And Lord Salisbury in his presidential address to the British Association at Oxford, in 1894, was but voicing the views of those competent to form an opinion on the subject when he said: "Few men are now influenced by the strange idea that questions of religious belief depend on the issues of physical research."

So that "the so-called religious difficulties" caused by the Evolution Guess are only vaporings of the third-rate "scientific" word-weaver, on whom the criticism of Professor Tait<sup>44</sup> does not seem too severe: "When the purposely vague statements of the materialists and agnostics are stripped of the tinsel of high-flown and unintelligible language, the eyes of the thoughtless who have accepted them on authority are at last opened, and they are ready to exclaim with Titania: 'Methinks I was enamored of an ass!'"

<sup>41</sup> "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin," II., c. 5, p. 203.

<sup>42</sup> "Principles of Science," pp. 762, 766.

<sup>43</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, Jan., 1903, p. 220.

<sup>44</sup> *Nature*, July 17, 1879.

8. So far, then, from physical science leading of necessity to unbelief, we find, on the contrary, that the principal names in science are firmly ranged on the side of theism. Here are a few specimens:

(A) *Geology.*

Sir Charles Lyell<sup>45</sup> wrote: "In whatever direction we pursue our researches, we discover everywhere clear proofs of a *creative intelligence* and of its *foresight, wisdom* and *power.*"

Sir J. W. Dawson holds the same opinion:<sup>46</sup> "There are certain principles to which we may firmly hold without fear of being dislodged by any assailant. First: No system of the universe can dispense with a First Cause, eternal and self-existent; and the First Cause must necessarily be the living God, whose will is the ultimate force and the origin of natural law. The reason of man is an actual illustration of mind and will as an efficient power in nature, and implies a creative mind. The inherent absurdity of the evolution of powers and properties from things in which they are not even potentially contained appears nowhere more clearly than here."

(B) *Astronomy.*

Kepler:<sup>47</sup> "Creator and Lord, I have recorded to men the glory of Thy works as far as my mind could comprehend their infinite majesty. . . . Praise ye the Lord, ye heavenly Harmonies, and ye that understand the new harmonies, praise the Lord. Praise God, O my soul, as long as I live. From Him, through Him and in Him is all, the material as well as the spiritual."

Before this noble confession of the great astronomer the blasphemous vulgarities of Haeckel and his congeners seem base indeed!

Faye, the French astronomer, having shown that human intelligence must owe its origin to an intelligence higher than human, he thus continues: "The more we enlarge our conception of this Supreme Intelligence the nearer shall we approximate to the truth." ["Plu l'idé qu'on se fero de cette Intelligence Suprême sera grande, plus elle approchera de la vérité."]<sup>48</sup>

Sir John Herschel speaks with something like contempt of the dogmatic assertions of irresponsible Evolutionists: "In the beginning was nebulous matter, or Akasch. Its boundless and tumultuous waves heaved in chaotic wildness, and all was oxygen and hydrogen and electricity. Such a state of things could not possibly continue; and as it could not possibly be worse, alteration was here synonymous with improvement. The relations in which atoms stand to one another are anything but simple ones. They involve all the 'ologies and all the 'ometries, and in these days we know something of what

<sup>45</sup> "Pinciples of Geology," II., 613.

<sup>46</sup> "Modern Ideas of Evolution," pp. 221 and 228.

<sup>47</sup> "Harmony of the World," last section.

<sup>48</sup> "Sur l'origine du monde" (Paris, 1884), p. 114.

that implies. Their movements and interchanges are all determined on the very instant. There is no hesitation, no blundering, no trial and error. A problem in dynamic that would drive Lagrange mad is solved *instante*. *Solvitur ambulando*. A differential equation which, algebraically written out, would belt the earth, is integrated in an eye-twinkle; and all the numerical calculation worked out in a way to frighten Zerah Colburn, George Bidder or Jedediah Buxton. In short, these atoms are most wonderful little creatures. *The presence of MIND* is what solves the whole difficulty; so far at least as it brings it within the sphere of our own consciousness and into conformity with our own experience of *what action is*. . . . Will without Motive, Power without Design, Thought opposed to Reason would be admirable in explaining a chaos, but would render little aid in accounting for anything else."

(C) *Biology.*

Huxley:<sup>49</sup> "The teleological and the mechanical views of nature are not, necessarily, mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the more purely a mechanist the speculator is, the more firmly does he assume a primordial molecular arrangement, of which all the phenomena of the universe are the consequences, and the more completely is he thereby at the mercy of the teleologist, who can always defy him to disprove that this primordial molecular arrangement was not intended to evolve the phenomena of the universe."

And again:<sup>50</sup> "By the expression, *made out of nothing*, the Mosaic writer is taken to imply that where nothing of a material nature previously existed, this substance appeared. That is perfectly conceivable, and therefore no one can deny that it may have happened." John Stuart Mill had said much the same in "Three Essays on Religion," pp. 172-174: "It must be allowed that in the present state of our knowledge the adaptations in nature afford a large balance of probability in favor of creation by intelligence. And page 137: "There is nothing to disprove the creation and government of nature by a Sovereign Will."

Dr. W. B. Carpenter,<sup>51</sup> having discussed the "Secretions of Plants," pauses to contemplate: "The important inferences which may be drawn from the foregoing details in regard to the Power, Wisdom and Goodness of the Almighty Designer." And again, in his "Mental Physiology," p. 706: "In regard to the Physical Universe, for the phrase 'Government by Laws,' it might be better to substitute 'Government according to Laws,' meaning thereby the

<sup>49</sup> "Life and Letters of Charles Darwin." In Professor Huxley's chapters on the "Reception of the Origin of Species," II., pp. 201, 202.

<sup>50</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1886, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>51</sup> "Vegetable Physiology," CX., first ed., n. 404, pp. 258, 259.

direct exertion of the Divine Will, or operation of the First Cause, in the Forces of Nature, according to certain constant uniformities which are simply unchangeable, because—having been originally the expression of Infinite Wisdom—any change would be for the worse.”

(D) *Natural History.*

Charles Darwin, in his autobiography,<sup>52</sup> is much to the point: “Another source of conviction in the existence of God, connected with the reason, and not with the feelings, impresses me as having much more weight” (than the consensus of mankind). “This follows from the extreme difficulty, or rather impossibility of conceiving this immense and wonderful universe, including man, with his capacity of looking far forwards, and far into futurity, as the result of blind chance or necessity. When thus reflecting, I feel impelled to look to a First Cause, having an intelligent mind in some degree analogous to that of man, and I deserve to be called a Theist.”

Dr. A. R. Wallace,<sup>53</sup> writing of the progression in nature from the inorganic to the organic, from the vegetable to the brute animal, and from the animal to man—vegetative, sensitive, intellective life—says: “These three distinct stages of progress from the inorganic world of matter and motion up to man point clearly to an unseen universe—to a world of spirit, to which the world of matter is altogether subordinate.”

(E) *Electricity.*

Sir William Siemens, president of the British Association:<sup>54</sup> “We find that all knowledge must lead up to one great result, that of an intelligent recognition of the Creator through His works.”

(F) *Mathematics.*

Professors Stewart and Tait:<sup>55</sup> “We assume, as absolutely self-evident, the existence of a Deity, who is the Creator and Upholder of all things.”

Blaise Pascal:<sup>56</sup> “Nous connaissons qu’il-y-a un Infini, et nous ignorons sa nature. . . . Ou peut donc bien connaitre qu’il-y-a Dieu, sans savoir ce qu’il est.” [“We know that there is an Infinite, and we do not know its nature. . . . It is, then, easy to know *that* there is a God, without knowing *what* He is.”] Pascal offers to the unbeliever a piece of advice akin to that of St. Paul and the author of “Wisdom”—to repress the passions rather than engage in the quest for proofs: “Travaillez à vous convaincre, non pas par

<sup>52</sup> “Life and Letters,” I, p. 311.

<sup>53</sup> “Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection,” pp. 475, 476.

<sup>54</sup> Presidential Address, 1884.

<sup>55</sup> “The Unseen Universe,” p. 47.

<sup>56</sup> “Pensées,” Part II., Art. III., n. v.

l'augmentation des preuves de Dieu, mais par la diminution de vos passions."

Leibnitz expressed his conviction that the material elements of the world, considered in themselves, are capable of an order entirely different from that by which they are actually connected; from which he inferred that the realization of this one order out of many possible orders must be attributed to the determining mind of God.<sup>57</sup> And in another fine passage he says: "Præter mundum, seu aggregatum rerum finitarum, datur Unum aliquod Dominans. . . . Unum enim dominans universa, non tantum regit mundum, sed et fabricat, et facit, et mundo est superius, et (ut ita dicam) extramundanum; atque adeo ultima ratio rerum. Nam non tantum in nullo singulorum, sed nec in toto aggregato, serieque rerum, inveniri potest sufficiens ratio existendi."<sup>58</sup> ["Besides the world, or aggregate of things finite, there exists a certain One, the Lord of all. . . . For one Lord of the universe not only rules the world, but form and fashions it; He is superior to the world, and (so to speak) outside it, and is thus the Supreme Reason of all things. For not only in no individual thing, but not even in the whole collection, and chain, of things, can there be found the sufficient reason of their existence."]

Sir Isaac Newton is, if possible, more explicit than Pascal and more emphatic than Leibnitz. He is not at all of the mind of Professors Huxley and Tyndal that the man of science cannot infer from cause to effect, from the made to the Maker. On the contrary, he holds that "to treat of God as a deduction from what we see is a part of natural philosophy."<sup>59</sup> Moreover, that the universe is the product of a self-existent, intelligent, almighty—and, therefore, personal—God, Sir Isaac holds to be a truism: "The whole variety of created things could arise only from the design and the will of a Being existing of Himself." ["Tota rerum conditarum pro locis et temporibus diversitas, ab ideis et voluntate entis, necessario existentis, solummodo oriri potest."]<sup>60</sup> "This most delicate machinery of sun, planets and comets could not originate but by the plan and power of an intelligent and mighty Being." ["Elegantissima hæc ce solis, planetarum, et cometarum compages, nonnisi consilio et dominio Cutis intelligentis et potentis oriri potuit."]<sup>61</sup>

And Newton, as sound a believer as he was a profound scholar, makes it quite clear that he was thinking of no blind force, no "Great

<sup>57</sup> "Opera," edit. J. E. Erdmann, p. 506.

<sup>58</sup> "De Rerum originatione radicali," l. c., p. 147.

<sup>59</sup> Hæc de Deo, de quo utique ex phænomenis desserere, ad philosophiam naturalem pertinet.—"Principia, Scholion generale."

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

Unknown," no "Ignotum x," for he adds: "God is present everywhere, not only by His power, but also by His substance; for power cannot subsist without substance." ["Deus omnipraesens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam per substantiam. Nam virtus sine substantia subsistere nequit."]<sup>62</sup>

(G) *Physics.*

Sir George Stokes, president of the Royal Society, discussing the phenomena of light, said:<sup>63</sup> "When we contemplate all this, it seems difficult to understand how we can fail to be impressed with the evidence of design. But design is altogether unmeaning without a designing mind. The study, then, of the phenomena of nature leads us to the contemplation of a Being from whom proceeded the orderly arrangement of natural things that we behold."

Lord Kelvin, president of the Royal Society,<sup>64</sup> tells us that: "Overpowering proofs of intelligence and benevolent design lie around us, showing to us through Nature the influence of a free-will, and teaching us that all living beings depend upon one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." And again, in a letter to the *Times*, May 4, 1903, p. 12: "Scientific thought is *compelled* to accept the idea of Creative Power." And again, in a lecture at University College, May 1, 1903:<sup>65</sup> "There is nothing between absolute scientific belief in Creative Power and the acceptance of the theory of a portentous consensus of atoms."

This long catalogue of names, which might be indefinitely increased, I wind up with the honored name of Lord Bacon, who in his "De Dignitate et Augmentis Scientiarum"<sup>66</sup> speaks, like St. Paul and "Wisdom" of the knowledge to be gained by inference from the creature to the Creator: "Knowledge . . . such as can be acquired about God, by the light of nature, and by the contemplation of created things." He holds that God worked miracles for the conversion of idolaters, and not of atheists, because for the latter the light of nature was enough: "Because the atheist can be led to the knowledge of God by the mere light of nature." ["Quia athena poterat, ipso naturae lumine ad notitiam Dei perducere."]<sup>67</sup>

And he assigns the reason: "For as the works of the handicraftsman manifest his ability and skill . . . so the works of God, the Creator, manifest His Omnipotence and Wisdom." ["Sicut enim opificis potentiam et peritiam ostendunt opera

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> "Burnett Lectures," pp. 334-5.

<sup>64</sup> Presidential Address, 1882.

<sup>65</sup> *Times*, May 2, 1903.

<sup>66</sup> Bk. III., ch. ii., "Scientia . . . quates de Deo haberi protest per lumen naturae et contemplationem rerum creatorum."

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

equus . . . sic opera Dei conditoris omnipotentiam et sapientiam ostendunt.”] <sup>68</sup>

And in his “Essay on Atheism” Bacon writes: “I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran than that this universal frame is without a mind. And therefore God never wrought miracle to convince atheism, because His ordinary works convince it.”

Men nowadays often plume themselves on their atheism as if (in some mystical way) it was clever to doubt. Bacon, however, takes another view: “It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man’s mind to atheism, but depth in philosophy bringeth men’s minds about to religion. For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and go no further; but when it beholdeth the chain of them confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity.” <sup>69</sup>

Of the debasing and vulgarizing effects of atheism, he says: “They that deny a God destroy man’s nobility; for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body; and if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity and the raising of human nature. . . . Man when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favor, gathereth a force and faith which human nature, in itself, could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty.” <sup>70</sup>

Hence Bacon does not believe that there can exist such a thing as an atheist at heart. He says in the same essay: “The great atheists are hypocrites. The Scripture saith: ‘The fool hath *said* in his heart, There is no God.’ It is not said: ‘The fool hath *thought* in his heart.’ So as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it or be persuaded of it.” And he suggests that denial of God proceeds not from conviction, but from self-interest: “None deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were none.”

And this father of modern physical science in England, the first strenuous upholder of inductive methods, and the staunch believer in those facts which, as Mr. Huxley proudly assures us, present-day scientists have driven like bolts through the thickest skulls, thus begins his profession of faith: “I believe that nothing is without beginning but God; no nature, no matter, no spirit, but one only and the same God. That God, as He is eternally almighty, only

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<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*



wise, only good in His nature, so He is eternally Father, Son and Spirit, in persons."<sup>71</sup>

From this long list of names and quotations, more useful perhaps than abstract arguments, this fact stands out conspicuous, that whatever other excuse the atheist may have for his atheism, at least he cannot claim the support of physical science and scientists.

## VII.

As to the moral effects of atheism, both on the atheist himself and on the society of which he is a unit, it may be noticed that the moral consequences, emphasized by St. Paul, though expressed in the *form* of a divine visitation, are really the natural and (in the main) inevitable results of unbelief. The Apostle says of the Greek and Roman agnostics: "Wherefore *God* gave them up to the desires of their hearts unto uncleanness (Romans i., 24). . . . For this cause *God* delivered them up to shameful affections (i., 26). . . . As they liked not to have God in their knowledge, *God* delivered them up to do those things which are not convenient" (i., 28). But this only means that God, having given a rational nature, to the reasonableness of which the atheist does violence, God leaves him to the natural consequences of his unbelief. For the *logical* (though not necessary) consequence of unbelief is "to do those things which are not convenient." Nature never forgives, and as agnostics are (in St. Paul's words) "vain in their thoughts," "their foolish heart darkened," professedly "wise," but in reality "fools," "inexcusable" (Romans i., 21-22), the national punishment is moral degradation. For immorality, or non-morality, is the logical outcome and inevitable effect of real unbelief—if not for this or that individual, at any rate for unbelievers as a class. And how could it be otherwise? For if there be no God, neither is there any moral Lawgiver, and therefore no moral law. Deny the existence of the Immaterial Spirit of God, and thereby you deny the immaterial soul of man, and therefore the freedom of will of that soul. For unless man's soul be spiritual it cannot be free—as Rational Trychology shows. Atheists, then, must logically deny free will—as they do. But without free will there is no moral responsibility. For how can a man be morally responsible unless he has a choice? To blame such a one for misdeeds would be as absurd as to blame a horse or a locomotive. For the sequence is obvious; no moral Lawgiver, no moral Law, no moral responsibility, no moral blame. If God is not, man becomes a mere mechanism, knit together by material forces, a machine compounded of soul and body as a locomotive is a machine compounded

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>71</sup> Bacon's "Confession of Faith," Section I.

of iron works and steam. And if that be so, there are man-machines and monkey-machines; and moral obligation has as much meaning for the one as for the other—that is, none whatever.

Thus atheism countenances monstrous vice, the doing of “those things which are not convenient.” Morally it ruins the individual; it destroys the family; it subverts society; it overturns the commonwealth. For obviously where the individual is in no sense bound to curb his evil cravings, the bonds of family life cannot hold together, and the divorce court comes into being. And as the good order of the commonwealth is based on healthy family life, atheism logically overturns the commonwealth. Given atheism, society’s only sanction is brute force and the rule of the stronger. Not right, but might. Not morality, but the policeman. So that if the individual, armed with bombs, overthrow social order, or the peasant oust the landlord, or the worker rise up against the capitalist, or the masses overwhelm the classes, still there is no one to blame; it is quite right, because it is only a fresh exercise of might.

The practical objection will no doubt be made that agnostics are morally as good as theists. Well, but not *as* agnostics! If they are good, it is in spite, and not because, of their agnosticism. It is because they do not act on their own principles. They invert Ovid’s saying into “*video deteriora proboque, meliora sequor.*” There is a grim sentence of Aristotle’s which has always tickled me and is applicable here. Discussing the blank skepticism of Heraclitus, who denied the validity of the principle of contradiction, and maintained that the same thing, at the same time, in the same sense, could both be and not be, the Stagirite dryly answered that “there is no need to suppose that what a man *says*, that he holds!”<sup>72</sup> And so with the atheist, he “*says* in his heart: There is no God.” He does not really think it, and still less does he act upon it.

The *logical* consequences, in the moral order, of unbelief Spinoza boldly and barefacedly drew and defended. In his “Ethics” he says: “No action, considered in itself, is either good or bad.” [“Nulla actio, in se solâ considerata, bona aut mala est.”]<sup>73</sup>

To him killing, for instance, is no evil. The slaughter of a man-machine is of no more moment than the slaughter of a monkey-machine. Truth and falsehood, honesty and cheating, stealing and almsgiving, incontinence and chastity—they are all in the same category—“neither good nor bad!” And having thus unblushingly and most logically stated his premises, Spinoza uncompromisingly draws his practical conclusion: “To enjoy ourselves, in so far as this may be done short of satiety or disgust—for, here, excess were no

<sup>72</sup> “Metaphysics,” III, ch. iii., Christ’s ed., n. 25, p. 68.

<sup>73</sup> Part IV., prop. 59, “Aliter,” etc., Bruder’s ed., Vol. I., p. 372.

enjoyment—is true wisdom.” [“Rebus itaque uti, et iis, quantum fieri potest delectari (non quidem ad nauseam usque, nam hoc delectari non est) viri est sapientis.”]<sup>74</sup>

The existence of moral obligation—“I *ought* to do this” (for instance, obey my parents)—“I *ought* not to do that” (for instance, steal) is at least as certain as the law of gravity or the law of the uniformity of nature. “Ought” is an intuition, nor can it be analyzed into anything else; not into “convention;” not into “heredity;” not into “convenience;” not into “utility.” “I *ought*” is the basic proposition of every ethical system, and can therefore be never anything else than ethical. If the materialist contend that the root proposition of morality is “*It is convenient*” (for instance, to observe the marriage vow), or “*It is not convenient*” (for instance, to carry off one’s neighbor’s wife), he is always confronted with these ulterior questions: “Why *ought* I to do what is convenient? to avoid what is inconvenient?”

“Ought” is primary, “convenient” is secondary. “Ought” is an intention beyond and behind which the mind cannot go. Therefore the man who denies the existence of the moral law thereby also denies his own primary intuitions.

Consequently the atheist does violence, by his atheism, to both his intellectual and his moral natures; to his intellectual nature by denying the obvious existence of the Personal First Mind; to his moral nature by denying the existence of the Moral Legislator.

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#### FELICITE DE LAMENNAIS: A SKETCH.

OF ALL the nations of Europe, that to which Christian society owes most, whether in the domain of religion or of thought, is undoubtedly France. Her annals are rich in heroes of religion, martyrs, confessors and founders of orders, and the contemporary history of the true France—not the France of the Grand Orient and its servant the *Bloc*—continually affords proof that the Eldest Daughter of the Church has not yet forfeited her title. And if in the province of thought she has given many hostages to error, there are yet in her records names as brilliant on the side of truth. Even now, when it is the fashion to speak of her as “infidel France,” we have examples of intellectual conversions so remarkable as those of M. Brunetière and M. Coppée.

The French mind, brilliant, idealistic and daring, has, however, the

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, Prop. 45, Scholion II., p. 363.

defects of its qualities, foremost amongst which is a certain relentless logic which leads it, in its pursuit of an ideal, into blunders and pitfalls from which more sober intellects with less devotion to the syllogism are preserved. And this trait, which, when regulated by religion, has produced such and so many saints and has won for the missionaries of France the first place in the admiration of the world, has run riot in her politics and philosophy, bringing disaster after disaster upon her national life. The noble ideal of liberty, for instance, which was the springhead of the Revolution, so rapidly got out of hand that it first (quite logically) degenerated into anarchy, and then (still logically) through regicide into tyranny. Having taken off the crown from their King, logical sequence impelled them to take off his head, too; and if *his* head, obviously his Queen's also.

Generalities are, of course, fatally liable to exaggeration; but it is probably true to say that in no country does a man with an idea get so wide a hearing as in France, and having got a hearing, find so much encouragement to abuse it.

Féli de Lamennais was a Frenchman of the French. His character was an epitome of the characteristics of his nation, and his career only failed to be a miniature of her history in that he lacked that marvelous power of recuperation which, in spite of everything, still maintains her at the head of civilization. A little more flexibility, a little less self-confidence, and he would not have been hurried into the excesses which were only the natural result of his intolerant and dogmatic spirit. Had he been able to command his impatience, and to face the fact that nothing really good is ever done in a hurry, his name might be now in honor among the valued champions of religion instead of heading an occasional paragraph in a text-book as an opponent scarcely worth refuting.

With the unerring instinct of genius, he saw that the real danger that menaced the Catholic faith at the beginning of the nineteenth century was not the active persecution of Napoleon and Joseph II. in France and Austria, not the heretical propaganda from Protestant countries nor the infidel press of all Europe; not, in fact, anything positive; the real—and it was a most subtle—danger lay in the indifference to all religion which was the direct consequence of the rapidly widening gap that was forming between the ecclesiastical and the civil state, between the clergy and the laity, between the Church and the modern world. The *sensus communis*, which he was later to turn to such strange uses, was becoming not so much hostile to religion as indifferent to it. As he put it himself: "The most dangerous state of society is not that in which its members ardently embrace error; it is that in which they neglect and despise the truth.

When there is violence there is strength, and therefore hope; but when all movement has ceased, when the pulse is slack and numbness is creeping up to the heart, what can we look for but a speedy and inevitable dissolution? It is useless to blind ourselves to the facts. European society is rapidly advancing along this fatal way." In materialism and the worship of reason he saw the cause and origin of this despairing state of affairs; physical science, which should have furnished continual proof to man of his essential superiority over the brutes, had only brought him down to their level by causing his mind to centre, like theirs, about material objects alone. In the train of religious indifference he saw moral depreciation, political instability and every social evil. Therefore, he concluded, the only secure basis for society and the State must be religion. With this thought filling his mind, and urged no less by his own personal experiences than by his reflections on what was passing around him to do his utmost to arrest the evil, he began in 1814 his "Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion," the work which was to be the cause of his fame, his sufferings and his downfall.

But before making an examination of this work it will be well, in order to fix our point of view, to begin with some account of the life of its author.

Félicité Robert de Lamennais was born in the year 1781 at St. Malo. In the time of Louis XV. his family, which then bore the name of Robert, was settled on a small estate in Brittany called "La Mennais;" and when, in return for pecuniary assistance, Louis conferred the noble particle upon them they assumed in addition the name of their property, and were thenceforth known as "de La Mennais." Féli, indeed, seems to have been a little uneasy under his nobility, for in after life he dropped the "de" and chose to be and to be called plain "Lamennais." He was the fourth of six children, of whom the eldest, Jean, survived him by six years. This brother, the Abbé Jean de Lamennais, was a man of great talent, but in ability he fell far short of Féli, and in disposition he was his very antithesis. He was a priest of great zeal and energy, founder of the "Brothers of Christian Doctrine," and died "in the odor of sanctity." During the time that he lived with or within reach of his brother Féli—that is, up to the latter's definite rupture with the Church in 1834—he exercised a wholesome restraint upon him, and if he had been left to himself might have saved him. But by many of the clergy he was regarded as to some extent identified with the errors of his brother, and their watchful suspicion kept him at a distance. One can almost hear them saying to the brothers, with Dogberry: "Masters, it is already proved that ye be little better than false knaves, and 'twill go near to be thought so shortly."

Féli possessed extraordinary gifts and an indefatigable energy. His ardor in the pursuit of knowledge might almost be called ferocious; and at an age when most boys are just beginning to go to school, he was already devouring the works of Diderot, Voltaire and Rousseau and developing a precocious skepticism. So far, indeed, did this highly-spiced diet disagree with him that it was thought prudent to defer his First Communion for some ten years. His mother was dead, and it is probable that his father, distracted by monetary losses, concerned himself little with the education of his youngest son; indeed, he left it almost entirely in the hands of an eccentric uncle, Robert des Sandrais, who allowed him the free run of his books. The influence of this early emancipation and these ill-regulated studies on his after life was profound. To the end of his days Féli always displayed that tendency to begin at the top and build downwards that he had acquired in his uncle's library; and though the productions of his genius are imposing, there runs through them all a vein of irresponsibility and incompleteness which was its consequence.

But on the score of industry no one can reproach him. He tells us that at the age of fourteen he had printed articles in some Paris journal, and his executor, M. Forgues, discovered among his papers of this date a treatise on the Hebrew points and accents, and the plan of an Arabic grammar, besides copious annotations to many Greek and Latin authors. By the time he was eighteen his skepticism had become a little worn, and in a short time he recovered his faith, an event which he solemnized by preparing a translation of Blossius' "Spiritual Guide," which he published in 1809, having the year before printed his "Reflections on the State of the Church in France During the Eighteenth Century." This work, in which appear traces of the democratic sympathies that engrossed his later life, brought him into collision with the government, and to avoid prosecution he retired to his native St. Malo. Here, in 1811, he received the tonsure and joined his brother at the Petit Seminaire of that town in the capacity of professor of mathematics.

In 1814 he was again in Paris, where he brought out in concert with his brother Jean a work entitled "The Tradition of the Church on the Institution of Bishops." When, a few weeks afterwards, came the fall of Napoleon, Féli rejoiced and hailed the return of the Bourbons with enthusiasm. But the escape of Napoleon from Elba and the flight of Louis XVIII. upset all his visions of a new and golden age for his country, and with a promptness which would have been ludicrous anywhere but in France, where the government takes note of even the meanest pamphleteer, he fled incontinently to Guernsey, where he passed several months under the convincing

pseudonym of Patrick Robertson. From Guernsey he went to London, arriving there in a condition of absolute destitution, and if it had not been for the kindness of the Abbé Carron, an emigré priest and an old friend of his, who gave him some work in a small school which he was conducting, he must have starved. Before he met the abbé he had applied at several Catholic houses for employment as tutor, but nowhere with success. Lady Jerringham, to whom among others he presented himself, declined his services on the ground that he "looked stupid." It is curious that later when he entered the seminary of St. Sulpice the same judgment was formed of him by the professors, and he left it at the end of two weeks.

The result of the battle of Waterloo reanimated his hopes, and in November of the year 1815 he returned to Paris with the Abbé Carron and took up his residence at the house of the Feuillantines. Yielding to the solicitations of his brother and of his friends, the Abbé Carron, Bruté and Gerbet, he began to prepare for the priesthood. But it was with ever recurring fits of doubt, hesitation and even repugnance. Indeed, he himself related how, while vesting for his first Mass, he experienced a very agony of repulsion. There can be little doubt that he was not a fit subject for the priesthood, and in after years the Abbé Jean had good cause to reproach himself bitterly for his share in urging it upon him. He was ordained in 1816, at the age of twenty-four, having made his First Communion only two years previously.

In 1817 appeared the first volume of his "Essay on Indifference in Matters of Religion," on which he had been working before he left London. Its success was immediate and complete. Lacordaire hailed him as a second Bossuet; de Maistre, de Bonald and de Chateaubriand wrote enthusiastically of the book and its author, and under their guidance he made his entry into the highest literary and philosophical circles and plunged into the vortex of politics. In 1820 the second volume of the "Essay" was published, and it is in this volume that de Lamennais explicitly formulates the doctrine of traditionalism already put forward by de Bonald.

And here we may stop, in order first to take a rapid survey of this theory as advanced by de Bonald, and secondly to offer some explanation of the immunity from censure—or rather the almost universal approbation—which it at first enjoyed. The Vicomte de Bonald had emigrated to the Low Countries with his family on the outbreak of the Revolution, and perhaps it was from his Lutheran neighbors that he had caught his theory of the essential debility of the human faculties. At any rate, when he began to beguile his exile with philosophical speculations, he started from that assumption—or something like it—and laid down as a postulate that man's

intellect is incapable of certitude in any of the religious or moral truths which are indispensable to rational life, and that in fact the sole means of arriving at such certitude is a primitive revelation transmitted to us by way of instruction through the medium of language. His guiding maxim—"well meditated" he calls it—is "Man thinks his speech before speaking his thought;" speech, therefore, before thought. In the second chapter of the first volume of his "Recherches" he says: "There was geometry in the world before Newton, and philosophy before Descartes; but before language there was nothing, absolutely nothing, but bodies and phantasms of bodies; for language is the necessary instrument of all intellection and the means of all moral existence. Just as the primitive matter of the world was, as the Scripture tells us, void and without form before the pregnant word of God drew order from the chaos, so the mind, before it has known language, is utterly empty and shapeless." His whole thesis reduces to this—that man, being incapable of thought without words, and equally incapable of inventing words for himself, received the gift of speech direct from God, and with it, implicitly, all the principal religious and moral truths, such as the existence of God, the spirituality of the soul, and so forth. These truths, thus given to man in a primitive revelation, have been handed down through the ages by tradition through the medium of speech, so that all his certitudes rest ultimately on the infallible authority of God the Revealer. How this doctrine of de Bonald's was assimilated and developed by Féli de Lamennais we shall see presently. The object of both writers was good. They wished to destroy the indifferentism which was everywhere undermining religion, and finding its source and origin in rationalism, they set themselves to destroy that effectually by replacing all existing philosophies based upon the sovereignty of reason, by a new philosophy resting upon the authority of tradition, or—as they put it—upon the "sensus communis" of humanity. But they defeated their own object. First, they explicitly denied a doctrine of the Church—since defined by the Vatican Council—viz., that human reason *can* unaided arrive at a certitude of the existence of God, and secondly, in attempting to strengthen the authority of revelation at the expense of reason, they in fact weakened it and left religion more open to attack than ever. For though the formal motive of faith cannot be reason or anything founded on reason, yet there are many parts which reason can play *about* the facts of faith, and the value of all these is immensely depreciated by such a low view of its power and capacity.

It would not be quite true to say that the second volume of the "Essay" passed entirely without hostile comment. But it certainly is remarkable that when, after the appearance of the third and fourth



volumes, de Lamennais, not content with the advice of de Maistre to "let those frogs croak themselves hoarse," rushed into print again with a "Defense of the Essay," and then set out for Rome to submit his work to the Sovereign Pontiff, the Pope—Leo XII.—should not only have received him with open arms, but (it is said) to have addressed him as "the latest Father of the Church" and to have offered him a Cardinal's hat. It is possible, of course, that fired with enthusiasm for the object to which this work was directed, and accepting already in the sense of a fact—accidental and not intrinsic to human nature—the power of the "sensus communis" in compelling intellectual assent, the Pope—and in general that section of the clergy who approved of de Lamennais' work—did not at once perceive that this fact was put forward by him as a physical necessity (not accidental, but essential) of human nature.

Or if, as may easily have been the case, the Pope relied in part—or even wholly—on the reports of French ecclesiastics, admirers of the author (and there must have been many such in Rome, since de Lamennais was an extreme Ultramontane at deadly war with Gallicanism), then the difficulty is resolved. For it is well known that at the beginning of the nineteenth century theology in France was at a very low ebb, and the clergy had attained to extraordinary heights of incompetence. It will be sufficient to quote a few words from "The Institution of Bishops," the work written in collaboration by Féli and his brother, remembering that the Abbé Jean was a man of great prudence, moderation and charity, and by no means likely to exaggerate. Speaking of the text-books used in the seminaries at that date, these books, they say, teach "no breadth of view, no connected system, no grand unity; they offer nothing to attract the mind, nothing to nourish it, nothing to rouse it to enthusiasm. After a course of this kind one may, perhaps, know one's theses, but one has but an imperfect knowledge of religion." And again: "The strength of the assault on religion lies not in the knowledge of the aggressors, but in the ignorance of the defenders. Never, for centuries, have the clergy, taken in the mass, been so ignorant as they are to-day; yet never has knowledge been so greatly needed." In fact, we may suppose that but for the political hostility of his Gallican enemies, Féli might long have flourished his book in the faces of the united theologians of France without eliciting a rebuke.

The teaching of the "Essay on Indifference" may be summarized thus: The question of the truth of the Church, it says, reduces to that of the principle of certitude. Now, the only means of knowledge which we as individuals possess are those afforded us by the senses, the ideas and the reason. To these correspond three systems of philosophy—the materialism of Locke, the idealism of Berkely and

Kant and the rationalism of Descartes. Of these the first is manifestly false, since the senses are convicted of error at every turn. The second is no less so, and for a similar reason; for who does not know how infinitely various are the effects of the same idea on different individuals? How the simple notions of true and false, of good and bad vary with circumstance, interest or passion? The third system, too, solid as it appears, is seen to be built upon a foundation in the air. Descartes, in the course of his "methodical doubt," having flung away the whole furniture of his mind in order to arrive at the one first principle of certitude with which to begin refurnishing, thinks he has found that principle when he has said "*Cogito, ergo sum,*" whereas, if he only knew it, by so doing he has stultified his whole system—he had no conceivable right, on his own ground, to say *cogito*, or indeed to use any verb in the first person singular. What are we to think of a system of philosophy whose first principle is that whatever we distinctly and clearly perceive to be true, *is* true; and which for proof appeals to the conviction that we cannot possibly doubt what we clearly and distinctly perceive? No, the dogmatists, as he calls all philosophers but himself, have erred on two essential points—first, in wishing to base their cognitions on a *proved* truth instead of on a truth believed invincibly without proof, and secondly, in obliging each man to look within himself for the motives of his judgments and the foundation of his certitudes. "O miserable feebleness of the human mind," he cries, "when it strays away from the high road that nature has opened to all! How is it that they do not see that one can prove nothing without the aid of certain undemonstrated and undemonstrable truths; that it is a contradiction in terms to talk of proving a first principle, and that in consequence, so far from certitude depending on demonstration, no demonstration is possible without an anterior certitude? Thus the dogmatists begin by assuming that they already possess what they are searching for; that they both are and are not certain at one and the same instant!"

"No," he continues, "there can be no such thing as certitude for the dogmatists, unless we are prepared to believe every man's reason infallible, and if we do that, how are we to account for so many contradictory judgments and conflicting opinions whose existence we cannot deny? If they are consistent, they must deny the very possibility of error."

This rapid sketch must suffice for an exposition of de Lamennais' summary and typical fashion of dismissing the dogmatists. We must now listen to him dogmatizing on his own account.

"The common consent," he says, "the *sensus communis*, is for us the seal of truth—there is no other."

If the wretched "dogmatists" object that many and grave errors have for centuries been accepted for truth, he smothers them with evolution, the action of the infinite on the finite, and the necessity of an absolutely universal and not a partial unanimity; so that the pertinent questions of why? and what?—that is, *why* are we to accept the *sensus communis* as infallible, and *what* are these universally accepted truths in this or that particular case, pass unheeded. Besides, by his own theory he is spared the necessity of answering objections; to do so would be to descend once more into the arena of dialectics, from which he has at a blow emancipated himself.

A direct consequence of his theory, and one which he fully accepted and elaborated, was that the whole body of truths must have been revealed in the beginning once and for all. The inconvenient deductions which might be made from such a proposition, boldly stated, are avowed by the idea that this primitive revelation was not explicit at all points, but required the development of ages, which development has been guided, assured and handed on from generation to generation by the infallible assent of collective humanity. Thus the first man received the first truths on the testimony of God, who is the *Supreme Reason*; and these truths are preserved among men and perpetually developed and manifested by the testimony of all men, which testimony is the expression of the *Common Reason*. So that the first act which the intellect makes is an act of faith. In a word, de Lamennais extended, in a quite illegitimate manner, the undoubted facts that all advance in knowledge is a process of accumulation, that no individual can discover all knowledge for himself by the light of his own unaided intelligence, and that, in point of fact, great part of a man's mental furniture consists of opinions and beliefs, his assent to which is no result of his own analysis of them, but rests, consciously or unconsciously, on the bare authority of other minds than his own; or, perhaps, in the language of Newman, to which he gives only a *notional* assent, while to his authorities they are matters of *real* apprehension. If he had been contented to state this by way of a powerful support and confirmation of the religious and moral truths in whose defense he was so urgent, he would have done no more than amplify an argument already well known to apologists, but he would certainly have presented it in an attractive dress borrowed from the store of erudition and astonishingly varied illustration which he had at command. But undeterred by the remonstrances of his friend Rohrbacher, the historian, he went further, and in his lectures to his pupils at Malestroit propounded dogmas, all depending on his system of the "*communis sensus*," which it was impossible to reconcile with the true doctrine

of the revelation of Christ, the institution of the Church and the economy of grace. These pupils were the members of the "Congregation of St. Peter," founded by Féli and his brother, with the object of reviving the sacred studies and particularly the study of church history. This institution, of course, collapsed on the secession of Féli, but while it existed it accomplished much good work. It had unfortunately in its midst a principle of decay in the shape of Féli de Lamennais' philosophy, which fiercely pulled down all other systems, despised scholasticism and essayed the defense of religion and, above all, of the sovereignty of the Pope, with weapons that broke in the hands of their users.

We have mentioned Descartes as one of Féli's favorite objects of attack, and it may be of interest to show in this place how effectively he could call ridicule to his aid for this purpose. In the preface to the "Defense" of his "Essay" he gives his reasons for having undertaken the cause of religion on new lines, and apparently assuming that most of his opponents are Cartesians, he says he will give them an example of the strength of their system. A certain Cartesian one day met a lunatic who confided to him that he was indeed no other than Descartes himself. The Cartesian, feeling that such a delusion could by no means be suffered to endure, begins to reason with him, and so the dialogue goes on:

*Cartesian.* "You must surely be joking when you say that you are Descartes; just think, he has been dead more than 150 years."

*Lunatic.* "On the contrary, it's you who are joking, and in very poor taste, too, when you say Descartes is dead, because *I* am Descartes, and here I am talking to you."

*C.* "What! You the author of the 'Meditations' and of the 'Principles of Philosophy'—those magnificent works which for two centuries have drawn upon themselves the admiration of all Europe! Get along—you're mad!"

*L.* "Abuse, my friend, is not argument; at any rate it's not the method of argument that I taught in those two little works of mine, of which you have just spoken so handsomely. If I'm *not* Descartes, you prove it to me. I should be sorry to deceive myself in so important a matter."

*C.* "Well, look here; I've just told you that Descartes has been dead 150 years. If you don't believe me, go to Sweden and you may see his grave there."

*L.* "I think it is now my turn to call *you* mad! Do you seriously propose that I should undertake a journey to Sweden in order to convince myself that I'm not only dead but buried?"

*C.* "But surely you know that no man has ever lived two hundred years?"

L. "Pardon me, I know nothing of the sort; but even so, I am content to be the first to have done it."

C. "But, my good sir, I've only got to look at you to see that you're not 200 years old!"

L. "Then your senses deceive you—and the proof is simple; because, since I *am* Descartes, it is impossible on your own showing that I should *not* be 200 years old."

C. "This is ineffable! My poor fellow, go, go at once and ask the first man you meet, ask as many men as you choose, and see if they don't all agree with me that you are not Descartes and can't possibly be Descartes."

L. "Pooh, men may be deceived on any point, so why not on this? Besides, why do you talk of asking other men? Don't you remember what I have said in my 'Meditations?' I said: 'You must remember that in addressing me you address a mind so disengaged from corporeal things that it cannot say with certainty whether any one but itself exists—*Cogito, ergo sum*; that's all it knows.'"

C. "Well, you can listen to reason anyhow."

L. "That's just what I'm trying to make *you* do. Tell me, now, do you believe that you exist?"

C. "Of course I do; but what has my existence to do with your pretensions to be Descartes?"

L. "All in good time; just you answer my question! On what proof do you rest your belief in your existence? *How* are you certain of it?"

C. "Because when I say 'I think,' 'I am,' 'I exist,' I have a clear and distinct perception of what I say."

L. "Good; then you agree that whatever one perceives clearly and distinctly, is true?"

C. "Certainly; it is the first principle of my philosophy."

L. "And how do you *know* that you have this clear and distant perception?"

C. "Why, because it is impossible for me to doubt it."

L. "Capital! I can't tell you how pleased I am, my dear friend, to see that you have assimilated my doctrine so completely! I count it a privilege to be able to call you my disciple, and *you* can disavow your master no longer; for I solemnly declare to you that I have a *very clear* and *very distinct* perception of the fact that I am Descartes. And the proof that this perception is very clear and very distinct, is that it is impossible for me to doubt it!"

The Cartesian is left soliloquizing: "I was right, the poor fellow is mad—what a pity! Still he is none the worse Cartesian for that."

After this it is interesting to note that three years later, when Victor Cousin published his translation and collection of Descartes'

complete works, he dedicated it in these words: "To M. Royer-Collard, Professor of the History of Modern Philosophy in the Academy of France, who first among his colleagues combatted the Philosophy of the Senses, and *rehabilitated Descartes.*"

Féli de Lamennais returned from Rome in 1825, full of hope and courage for the future. The fourth and last volume of his "Essay" was finished, and the whole appeared to have the approbation of the Holy See.

During this year he published a translation of the "Imitation of Christ," with copious reflections between the chapters which show that he was not the hard, dry man of mere intellect which some have thought fit to style him. This translation has maintained its place in the general favor up to to-day. The next year he printed a work entitled "Religion Considered in Its Relation to the Civil and Public Order." His theme was "No Pope, no Church; no Church, no Christianiy; no Christianity, no Religion; no Religion, no Society." In it he defends the right of the Church, in the person of the Pope, to the ultimate decision in all great questions of social justice, divine law, the sovereignty and its duties, citing Gerson and Fenelon for the coercitive power of the Papal authority, and attacks the Gallican doctrine of a national church in an independent nation, and in particular singles out Mgr. de Frayssinons, Bishop of Hermopolis and Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, for his most caustic animadversions. As an attack on Gallicanism was, at that time, an attack on the government, action was at once taken against him on the ground of treasonable writing. His advocate, M. Berryer, however, pulled the charge to pieces, and Féli escaped with a fine of thirty francs on the head of incitement to contempt for the "Déclaration" of 1682. We may note in passing that this "Déclaration," formulated in the reign of Louis XIV., amounted in effect to this, that the political, being wholly distinct from the moral and religious order, the State not only is, but ought to be, atheist.

But Féli had done more than offend the government. He had stirred up the dominant Gallican party to compass his complete destruction at any cost. And this factor must always be allowed for in all the agitations which were raised against him henceforth until his downfall.

Meantime, politics were moving in the most approved French fashion. On July 26, 1830, Charles X. (who had succeeded his brother Louis XVIII. in 1824) suddenly suspended the liberty of the press, broke up the recently formed Chamber of Deputies, and issued a new set of regulations for the elections. The Parisians rose to the occasion. On the 27th the streets of Paris were barricaded. On the 28th the Tuilleries was stormed, a provisional government, with

the Duke of Orleans as Lieutenant General of the Kingdom, was established, and Charles X. abdicated. On the 7th of August the Duke of Orleans mounted the throne under the title of Louis Philippe, King of the French.

Féli hailed the downfall of the elder Bourbon dynasty with unconcealed joy. Together with Lacordaire (himself a priest, but not yet a Dominican) and the Comte de Montalembert, he founded the *Avenir*, a journal devoted to religious and social reform, bearing the device "God and Liberty—the Pope and the People." His darling object was to bring about a strict alliance between the Church and democracy, and in language of the loftiest eloquence he urged the clergy to shake themselves free of the State, to repudiate all concordats, to give up their stipends and return to the poverty of the Early Church, and finally to ally themselves with the people and enjoy to the full the liberty of worship and the schools which had just been proclaimed. At the same time he professed an ultramontanism that passed the bounds of discretion. As was only natural, there arose a storm of opposition which took shape in another journal called *L'ami de la Religion*. The combat did not last long. In three years' time de Lamennais had cast away half of what for thirty strenuous years he had given all his talent and energy to defend, had flung defiance at the Papacy—the former object of a jealous devotion—and after alienating one by one the intimate friends of a lifetime, ended twenty years of embittered solitude by an obscure death in the midst of poverty, an object of pity to a few, but of indifference to most.

Leo XII. had died in 1829, and his successor, Pius VIII., had been followed in 1831 by Gregory XVI. On his accession, in February, the three collaborators of the *Avenir* at once set out for Rome to fortify their position by obtaining his approval of it. In the statement which they prepared for the consideration of the Sovereign Pontiff they withdrew, or in some way mitigated their doctrine of complete separation between Church and State, but laid stress on the derivation of power from the people. Pending a decision, however, they temporarily suspended the publication of the *Avenir*. "We do this," wrote de Lamennais, "not because we are discouraged or weary of the combat; we are going, as the soldiers of Israel went, to consult the Lord in Shiloh."

Their hopes were completely disappointed. They procured, indeed, an interview with Gregory, but only on the understanding that there was to be no mention made of the object for which they had come. They had, in fact, been outmarched by their opponents, and an inquiry was already in progress at Rome, powerfully stimulated by complaints from the Governments of France, Russia, Austria and

Prussia. After a fruitless stay of several months, de Lamennais, in a state of profound depression, set out on his return journey. While he was lingering at Munich on his way, he received the encyclical "*Mirari Vos*," dated August 15, 1832, in which his teaching and that of his colleagues was explicitly condemned, without, however, any mention being made of their names. So, in a day, as it seemed to him, the dream of a lifetime was rudely overthrown. At the age of fifty-two he found himself standing with empty hands, with all his life to begin over again, and with all his ideals to reconstruct. He submitted, however, at once; stopped the publication of the *Avenir*, and on the 10th of September despatched to the Pope, through the hands of Cardinal Pacca, a signed statement to that effect. At the end of October the Cardinal wrote to the friends at Paris that Gregory had been much gratified by their submissive attitude; but by that time Féli had quitted the capital and had retired alone to the solitude of La Chenaie, and his mood was already causing anxiety to those who having known him in prosperity and in adversity, had learnt to expect almost anything from his determined and mutinous temperament. Their fears were soon justified. De Lamennais began to write again, and every word he wrote was put under a microscope by his enemies. Irritated, perhaps, by this sort of persecution, he grew reckless and was accused of having once more overstepped the bounds laid down by the encyclical. When he was notified of this by the Archbishop of Toulouse, he wrote a letter to his own diocesan, the Bishop of Rennes, requesting him to forward the substance of it to Rome, in which he announced his intention of abstaining in future from all discussion touching the Church and State, professed his sincere devotion to the Holy See, and asked Gregory if he were not yet satisfied, to send him a formula of submission for his subscription. After much correspondence, many advances and as many withdrawals, Féli consented at last, on the earnest entreaty of his brother and the Archbishop of Paris, to sign a document embodying an unconditional surrender of all his suspected doctrines, and promising an unequivocal obedience to the encyclical. But he told the Archbishop that in signing this paper he considered himself to have implicitly signed that the Pope is God. "However," he added, "for the sake of peace I am willing to sign that even explicitly." On receiving this document Gregory XVI. addressed a brief to Féli full of congratulations on the step he had taken, and expressive of his own joy at this happy termination of the affair. But the end was not yet. It is probably fair comment to say that Féli's enemies, having triumphed, could not forego the satisfaction of pushing their triumph home. Because we must remember that though in the matter at issue between de Lamennais



and the Holy See, he was wrong, and had rightly incurred censure—still, the whole controversy was for many of the upper clergy in France a contest between ultramontaniam and Gallicanism, and Gallicanism seemed to them to have conquered. So it was indeed a grateful spectacle for them when they saw the foremost among the defenders of the Papal authority himself lying under the condemnation of that authority. Anxious, therefore, to make their victory absolutely complete, to goad him to some irretrievable act, and aided, no doubt, by many good persons whose zeal would not permit them to leave well enough alone, they urged upon de Lamennais the necessity of making some definite and suitable acknowledgment of the brief. Soon it came to an order from the Archbishop of Paris to do so, and thus to dissipate the suspicions of his sincerity, which were again being bruited about. Perhaps, too, it befel him in part, as it has not infrequently befallen men of inconvenient originality, when the orthodox prefer the easier means of silencing them by shoveling them out of sight and labeling them and all their works, "Poison; not to be taken," to the more formidable task of first understanding what they mean before condemning what they have said.

For a long time de Lamennais was silent. Then, in May, 1834, he answered with "*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*," and so once and for all, and at a blow, broke away from the Church, severed the bonds of the closest friendship, and renounced the ideals which had inspired all his thoughts and acts for thirty years. We have it on the authority of Rohrbacher that the Abbé Jean, hearing of the approaching publication of this work (probably from Ste. Beuve, to whom it was intrusted), hurried down to La Chenaie and succeeded in obtaining from his brother permission to cancel it. He rushed off to Dinan to give notice to the printers, but it was too late. On the very next morning the book was out in Paris, and Féli, recovering himself, resolved to abide by it.

"*Les Paroles d'un Croyant*" was formally condemned within two months of its appearance, and Gregory XVI. took occasion to point out that it was the legitimate offspring of the fallacious system of traditionalism, by which certitude in matters of religion was seriously shaken in being referred to an inadmissible and unstable principle. The book is written in a quasi-prophetic style, to which English readers will recognize a distant approximation in some of the essays of Carlyle. Briefly, its scope is as follows: Hereditary rulers are the children of Satan; the Church has sold herself and betrayed mankind; the nineteenth century is of all previous centuries the most irretrievably infamous, and revolution is a sacred duty. From the assimilation of these principles, and the performance of these duties, will arise in time a new State, a new Christianity

and a new Gospel of the people. Féli de Lamennais was not a man to do things by halves. He developed and preached his new faith with all the energy and fierceness which he had at one time devoted to a very different ideal. His democracy became communism, his Christianity of the people degenerated into an amorphous system of civic morality devoid of sanction or a divine origin, and his own personal beliefs seem to have lost all focus. If such a contradiction in terms be admissible, it might be said that he became a kind of theistic positivist—since in his later writings he seems in some way to have made his own Comte's theory of the "Three States" and to have adopted even his classification of the sciences.

Comte's leading idea, it will be remembered, was that social and political phenomena are as calculable and as explicable by law as are physical phenomena. Considering, therefore, the novelty of this doctrine as compared with the views that had hitherto prevailed, he was led to divide the progress of the human intelligence into three tages, or *states*. First, the *theological*, in which the mind explains all phenomena by recourse to personal *will*, either in the objects or in some external and supernatural being; secondly, the *metaphysical*, in which phenomena are accounted for by abstract *force* in, but independent of, the objects, so that their properties are discussed in a state of precision from their existence; thirdly, the *positive*, in which the mind is content to ascribe all phenomena—mental, moral and physical—to *law*; but to law ruling not through the principle of causality, but by way of succession, relativity and resemblance. From this unthinkable definition of order he was ready to deduce the speedy abdication of all theological and metaphysical explanations of social phenomena in favor of positive ones, and to make of sociology as accurate a science as chemistry or conic sections. To this end he classified all the sciences in an order corresponding to that of the Three States; each science, from mathematics in the first place to sociology in the last, decreasing in extension and increasing in comprehension. To fill up the vacuum which he recognized would be caused by the elimination in this way of every form of theism or deism, he offered to mankind a new Deity in the shape of Humanity, whose worship was to consist in the practice of altruism. Henceforth the rich were to be self-restrained and moderate, and the poor contented and sober, for the glorious ideal that in generations to come the rich might be still more self-restrained and moderate, and the poor still more contented and sober—that is, if such distinctions as riches and poverty should still exist—to divide the world. That any one (Comte most of all, whose domestic life was so unfortunate and his circumstances so narrow) could believe, outside the four walls of his study, in the efficacy of such a shadowy and impalpable

motive to rule the human heart for good, is plainly incredible. And Comte seems to have had some doubts on the point himself, as is witnessed by the grotesque parody of a priesthood, a hagiology and a sacramental system, with which he crowned his edifice; as if to satisfy by a brave show on the roof for the structural defects of the walls.

It will, of course, be evident that de Lamennais, who always called himself a Christian and was certainly always a theist, could not follow Comte as far as this. But in his "Esquisse d'une Philosophie," published from 1841 to 1850, he appears to have absorbed a good deal of the Comteist philosophy, no doubt with the intention of applying to "Christianity" whatever in it seemed likely to help him in his self-imposed task of religious reconstruction. It should be noted, too, as illustrative of the Nemesis that always overtakes the member who separates himself from the head in order to find his true perfection in independence, that de Lamennais in embracing even so much of the tenets of positivism as he did, was in fact readmitting reason to the empire from which in his "Essay" he had expelled it, and admitting it, moreover, to a more absolute sway than ever. In fact, after his secession, Féli de Lamennais seems to have changed his whole nature, except in just those points which had been the causes of his downfall. He was as ardent, as opinionated, as positive as before, but the grain of his mind had coarsened; one is conscious of a certain unreserve, almost vulgarity, in him, which to some degree lessens one's sympathy with his misfortunes.

The remainder of his life need not detain us long. In 1840 he underwent a year's imprisonment in Ste. Pélagie for opinions expressed in a book entitled "The Country and the Government." After the Revolution of 1848 he entered the Chamber of Deputies for one of the quarters of Paris, but the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, withdrew him from all further political activity. His last work was a translation of the "Divina Commedia."

In January, 1854, he was attacked with pleurisy and succumbed in a few weeks, being then in his seventy-fourth year. He angrily repulsed all attempts to bring a priest to him, and gave directions for his funeral to be conducted without any religious ceremony and with nothing, not even a plain stone, to mark his grave in Père la Chaise.

During the hours that immediately preceded his death he had remained perfectly silent, lying with closed eyes; but just before he died the few friends who stood beside him saw tears stealing down his face. On these tears some of those who had never quite despaired of him—his brother Jean, Maurice de Guérin, de Montalembert—founded a hope of his salvation. To quote the words of a recent

writer, they tried to see in them "some confirmation of the view according to which the soul receives in that crucial hour a final choice based on the collective experience of its mortal life. We would hope that as there is a baptism of blood, or of charity, so there may perhaps be some unconventional absolution for one who so earnestly loved mankind at large, and especially the poor and oppressed; who in his old age and misery was found by their sick beds; who willed to be with them in his death and burial."

A very few words will suffice for a general commentary on Lamennais and his work. It would be quite a mistake to condemn wholesale even the doctrines of his later life; for though he strayed far and wrote wildly, he was still a man of exceptional ability and genius, and when prejudice and indignation were not blinding him, knew how to make use of his gifts. But apart from whatever effect his democratic theories may have had upon modern social problems, it is incontestable that he rendered most valuable services to the Church in France and to sacred studies in general. Though he himself went too far, it was under his leadership that the Roman movement began its victorious march against Gallicanism; and it was under the stimulus of his ceaseless activity that the seminaries of France awoke from their lethargy and began to realize that theology in a fossil state is neither ornamental nor useful. If proof be needed of the genius of Féli de Lamennais and of the real value of much of his work, the names of his intimate friends—Lacordaire, Montalembert, Rohrbacher, de Chateaubriand, de Maistre—who admired, praised and appreciated him, will guarantee it.

What hindered him from doing more, and spoilt so much of what he did, was the incomplete, or rather ill-designed nature of his education. M. Bellamy, in his work, "Catholic Theology in the Nineteenth Century," says of him: "De Lamennais had scarcely any theological formation. Obligated by circumstances to study largely by himself and in a somewhat haphazard fashion, he never properly assimilated theological principles, and on more than one occasion he allowed this deficiency to appear with very bad result. His aversion to scholasticism and his contempt for it tended to accentuate the evil. Hence there is nothing astounding in the words with which he commended his famous theory of the *sensus communis* to his friend, the Abbé Carron: 'If my theses are rejected,' he wrote, 'I see no other means of effectually defending religion.' By this phrase we may judge the apologist and the theologian."

R. H. J. STEUART, S. J.

## THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE MAGI.

**M**OST of those writers who wrote about the Magi before modern research had helped to throw light upon their history held that they were natives of Persia. The Gospels make no mention of their fatherland, and St. Matthew merely says that when Jesus was born at Bethlehem of Juda in the days of King Herod there came wise men from the East saying: "Where is He that is born King of the Jews?"

The "East" may mean either Parthia, Persia, Mesopotamia or Arabia; but both the profane and the sacred writers speak of Arabia as the Eastern land. Tacitus in his history (B. V.) when describing Palestine states that it was bounded on the east by Arabia, Egypt lying to the south, Phœnicia and the sea being to the west, whilst the northern frontier extended towards Syria. "Terra, finesque qua ad Orientem vergunt Arabia terminantur."

The land of Moab, Amalec and Maclian, where the Nabrathœan Arabs dwelt in tents and roamed over the trackless wilds between the Jordan and the Euphrates, whilst their kinsmen dwelt amidst the fertile valleys and plains of Oman, Hadramant and Yemen, is called the "East" in the Books of Genesis and of Judges.

When the Patriarch Abraham gave his possessions to his son Isaac and bestowed gifts upon the children of his concubines he bade them go into the land of Madian and Moab "into the East country." (Genesis xxv.) When the Madianites had become a great people they grievously oppressed the people of Israel so that they made themselves dens and caves in the mountains and strongholds; and when Israel had sown, Madian and Amalec "and the other Eastern nations came up" (Judges vi.).

The southern peninsula of Arabia also is called "the East" in the sacred writings of the Old Testament. The Prophet Jeremias calls the inhabitants of Cedar "the children of the East." "Against Cedar and against the kingdoms of Azor, which Nabuchodonosor destroyed, thus saith the Lord. Arise and go up to Cedar, and waste the children of the East" (lxix.). Arabia was called Cedar in ancient times. Isaias writes: "The burthen in Arabia—within a year according to the years of a hireling, all the glory of Cedar shall be taken away" (xxi.). Ezechiel also writes: "Arabia and all the Princes of Cedar, they were the merchants of thy hand" (xxvii.).<sup>1</sup>

St. Jerome writes that Arabia was the land of the Saracens, and that the word Saracen was derived from the Arabic word Sharki, which has the meaning of "Eastern," and the Dead Sea or Salt Sea,

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<sup>1</sup> Cedar, the second son of Ismael, gave his name to Arabia.

which lies between Palestine and Arabia Petroea, is called in Holy Writ the "Eastern Sea."

The inspired writers of the Old Testament, who foretold the coming of the Magi to Judea to worship the new-born King of the Jews, and to lay their treasures at His feet, make known in unmistakable words the country whence they came.

"In his days justice shall spring up and abundance of peace; and he shall rule from sea to sea; before him the Ethiopians shall fall down, and his foes shall lick the ground. The Kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer gifts; the Kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts." (Ps. lxxi.) The Prophet Isaias, whilst declaring how the light of true faith should shine out in the Church of Christ, and be spread throughout the world, beheld in vision the Kings of the earth bowed down in adoration before the Child-God, and he burst forth into these gladsome praises at the sight of the great glory of Israel: "Then shalt thou see and abound, and thy heart shalt wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee, the multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Madian and Epha, all they from Saba shall come bringing gold, and frankincense, and showing forth praise to the Lord" (lx).

Southern Arabia is called Saba by both Greek and Roman writers, and the St. Jerome translates the Hebrew Septuagint and word Saba by Arabia.<sup>2</sup> "The Greeks and Romans," writes the celebrated German historian Mommsen, "call these Arabians Sabæans after the people most prominent at the time." These wonderful outpourings of the sacred writers are used in the magnificent liturgy of the Catholic Church at the feast of the Epiphany, and their prophetic utterances are applied to the wise men who hastened to Bethlehem at the birth of Jesus Christ."

St. Augustine, St. Jerome and St. Epiphanius, when treating in their writings of the coming of the Magi, say only that they came "from the East"—"from afar;" and some of the ecclesiastical writers of the early Church are wholly silent about their birthplace, but nearly all the first Fathers of the Church held that they were Arabians.

St. Justin, who lived during the first half of the second century (A. D. 114-165), writes in his "Dialogue with Trypho:—"Now this King Herod at the time when the Magi came to him from Arabia and said that they knew from a star which appeared in the

<sup>2</sup> "In medio ejus (Arabia) fere sunt Atramitæ pagus Sabæorum in monte excelso a quo octo mansionibus distat regio eorum thurifera Saba appellata."—Pliny (H. N.). Saba, son of Chus, settled in Arabia, according to St. Jerome.

heavens that a King had been born. Accordingly the Magi from Arabia came to Bethlehem and worshiped the Child, and offered Him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh. While they were there Mary brought forth the Christ and placed Him in a manger; and there the Magi, who came from Arabia, found Him. So Herod, when the Magi from Arabia did not go back to him, as he had asked them to do, ordered all the children then in Bethlehem to be killed."

Tertullian, who lived during the second half of the second century (A. D. 160-230), writes: "Let those Eastern Magi wait on the newborn Christ, offering to Him in His infancy their gifts of gold and frankincense, and surely an Infant will have received the riches of Damascus without a fight." Moreover, with regard to the gift of gold David also says: "And there shall be given to Him of the gold of Arabia." And again: "The Kings of Arabia and Saba shall offer gifts to Him."

St. Cyprian (A. D. 200-58) writes: "When the Redeemer was born at Bethlehem His presence on earth was heard in Effata, and the fame of this new birth spread unto the woodlands and meadows of the Gentiles. Those glad tidings were celebrated first of all in Judea by the shepherds and the angels, and not long afterwards the knowledge of this thing penetrated beyond the boundary of the Arabians; and the star of the wonderful light of the heavenly Deity made it known by its unwonted brightness to the people of Saba. There were in those regions men given to the watching of the stars, who knew by the art of mathematics the power and the courses of the planets. They had heard before from the prophecies of Balaam that a star should arise from Jacob and a man in Israel."<sup>3</sup>

St. Ephrem (A. D. 306-373) alone of the Fathers and Clement of Alexandria and Juvenus alone of the ecclesiastical writers of the early Church held that the Magi were natives of Persia. St. Ephrem writes: "A star lit up Persia; the rising of Christ allured her, and announced to her that the Victim was come. The heavens sent one of the stars to the Persians, that they might hasten to meet the King and worship Him."

Clement of Alexandria, writing towards the end of the second century, says: "The Persian Magi, who indeed also made known the birth of the Redeemer, coming to Judea preceded by the star," etc.

The Christian poet Juvenus, who lived in the age of Constantine, writes:

Gens est ulterior, surgenti conscia soli,  
Astrorum solers, ortusque notare.  
Hujus primores nomen tenuere Magorum;  
Hinc lecti proceres Solymos per longa viarum

<sup>3</sup> De stella et Magis.

Deveniunt, regemque adeunt, orantque do ceri  
 Quae regio imperio puerum Judæa teneret  
 Progenitum.  
 Tunc jubet Herodes, Persas pertendere gressum  
 Inventumque sibi puerum monstare colendum.

St. John Chrysostom, who lived during the latter half of the fourth century, calls the Magi Persians in many places of his writings: "When the foreign and barbarian Magi arrived in order to behold Him lying in a manger." "He caused barbarians to come from a far-off land to inquire about the King who was born amongst them; and they learned first in the Persian tongue what they were unwilling to learn from the prophets." He, however, seems not to have had a settled opinion about their birthplace, for at the beginning of his "Homily on St. Matthew" he says: "We need much carefulness and many prayers in order that we may be enabled to unravel this difficult passage and find out who the Magi were and whence they came."

St. Augustine (A. D. 354-430) and St. Leo (A. D. 418-460) call the Magi Chaldeans: "For those Chaldean Magi followed the tradition of Balaam, who said: 'A star shall arise in the East.'" "The Chaldeans, as we read, therefore came from the East; they follow the first star." Chaldea, however, was not a country, according to Herodotus, and all philosophers in the East were called Chaldeans, as Clement of Alexandria writes in his "Stromata:" "The chiefs of philosophy were called Chaldeans by the Assyrians, Druids by the Gauls and Magi by the Persians."

The great Jesuit theologian Suarez, having made an exhaustive study of the question in the writings of the Fathers of the Church, concludes from their testimony that it is most likely that the Magi came from Arabia Felix; and he holds that the prophecies of the Old Testament about them conclusively prove that they were Arabians. "Recte intelligitur Magos Arabes fuisse" (xix. 236, art. 8).

Southern Arabia, as St. Cyril Alexandria writes, was sometimes called Persia; and St. Isidore of Seville, in his "Book on the Passion of Christ," asserts that "the Magi came from the Persian people, from Arabia and Saba," because Arabia is so near to Persia that it was called sometimes by that name.

The tradition that the Magi were Persians, however, having once begun, speedily spread throughout the Eastern and Western Churches, so that St. Cyril of Alexandria, in the fifth century, and many ecclesiastical writers in after ages have declared that Persia was their birthplace, although most of the earliest writers of the Church had held that these royal pilgrims were natives of Arabia.

The learned writers who hold the opinion that the wise men who



worshiped the Infant Saviour at His birth were Persians rely mainly on the fact that they are called Magi in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and that whereas Persia was a highly civilized empire, with its Princes, its Magi and its Satraps, at the beginning of the Christian era, Arabia was then a barbarous and barren land.

The Magi in olden times, according to Arabian and Syrian chronicles and the traditions of the Greeks, were the priests and philosophers of the religion which was founded by Zoroaster. They were astrologers learned in the natural sciences and worshiped the sun and the stars. Herodotus in his history writes that they belonged to a people rather than to an office, and they were one of the six tribes into which the Medes had been divided. They yielded great influence in social and religious life like the Druids amongst the Gauls, and Magianism was the chief part of a princely education.

Cicero ("De Divinatione") says that "the Magi were looked upon as wise men and teachers by the Persians, and no one could be a Persian King unless first he had learned their doctrine and teaching." The learned Jew Philo writes that: "True Magianism, the speculative knowledge which enables us to read more deeply into the secrets of nature, seems so excellent and so worthy of all the faculties of man that not only private persons, but even Kings, and the greatest of Kings—I mean the Kings of Persia—devoted themselves to this science; and it is said that none amongst them reach the royal dignity unless first he has become one of the Magians." Pliny also asserts (N. Hist., xxxi.) that "Magianism ruled in the East over the King of Kings."

But there were Magi also in Arabia, as most learned writers allow. The rich and lovely land of Oman, which lies along the eastern shore of Southern Arabia, was known from the earliest ages as the "land of the Magians." The Arabians became more eminent as astrologers and philosophers even than the Medes and Persians, as the Medes and Persians had surpassed all other nations in their knowledge of the star-lit heavens and of the deep secrets of nature. Pliny speaks of the Arabian Magi and St. Justin calls them "the wise men of Arabia."

The Nabathean Tribe in the Kingdom of Oman, who were of Chaldean or Persian origin, worshiped the sun and the stars, and the Sabæans of Central and Southern Arabia had the same religious customs and ceremonial as their Persian neighbors. There was a tradition amongst the Arabian Mussulmans that when Mahomet was born the sacred fire of Zoroaster, which had burned for a thousand years, was suddenly extinguished. Each tribe had a special star, and when the Arab shepherds watched over their flocks at night they curiously scanned the star-lit sky, noting the movements of the

heavenly constellations, which boded good or evil for their lives and fortunes. The rude and hardy Bedawin even now bend down in lowly worship and pour forth their simple prayers as soon as the bright orb of day appears above the horizon, gilding with its beams the brown sand of the desert. The Arabians, however, were not idolators, for they considered the burning fire of earth and the glittering stars and planets of the midnight sky as symbols of the Deity. When the Sun of Righteousness shone upon the world Magianism was held in high esteem in Arabia, but it had fallen from its high estate in Persia, for when Alexander the Great conquered that great kingdom by his arms he introduced Greek colonists and Greek religious customs; and when through the dissensions of his successors the savage Scythians of the North founded on the ruins of the Persian monarchy the great Parthian Empire the Persian Magi became serfs instead of princes.

Arabia was a prosperous and highly civilized country at the time of the birth of Jesus Christ, whereas Persia, under the Scythian sway, had become sadly wanting in both the material and moral elements of civilization. The developments of this remarkable Arabian people, as the learned historian Mommsen writes, reached a high state of perfection before the Romans ruled over Egypt. Its native seat of government, the Arabia Felix of the ancients, the region of Mocha and Aden, is surrounded by a narrow plain along the hot and desolate coast line, but the healthy and temperate interior of Yemen and Hadramant even now produces on the mountain slopes and valleys a luxuriant vegetation, and the numerous mountain streams cause everywhere a garden-like cultivation. We have to-day a clear witness to the rich civilization of this land in ancient times in the remains of the city walls, towers, aqueducts and temples, with inscriptions which fully confirm the account given by olden writers of the magnificence and luxury of that country. This region also was one of the chief centres of wholesale traffic both by sea and land, not only on account of its produce—frankincense, precious gems, gum, cassia, aloes, senna and myrrh—but because this Semitic race was formed by its peculiar character for commercial pursuits, for Strabo asserts that the Arabians were all merchants and traders, and the whole amount of purchase money paid yearly for Oriental wares to the Arabians and Indians is valued by Pliny at 100,000,000 and for Arabia alone at more than 50,000,000 sesterces. Thus writes the learned historian of "The Provinces of the Roman Empire" (V. II.).

We can know best whence the Magi came by the gifts which they offered to the Infant Saviour. St. Matthew writes: "When Jesus therefore was born in Bethlehem of Juda, in the days of King Herod,

behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem, saying: Where is he that is born King of the Jews? And behold the star, which they had seen in the east, went before them until it came and stood over where the child was. And entering into the house they found the child with Mary his mother, and falling down they adored him; and opening their treasures they offered him gifts, gold, frankincense and myrrh."

Arabia was the land of gold (III. Kings x., 15), frankincense and myrrh at the time when the star of Jacob shone upon the earth. Its rich plains and low-lying valleys abounded with odoriferous shrubs and aromatic trees, and its mines teemed with gold. Its ships and caravans brought the gold and spices of the East to the various markets of the world, and so it prospered exceedingly until Mahometanism arose and threw the blight of its evil influence over Araby the Blest. The goldsmiths and silversmiths of Oman were renowned throughout the Eastern nations, and its alluvial plains were covered to the foot of its lofty mountains with spice-bearing shrubs and trees.

O'er Dhofar's plains the richest incense breathes.—Camoens.

Hadramant, in Southern Arabia, the Sabæa of the Roman poets and the Saba of Holy Writ, was rich in gold, in cinnamon and in spices of every sort, and its wealthy merchants sailed on every sea and their merchandise were seen in every bazar of Palestine, Egypt and Persia.

Centumque Sabæo  
Thure calent aræ.—Virgil.

The Kingdom of Yemen, which was called Arabia Felix by the ancients, was the chief seat of the spice industry. Its wide valleys were fragrant with every kind of sweet-scented shrubs, and its harbors were filled with ships bearing their rich freight to many foreign lands. The harbors of Sheher and Dowani, whence Arabian incense was sent yearly to smoke on Jewish altars and in Persian palaces, are now silted up with sand, and the crumbling stones of ruined cities now strew the plain; but Arabian sailors when sailing in their clumsy barques on the waters of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, still sing of the frankincense of their native land as the French peasant sings of his vines and the Italian husbandman sings of his green olive groves. The Sabæans were the most renowned for their frankincense, as Pliny writes (N. Hist. vi., 32):

Solis est thurea virga Sabæis.—Virgil.

Pliny relates how "when Alexander the Great was a youth he burned incense unsparingly on the altars, and that his teacher,

Leonides, chided him for his prodigality, saying that he might thus worship as soon as he had conquered the frankincense-producing people; but when he had subdued Arabia he (Alexander) sent to him a vessel laden with frankincense, exhorting him meanwhile to worship the gods with generosity" (xxii.). Pliny, who in his "Natural History" gives a full description of the products of the then known world, asserts that frankincense was found nowhere save in Arabia, and not everywhere even there. (Lib. xii.)

Whilst Arabia was growing rich by its widespread commerce of gold and spices, Persia, crushed beneath the sway of its warlike Parthian rulers, had become merely a great military empire, ever warring against the might of Rome. The Prophet Ezechiel, when describing the glories of Tyre, declares that its wealthy citizens got fine linen from Egypt, silver, tin and lead from Carthage, slaves and vessels of brass from Greece, silk and precious stones from Syria, lambs, rams, kids, spices, precious gems and gold from Arabia, and Persians, Lydians and Lybians were the soldiers of her army (xxvii.).

Some writers who favor the opinion that the Magi were natives of Persia draw attention to the fact that the wise men who came to lay their gifts at the feet of the Infant Saviour are represented on the mural frescoes and sarcophagi in the Catacombs at Rome as wearing the pointed head dress, tunic, cloak and sandals of the Persians; but the Southern Arabians were Persians in dress and customs, and they wore the Persian high-pointed cap, as Pliny states in his history: "Arabes mitrati degunt, aut intonso crine."

There has been a widespread tradition always in the Catholic Church that the Magi, who followed the star from the East to the birthplace of the Messiah, were Kings or Princes. St. Ephrem calls them "Princes" and Tertullian calls them "almost Kings." He states that nearly the whole Eastern world looked upon them as Kings: "Nam et Magos Reyesfere habet Oriens;" and St. Isidore of Seville writes that they were held as Kings by the East: "Nam et Magos reges habuit Oriens." St. Augustine in one of his sermons also asserts that they were Kings.

There were at all times independent Princes or Kings in Arabia from the beginning of the Arabian people until the Christian era. Ismael was the father and founder of the Arabian race, as St. Jerome writes: "Cedar, the second son of Ismael, gave his name to Arabia. Cedar is the country of the Saracens, who in Scripture are called Ismaelites." When the fierce Arab warriors in after years, filled with Moslem ferocity, overran the fertile plains of Palestine and Syria, and by wiles and force of arms captured their strongly built fortresses and high-walled cities, Constantine, son of the Emperor Heraclius, who was commander-in-chief of the Greco-Roman

army, entered into a treaty of peace with Amru, the leader of the Mahommedan host, which lay encamped beneath the walls of Cæsarea. He then upbraided the Arabian general for waging war upon the Greco-Roman Empire, reminding him that the Romans and Greeks and Arabians were brethren, as they were descendants alike of the Patriarch Noah; and, although the Arabians were children of Ismael, the son of a slave and concubine, it was sinful, nevertheless, for brethren to fight against each other. But the proud Arab warrior answered that what Constantine had said was true, and that the Arabians gloried in having Ismael for their forefather. God promised to Abraham that He would bless and increase Ismael, who dwelt from Hevilah to Sur, which looketh towards Egypt, and that he should beget chieftains and become a great nation (Genesis xvii.). And when Ismael and his mother, the Egyptian bondswoman, having been banished from their home by Abraham, through the jealousy of his wife Sara, had wandered, weary and footsore, through the wilderness beyond the Jordan, an angel sent from heaven renewed the promise to her as she laid her child beneath a tree, waiting afar off to see him die of want before her eyes, saying that he should become a great nation, and that his sons should become "the twelve princes of their tribes" (Genesis xxv.). King Solomon got gold from the Kings and Governors of Arabia. "And the weight of gold that was brought to Solomon was six hundred and sixty talents of gold, besides what the men, who were over the tribute brought to him, and the merchants, and they that sold by retail, and all the Kings of Arabia, and the governors of the country" (III. Kings x., 15). The Greek historian Strabo, who lived at the beginning of the Christian era, states in his geography that in his time there were many independent chieftains in the Arabian Peninsula. But there were then neither Princes nor independent Kinglets in the great Parthian Empire of Erân (Persia).

Balaam, the son of Beor, who dwelt by the river of the land of Ammon, having come to Arabia Petræa at the invitation of Balac, King of Moab (Numbers xxiii.), foretold the coming of the great Ruler and Redeemer of the world, saying: "A star shall arise out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel" (Numbers xxiv.). The knowledge of this prediction, as St. Jerome writes, found its way into the country of Arabia, and it made known to the inhabitants of Saba the coming of a wonderful star from heaven. Men looked forward throughout the ages to the fulfilment of this prophecy. The knowledge of it spread even to Rome, for Suetonius (A. D. 75-160) writes: "An ancient and abiding belief had pervaded the whole Eastern world that it was decreed that then there should come from Judea those who would gain the mastery." And the Roman his-

torian Tacitus (A. D. 51-117) writes: "Many were persuaded that it was written in the ancient documents of the priests that the East should then bear sway, and that from Judea should come forth those who would rule the world." Nowhere was the prophecy of Balaam so well known as in Arabia, where it had been uttered.

The Arabian Princes were wont then, as it is still the custom, to ascend after sunset to the flat-roofed housetops of their palaces, and seating themselves clad in saffron-colored garments with golden-hilted swords by their side, to listen to the ancient tales and traditions of their nation beneath the dark blue sky glittering with numberless bright stars. When, as St. Jerome writes, the fulness of time had come, a star suddenly appeared in the heavens and the wise men, having searched into the meaning of their time-worn manuscripts, and being strengthened by the ancient traditions, hastened forward to Judea to greet the new-born King of the Jews. This star, writes St. Augustine, was a magnificent voice that spoke from heaven; and as the voice of the Apostles announced to us the Gospel, so the star made known to them the birth of the Redeemer.

Whilst the heaven-sent Babe of Bethlehem, as He lay in the arms of His Mother, was beginning His life of expiatory suffering for the redemption of mankind, the Magi sped onwards through the bleak sandy deserts of Arabia and the rock-strewn valleys of Moab to lay their mystic treasures at His sacred feet. They left their pleasant homes, their affairs of state and their native land, led by the silent star, as representatives of the heathen world moving onwards by an invisible power to the manger throne of the promised Redeemer. They bestowed with loving worship their worldly wealth on the new-born Child, and they received in return the heavenly riches of faith, hope and charity; and going back by another way to their own country, they became the Apostles of their nation. An ancient tradition states that the Apostle St. Thomas baptized them when he was on his way to India.

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## Scientific Chronicle

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### A RETROSPECT OF 1905.

Although the Chronicle is a continual retrospect, and as such should include everything of scientific import during each quarter, the limitations of space impose upon us the duty of a judicious selection, which selection necessarily leaves out much of interest and worth. This will warrant us in attempting a brief resumé of the achievements of the past year in pure and applied science.

During the last twelve months a number of great engineering works have been completed, or have made rapid progress. Not to speak again of the reclamation work in the West, the year saw completion of two great reservoirs, the Wachusett reservoir for Boston's water supply, and the new Croton reservoir for that of New York. The former is notable for its dam, which is 129 feet high, measured from the ground, and 158 measured from its lowest foundation. The corresponding data for the latter give 157 feet and 297 feet. The Boston dam impounds 63,000,000,000 gallons of water, that of New York 32,000,000,000. A portion of the Jerome Park reservoir for New York city is ready for water, and the first steps have been taken for providing this city with an additional water supply of from 500,000,000,000 to 600,000,000,000 gallons. While speaking of dams we must mention the great sea wall of Galveston, a huge wall of concrete four and one-half miles in length and seventeen feet in height, tapering from a width of sixteen feet at the base to one of five feet at the crest. It rests on piles which have been sunk to a depth of forty feet and is protected in front by an apron of granite rip-rap thirty-five feet wide and three feet deep. Very different in its purpose and method of construction was the dam built by the commissioners of Victoria Park, on the Canadian side of Niagara, in order to raise the level of the water at the water-works' intake. This dam was erected as a concrete column, fifty feet high and seven feet four inches square, on top of a trestle twenty feet high. The column was tipped over, breaking into six parts as it fell through the agency of five wedges which had been inserted at intervals of about eight feet, the six parts being kept together by a huge chain which passed through the centre.

The two methods of river crossing—bridging and tunneling—have kept close together during the year. We have already spoken in the Chronicle of the completion of the Victoria Falls Bridge

over the Zambesi river. Gratifying progress has also been made on the great cantilever bridge across the St. Lawrence at Quebec, with a main span of 1,800 feet, the longest in the world. A second tunnel has been finished under the Hudson at New York, and the work of joining this and its twin with the new railroad terminus uptown is proceeding with unexpected rapidity. A very notable feature in engineering construction during the year has been the great increase in the use of reinforced concrete. The indications are that this material will work as great a revolution in building as that wrought by Bessemer steel not so many years ago.

A very astounding result of the Russo-Japanese War has been the fact that the Japanese navy has been increased nearly fifty per cent. in tonnage, mainly through the addition of Russian vessels captured or refloated by them. Japan now ranks fifth among the navies of the world, or next to the United States. In the merchant marine the tendency is now to build larger and roomier vessels of moderate speed, but capable of carrying a great cargo and with accommodations for several thousand passengers. The new Hamburg-American liner *Amerika* is a type of these, having a speed of seventeen knots and a passenger capacity of nearly 5,000, including the crew. The turbine liner has enhanced its prestige during the year. Three of these steamers are now in transatlantic service and one has made a successful thirty and one-half day trip from Glasgow to Australia. The turbine steamer *King Edward* in the English Channel service during eighty days of sailing consumed 1,429 tons of coal in steaming 12,116 knots, whereas a similar vessel with reciprocating engines consumed 1,909 tons in steaming 12,106, the average speed for both being  $18\frac{1}{2}$  knots. An entire novelty has been the appearance of a sixty-foot vessel driven by a producer-gas engine at a speed of thirteen miles an hour. This boat, the first of its kind, ran ten hours at the above speed and consumed only 467 pounds of anthracite, costing \$1.08.

In astronomy we have had the notable discovery of the sixth and seventh satellites of Jupiter by Professor Perrine, of Lick Observatory, as well as the discovery of a tenth satellite to Saturn by Professor W. H. Pickering, the discoverer of the ninth. This latest companion to the nine is extremely minute and is beyond the power of the telescope, having been discovered by photography. Photography, by the way, seems to have proved conclusively the existence of the canals on Mars. The same agent has been of much service during the total eclipse of the sun of August last, which was viewed with varying success in different parts of the globe by many astronomers. One thing of interest connected with these observations has been attention devoted in many cases to the



so-called "shadow bands" well described by a writer in the *Observatory* as "long dark bands, or sometimes lines of patches, separated by white spaces, which are seen on the ground or sides of buildings just before and just after the total phase of an eclipse, moving rapidly." Two theories are offered to account for these bands, the first being that they are diffraction phenomena, the second that they are due to the interference of two pencils of sunlight which have passed through adjacent layers of air of different densities. The latter seems the better explanation, for if the bands were due to refraction, it is hard to see why they do not move over the earth's surface at the same relative speed as the moon and the earth, *i. e.*, about a mile a second. The fact is that they move only a few yards or feet a second. These bands are of interest to meteorologists, who hope to learn something from them of the movements of the upper currents of the atmosphere.

We must mention here the discovery of a new star in the constellation of aquila by Mrs. Fleming, an observer of the Howard Observatory, on a star plate taken there. This is the second "nova" of this constellation, the first having been discovered in 1899. Schaen, of Geneva, in Switzerland, discovered a new bright comet on the night of November 17. During the year it has been forcibly brought home to astronomers that variable stars are exceedingly numerous. The number known has been doubled within a year, and the indications are that these will be added to enormously when new plates are examined with this object.

Those of our readers who are interested in geology will hear with interest of the discovery of an undoubted glacial deposit in China, immediately underlying cambrian strata. There seems to be a growing impression among geologists that the severe change of climate that brought about the glacial epoch was frequently repeated in the course of the geological ages.

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## RECENT PROGRESS OF THE RECLAMATION SERVICE.

It was inevitable that, when the area of well-watered land in our Western States, which was available for settlement, should have dwindled away under the increasing tide of immigrants, that attention should be turned to the arid lands that abound in these regions, and that the possibility of rendering them available by irrigation should be discussed. The result of the discussion was the establishment of the United States Reclamation Service, which at present has eight projects under construction, the area of irrigable land

involved amounting to eight million acres, at a cost of over \$17,000,000, in Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, Nebraska, Wyoming, Nevada, New Mexico and South Dakota, while there are plans for the reclaiming of a million acres more in California, Oregon, Montana and North Dakota.

On the 17th of last June an immense irrigating canal was formally opened in the State of Nevada, and thirty thousand acres of desert land were thereby made amenable to cultivation. This marked the first stage in the completion of what is known as the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project, whereby 375,000 acres of productive land will be added to the acreage of the State of Nevada, which has an arid area of 36.15 per cent. and an agricultural area of only 12 per cent. A brief description of the plan of this work and of its completed portion will give a good idea, it is hoped, of the progress and methods of the Reclamation Service. Something will be added about a similar work in Arizona.

The arid area in Nevada under consideration was once the bed of an ancient lake, called Lake Lahontan, which covered 8,422 square miles in Western Nevada and was 500 feet deep. During the existence of this lake the soil of the valleys was deposited. As the climate grew dry the lake shrunk, leaving as remnants in the southern and western portions of its basin six lakes which still exist, of which two, Pyramid Lake and Lake Winnemucca, were fed by the Truckee river, a stream rising in Lake Lahoe, situated at the foot of the Sierras on the California-Nevada boundary, outside the old boundary of Lake Lahontan, while two more, North and South Carson Lakes, were fed by the Carson river, which arises in the high Sierras and is fed by melted snow and numerous small lakes. The enormous amount of water poured into these lakes was wasted. A few dozen miles away were over 200,000 acres of desert land, only waiting for water to transform them into gardens. So an immense dam was planned which should divert the waters of the Truckee river so as to permit of their union with the waters of the Carson river by means of a canal thirty-one miles long. This canal is known as the Main Truckee Canal, and discharges its water into the Carson river at a point nine miles west of Leetville, in Churchill county, Nevada, where a reservoir has been constructed and from which it flows in the channel of the river to a diversion dam at the head of a distributary system of smaller canals and ditches, some of which are for drainage and of which 250 of the projected 1,200 miles have been completed.

To guard against excessive diminution of the water supply dams have been built to raise the level of Lakes Tahoe and Donner, and five reservoirs for storage will be provided on the upper Truckee,

three on the upper Carson and one on the lower Carson. An interesting feature is the use of concrete in the construction of these reservoirs and for lining portions of the canals, but especially for lining throughout the three tunnels along the Truckee. Provision has been made for accidents to the canal by the construction of two wasteways, by which the waters of the canal can be quickly emptied into the Truckee river, and in case of overflow two spillways will throw the excess of water back into the river again.

It is popularly supposed that the providing of water for spreading over an arid region is all that is necessary to insure its reclamation. But this provision would be of small advantage if a complementary drainage system were not provided, not only to prevent what is called the water-logging of the soil, but also to keep the alkali, so large in amount in arid regions, from ruining its productiveness by becoming concentrated. Such a drainage system has been provided, although it has increased the cost from \$5 to \$10 an acre. It will take eight years to complete the entire work, which will cost, according to estimate, \$9,000,000, a good percentage of the \$17,000,000 spoken of above.

In Arizona the engineers of the Reclamation Service are constructing what will be, when completed, the highest dam in the world—250 feet high. The waters to be retained by this dam will irrigate 250,000 acres of land about Phoenix. The project, known as the Salt River Reclamation Project, is to cost \$3,000,000. The engineering problems involved can be imagined from the fact that before the dam could be commenced eighty miles of road had to be constructed. An instance of economy in engineering is furnished in connection with the building of the dam. Cement delivered at the dam site would have cost \$4.81 a barrel. The government can make it for \$1.60 a barrel. The plant for making this cement cost \$120,000, which will make the total cost of each of the 200,000 barrels needed \$2.20, making a total saving of \$522,000.

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### THE ANTI-TRADE WINDS.

The existence of the steadily blowing winds from the northeast and northwest in the Northern Hemisphere, and from the southeast and southwest in the Southern, is a familiar fact in meteorology. The northeast and southeast winds, being usually below the other two, are more popularly known as the "trade winds," although the others ought to be included in this designation also. Some meteorologists have claimed the existence of an anti-trade wind belt blowing

from the southeast, south and southwest, above the trades. This has been denied by others, who claim that the observed phenomena, which gave the foundation for this theory, were purely local. In the October number of the QUARTERLY we inserted a notice of some experiments which were being carried on over a portion of the tropical Atlantic, under the auspices of Mr. A. Lawrence Rotch, of the well-known Blue Hill Observatory, and Mr. L. Teisserenc de Bort, of the Observatory of Trappes. In the words of these gentlemen, from a communication to *Nature*: "The results confirm the accepted theory of the *trades* and upper *anti-trade* in those parts of the Atlantic explored by the Otaria (between latitudes 11 and 37 degrees north, longitudes 15 and 26 degrees west), and prove that, contrary to the opinion of Professor Hergesell, there exists a return current or anti-trade, with a well-defined southerly component."

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### THE PANAMA CANAL.

The widely prevalent interest in this great waterway, the completion of which means so much for the commerce of the world, will be sufficient justification for a description of the various plans under discussion and for a resumé of the advantages and disadvantages of each.

As the crow flies, the distance between Colon on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus and Panama on the Pacific is about thirty-six miles; but the route which the canal will follow, which is that of the present Panama Railroad, is about twenty miles longer. The original plan of the old Panama Canal Company called for a sea-level canal, with a depth of 29.5 feet, a bottom width of 72 feet and a total length of 47 miles. Leading direct from Colon, it ran to Gatun, six miles to the southeast of Colon, where it entered the valley of the Chagres river, which it was to follow for a distance of twenty-one miles to Obispo, passing thence into the valley of a small tributary of the Chagres, cutting through the continental divide at Colebra and going by way of the valley of the Rio Grande to the Bay of Panama. At the point where the canal cuts it the Culebra divide is 334 feet above sea level. Here is situated the great "Culebra Cut." A difficulty in this plan, as in all others, was the control of the flood waters of the Chagres river, floods sometimes reaching enormous proportions. The method that appealed most to the engineers was that of damming the waters of the upper river and leading the surplus waters off by two independent channels. De Lesseps estimated the cost of this canal at \$127,000,000, and required eight years

for its completion. When it was found impossible to build in this time with the money then available, an expedient of a lock canal for temporary use was adopted, but this, too, failed, and work ceased altogether in May, 1889.

The new Panama Canal Company declared for a lock canal. The French engineers offered two plans. In one there were two levels above the sea, the one on the Atlantic side created by damming the Chagres at Bohio, about sixteen miles from Colon; the other, the summit level, to be supplied by water from a reservoir in the upper Chagres valley, the ascent to these and the descent to the Pacific levels to be made in each case by a flight of two locks. In the other plan there was only one level above the sea, that of the enormous Lake Bohio, formed by the damming of the Chagres at that place, which would be extensive enough to control the floods, or nearly so. This plan is fundamentally that of the first Isthmian Canal Commission, except that, for good reasons, the engineers of this commission would raise the level of Lake Bohio from 32 to 90 feet above sea level. The present commission, however, favors a sea level canal. They would control the waters of the Chagres by a dam at Gamboa near Obispo. Indeed the advantages of this site for a dam over that at Bohio must have greatly influenced their decision. The differences in the height of the tides on either side of the Isthmus would be regulated by a tidal lock at Minaflores, six miles from the Bay of Panama. This sea level canal would cost \$230,500,000 and would take from ten to twelve years to construct. In the opinion of the engineering committee of the commission this time and expense are both justified. The advantages of the sea level project over the lock canal are summed up by the committee as follows: "It would be a waterway with no restriction to navigation, and which could easily be enlarged by widening or deepening, at any time in the future, to accommodate an increased traffic without any inconvenience to the shipping using it, whereas a lock canal is in reality a permanent restriction to the volume of traffic and size of ships that use it. Although it is possible to design and construct locks adapted to the future transformation to a sea level canal, that transformation cannot be made without serious inconvenience to navigation and at a cost so great as to be excessive.

"The additional cost of a sea level canal over that of a canal with locks, with a summit level of 60 feet above mean tide, is \$52,462,000, or \$79,742,000 more than the estimated cost of the lock canal with a summit level 85 feet above mean tide, proposed by the former Isthmian Canal Commission, after allowing \$6,500,000 for the Colon breakwater and direct entrance not previously estimated."

In the popular mind the problem of excavation is the most prominent feature and the most absorbing. But there is another problem, of lesser magnitude perhaps, but whose solution is, or rather was, for it has been well-nigh completed, vital to the success of the digging—the problem of sanitation. During the operations of the French company the loss of life from fever and disease was frightful. Much of this loss, if not all, could be traced to the filth that abounded everywhere. There was no drainage and no pure water supply. Fever-bearing mosquitoes bred in millions. Conditions, in fact, were so awful that there was great difficulty in obtaining sufficient labor. Under the direction of Governor Magoon a transformation is being effected. The whole Isthmus is being literally scrubbed and fumigated. The effect of this is shown by the following figures, taken from an address by Theodore P. Shonts, chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission. In June last there were 62 cases of yellow fever there; in July, 42; in August, 27; in September, 6, and in October, the worst month of the year for yellow fever, 3. In August, 1882, the second year of the French occupancy, with a force of 1,900 men, the death rate was 112 per 1,000. In August, 1905, with a force of 12,000 men, there were only eight deaths, or two-thirds of a man per 1,000. To use a hackneyed phrase, “these figures speak for themselves.”

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### THE NORTHWEST PASSAGE.

A report has just come from Alaska that the historic Northwest Passage, the goal of many explorers for centuries, has been at last discovered and traversed by Captain Roand Amundsen, of Norway, who also succeeded in locating definitely the North Magnetic Pole on King William Island. The report has not been confirmed, but it has all the appearances of truthworthiness.

M. J. AHERN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

## Book Reviews

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THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. In twelve volumes. Edited by William Hunt, D. Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M. A.  
 Vol. II. From the Norman Conquest to the Death of John (1066—1216). By George Burton Adams, Professor of History in Yale University.  
 Vol. X. From the Accession of George III. to the Close of Pitt's First Administration (1760—1801). By William Hunt, M. A., D. Litt., President of the Royal Historical Society.  
 Demy, 8vo., each about 500 pages, with index and maps. Sold separately or in sets. Each volume complete. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

This is one of the most important literary announcements of the year. England has occupied so large a place in the world's history, especially in former times, that she is constantly in the student's eye. No other country has had so many historians, and yet time passes so rapidly and events succeed one another so quickly that a permanent periodical publication would be required to keep pace with them. Since the student has not time to follow such a history, even if it were written, he must look forward with much pleasure to the production of a work like that before us.

It is being completed quickly because it does not depend on the labors of one man only, but is the joint production of a corps of able editors chosen because of their special fitness for the work; it is being written at a specially opportune time, when the accumulation of materials for such a work is most encouraging; and it is called a political history, not because it records political events only, but because it is written from the political point of view, which has always been the most prominent point in English history.

We hope in the future to be able to examine the merits of the work in greater detail, and to quote from it that our readers may understand the temper of the editors on mooted points. For the present we cannot do more than call attention to the necessity for such a history, to the excellent planning of the publishers and to the promise of ultimate success in every particular which the appearance of the first three volumes holds out to us. We consider the work sufficiently important to print the publisher's announcement and description of the volumes entire:

"Seventy-five years have passed since Lingard completed his 'History of England,' which ends with the Revolution of 1688. During that period historical study has made a great advance. Year after year the mass of materials for a new history of England has increased; new lights have been thrown on events and characters, and old errors have been corrected. Many notable works have been

written on various periods of our history; some of them at such length as to appeal almost exclusively to professed historical students. It is believed that the time has come when the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole should be laid before the public in a single work of fairly adequate size. Such a book should be founded on independent thought and research, but should at the same time be written with a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians and with a desire to take advantage of their teaching wherever it appears sound.

"The vast number of authorities, printed and in manuscript, on which a history of England should be based, if it is to represent the existing state of knowledge, renders coöperation almost necessary and certainly advisable.

"This History is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research. It will consist of twelve volumes by twelve different writers, each of them chosen as being specially capable of dealing with the period which he undertakes, and the editors, while leaving to each author as free a hand as possible, hope to ensure a general similarity in method of treatment, so that the twelve volumes may in their contents, as well as in their outward semblance, form one History.

"As its title imports, this History will primarily deal with politics, with the history of England and, after the date of the union with Scotland, Great Britain, as a state or body politic; but as the life of a nation is complex, and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social and economic progress will also find place in these volumes.

"The footnotes will, so far as is possible, be confined to references to authorities, and references will not be appended to statements which appear to be matters of common knowledge and do not seem to call for support. Each volume will have an appendix giving some account of the chief authorities, original and secondary, which the author has used. This account will be compiled with a view of helping students rather than of making long lists of books without any notes as to their contents or value.

"That the History will have faults both of its own and such as will always in some measure attend coöperative work, must be expected, but no pains have been spared to make it, so far as may be, not wholly unworthy of the greatness of its subject.

"Each volume, while forming part of a complete History, will also in itself be a separate and complete book, will be sold separately, and will have its own index and two or more maps.

"Vol I., to 1066. By Thomas Hodgkin, D. C. L., Litt. D., Fellow



of University College, London; Fellow of the British Academy. In January, 1906.

"Vol. II., 1066 to 1216. By George Burton Adams, M. A., Professor of History in Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. In October, 1905.

"Vol. III., 1216 to 1377. By T. F. Tout, M. A., Professor of Mediæval and Modern History in the Victoria University of Manchester; formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford. In November, 1905.

"Vol. IV., 1377 to 1485. By C. Oman, M. A., Fellow of All Souls' College and Deputy Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

"Vol. V., 1485 to 1547. By H. A. L. Fisher, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford.

"Vol. VI., 1547 to 1603. By A. F. Pollard, M. A., Professor of Constitutional History in University College, London.

"Vol. VII., 1603 to 1660. By F. C. Montague, M. A., Professor of History in University College, London; formerly Fellow of Oriiel College, Oxford.

"Vol. VIII., 1660 to 1702. By Richard Lodge, M. A., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh; formerly Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

"Vol. IX., 1702 to 1760. By I. S. Leadam, M. A., formerly Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford.

"Vol X., 1760 to 1801. By the Rev. William Hunt, M. A., D. Litt., Trinity College, Oxford. In September, 1905.

"Vol XI., 1801 to 1837. By the Hon George C. Brodrick, D. C. L., late Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and J. K. Fotheringham, M. A., Magdalen College, Oxford; Lecturer in Classics at King's College, London.

"Vol. XII., 1837 to 1901. By Sidney J. Low, M. A., Balliol College, Oxford; formerly Lecturer on History at King's College, London."

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**THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CONFESSIONAL.** A Guide in the Administration of the Sacrament of Penance. By *Dr. Casper A. Schieler*, Professor of Moral Theology at the Diocesan Seminary of Mayence. Edited by Rev. H. J. Heuser, D. D., Professor of Theology at Overbrook Seminary. Introduction by the Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D., D. C. L., Archbishop of Milwaukee. Pp. 662. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic See, 1905.

Probably the first thought in the mind of a priest who sees the announcement of this book is one of surprise that a work of moral theology should be published in the vernacular. We have all heard discussions on the subject, and we have been informed that such

works have been brought out in the German and Italian languages. We know also that some years ago an English translation of Capellman's "Pastoral Medicine" came from the press in this country, but we remember, too, that its appearance excited a great deal of unfavorable comment, and rather shocked our sense of the proprieties. It has been out of print for several years and was never republished. We have heard that the ecclesiastical authorities objected to it, but we do not know if this is true. Thoughts like these must have been in the mind of the editor of the book before us when he began the preface with the following words:

"An English translation of Dr. Schieler's exhaustive work on 'The Sacrament of Penance,' for the use of theological students and missionary priests had been advised by some of our Bishops and professors of theology. It was felt that, under present conditions, a work in the vernacular on a subject which involved to a very large extent the practical direction of souls was an actual necessity for many to whom the Latin texts dealing with the important questions of the confessional were for one reason or another insufficient.

"There was one serious objection to the publication of a work in English which, since it deals with most delicate subjects, might for this reason cause an unqualified or prejudiced reader to misunderstand or pervert its statements, so as to effect the very opposite of what is intended by the Church in her teaching of moral and pastoral theology. Between the two dangers of a lack of sufficient practical means to inform and direct the confessor and pastoral guide of souls in so difficult and broad a field as is presented by the missions in English-speaking countries, and the fear that a manual from which the priest derives his helpful material of direction may fall into the hands of the ill-advised for whom it is not intended, the latter seems the lesser evil, albeit it may leave its deeper impression upon certain minds that see no difficulty in using the sources of information in which the Latin libraries abound.

"One proof of both the necessity and the superior advantage of having a vernacular expression of this branch of theological literature for the use of students and priests in non-Latin countries is readily found in the fact that authorized scholarships and pastoral industry in Germany have long ago seen fit to supply this need for students in its theological faculties, and for priests on the mission, and that the benefit of such a course has shown itself far to overlap the accidental danger of an unprofessional use of the source of moral theology in the hands of a lay reader or one hostile to the Catholic Church who might pervert its doctrine and arouse the zeal of the prudish.

"The work was, therefore, not undertaken without serious weigh-

ing of the reasons for and against its expediency from the prudential as well as moral point of view. As a competent translator of it, the name of the Rev. Richard F. Clark, S. J., of the English Province, whose editions of Spirago's catechetical volumes had given him the advantage of special experience in kindred work, suggested itself to the publishers. Father Clark actually undertook the translation, and had fairly completed it when death overtook him. The manuscript was placed in my hands with a request to prepare it for publication. After much delay, due to a multiplicity of other professional duties, I found it possible with the coöperation of the Rev. Dr. Charles Bruehl, who kindly consented to undertake the principal work of revision, to complete the volume which is now placed at the disposal of our clergy.

"The confessional is a tribunal. It demands a certain knowledge of the law, exercise of discretion and prudence in the application of the law and the wisdom of kindly counsel to greater perfection. As the lawyer, the Judge, the physician learn their rules of diagnosis and prescription in the first instance from books and then from practice, so the future confessor, for three or four years a student of theology, deems it his first and important duty to study moral theology, and this with the single and almost exclusive purpose of making use of it in the confessional. Moral theology gives him the principles of law and right, the rules to apply them to concrete cases and certain precedents by way of illustration, in order to render him familiar with actual and practical conditions. But the young priest learns much more during the first few months and years of his actual ministry by sitting in the confessional and dealing with the consciences of those who individually seek his direction.

"There is some danger that the practical aspect, with all the distracting circumstances of sin's work in the soul, may in time obscure the clear view of principles and make the confessor what the criminal Judge is apt to become during long years of incumbency, oversevere or overindulgent, as his temper dictates. He may thus lose the fine sense of discrimination, that balanced use of fatherly indulgence and needful correction which the position of the representative of eternal justice and mercy demands.

"To obviate this result, which renders the confessional a mere work of routine and absolution, instead of being, as it should be, a means of correction and reform, the priest, like the Judge, needs to read his books of law and to refurbish his knowledge of theory and practice and his sense of discernment. But the theological texts with which he was familiar under the seminary discipline, where nothing distracted him from the attentive use of them, are not now so readily at hand. Their Latin forms are a speech which, if not more strange and difficult than during his seminary course, seems

more distant and uninviting. The priest, even the young priest, would rather review his moral theology in the familiar language in which he is now to express his judgments to his penitents."

It is not our purpose to argue against the publication of a work of this kind in the vernacular, although we are free to confess that we do not believe it should be done, and we think that the necessity for it is growing less each year. With the increased educational facilities in this country, which enable the majority of applicants for the seminary to get a high school education, and with the long course now followed in most of our seminaries, it is rather humiliating to have to confess that any priest requires English text-books. We do hold that nothing short of necessity warrants the risk involved.

When all this is said, however, we must acknowledge that those who are in favor of English manuals of moral theology cannot find a better argument for their contention than this book. Excellent in the original, it must have gained much in value by passing through the hands of Rev. Richard F. Clark, S. J., and Rev. H. J. Heuser, D. D. Those who knew the translator, and know the editor, need not be told that their names are a guarantee of learning, prudence and accuracy. Instead of giving the table of contents we prefer to call attention to the salient points in the words of the editor:

"Of special importance are the suggestions in the third chapter, touching the integrity of the confession; the number, circumstances, certain and doubtful, of the sins and the reasons which excuse the penitent from making a complete confession; likewise the treatment of invalid confession, their purpose, necessity or danger, as the case may be; satisfaction, its acceptance or commutation.

"The main object of the treatise lies, however, as might be supposed, in the exposition of the confessor's powers and jurisdiction and of the reservation and abuse of faculties. These matters are in the first discussed from the theoretical standpoint. Then follows the application which takes up the second principal part of the work. Here we have the confessor in the act of administering the sacrament. He is told how he is to diagnose the sinner's condition by the proposal of questions and by ascertaining his motives—how far and to what end this probing is lawful and wise. Next the qualities of the confessor, his duties and responsibilities, are set forth in so far as they must lead him to benefit his penitent both in and out of the tribunal of penance. The obligation of absolute secrecy or the sigillum is the subject of an extended chapter.

"From the general viewpoint which the confessor must take of his penitent's condition and the safeguards by which he is to protect the penitent both as accused and accuser, our author leads us into various aspects of the judge's duty towards penitents in particular

conditions. Thus the sinner who is in the constant occasion of relapse into his former sin, the sinner who finds himself too weak to resist temptation, the penitent who aims at extraordinary sanctity, the scrupulous, the convert, form separate topics of detailed discussion. The last part of the volume deals with the subject of confessions of children, of young men and young women, of those who are engaged to be married, of persons living in mixed marriage, of men, religious women, of priests and of the sick and dying."

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CHURCH MUSIC. Advent number. Vol. I, December 1, 1905. No. 1. Published quarterly. Annual subscription, \$2.00. The Dolphin Press. Philadelphia: 1305 Arch street.

No one who has followed the course of the *Ecclesiastical Review* and the *Dolphin* will be surprised at the appearance of the first number of the new ecclesiastical musical quarterly from the Dolphin Press, and under the editorial direction of Rev. Dr. Henry. On the contrary, those who know Dr. Heuser expected that he would take up this work promptly, because his fame as a leader in ecclesiastical periodical literature is international. Those who realize the lasting importance of the Holy Father's encyclical on church music understand well the necessity for an organ on the subject, and it is a matter for congratulation that it has fallen into such competent hands as those of Dr. Heuser and Dr. Henry. From them we are sure to get the best promptly, and we need not fear to trust ourselves to their guidance.

The subject is so important, and the prospectus of the new publication is so clear and comprehensive that we place it before our readers without any apology:

"*Church Music* will present the following departments: Gregorian Chant, Sacred Polyphony, Modern Church Styles, Congregational Singing, Correspondence, Discussion, Training of Choir Boys, Decrees and Documents, Current Literature, Reviews, Notes and Queries, Special Repertoires.

"It is a curious fact that, up to the present time, our English-speaking choirmasters, organists and singers engaged in Catholic Church work have had no representative organ of ample dimensions. During the months of misinterpretation and misrepresentation of the Pope's famous 'Instruction on Sacred Music,' the need of such a periodical publication has been keenly felt. The binding force of that much-discussed document—the *Motu proprio*, of November 22, 1903—is coming to be more and more realized, and the signs are that it will soon have reestablished everywhere the pure ecclesiastical music it makes obligatory upon all. Already, indeed, in practically

every diocese throughout the English-speaking world we can point to churches where the reform has been successfully accomplished.

"The *Ecclesiastical Review* has consistently from the beginning—and with redoubled efforts since the publication of the Pope's 'Instruction on Sacred Music'—urged the reform of the abuses mentioned in the Pope's 'Motu proprio.' By article after article, and by published treatise from experienced pens, we have aimed at the practical solution of our choir difficulties and the elimination from our churches of profane and distracting music. And now as a further means to this end we have undertaken, with the enthusiastic coöperation of leading church musicians in every part of the English-speaking world, the publication of *Church Music*, a quarterly for choirmasters, organists and singers, a publication professedly addressed to them, and one in which the clergy are at the same time vitally interested in view of the present movement for reform in church music.

"*Church Music* will be of generous dimensions, each issue containing 112 pages of the same size as the present sheet, with musical supplements to each issue. Briefly, the scope and treatment of the principal departments will be:

"The spirit, uses and execution of Gregorian Chant—so much insisted on in the Papal instruction—will receive adequate treatment at the hands of the most eminent specialists. For instance, beginning with the first issue, *Church Music* will publish serially the authoritative 'Method of Plain Chant,' under the title of 'Gregorian Rhythm, Its Theory and Practice,' upon which Dom Mocquereau is now engaged. The learned prior of the Solesmes Benedictines in this important contribution will sum up the lessons of his long and profound studies in the chant. An excellent feature of this department will be the answering of any difficulties our readers may encounter in their work; and with this end in view, correspondence on questions of any kind relating to the chant is invited.

"To the sacred polyphony of the sixteenth century, founded upon the chant modes, the St. Cæcilia Society have in recent years added many splendid compositions. The Papal instruction makes it incumbent on all choir directors to familiarize themselves thoroughly with this admirable vehicle of religious expression in song. Among other composers and recognized masters of the literature of this art-form we may mention as among our contributors Fr. Ludwig Bonvin, S. J., Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.; Mr. R. R. Terry, choirmaster of the Westminster Cathedral, London, England, and the Rev. Dr. Henry Bewerunge, Maynooth College, Ireland.

"What are the liturgical laws and the proprieties to be observed in compositions of the modern style? Here is opened up a field for detailed examination. Diocesan commissions will have such ques-

tions before them for practical solution. Here *Church Music* will aid by advice in the selection of repertoires suited to the different conditions and necessities of the various dioceses.

"The department 'Training of Choir Boys' will take account of the best methods of training the voice, of sustaining the interest of the choir boys, of securing constant and punctual attendance at rehearsals, of maintaining discipline during practices, etc., etc.; also questions concerning the best location of the choir in the church or in the sanctuary, due regard being had to the peculiarities of certain styles of church architecture. The movement looking to boy choirs is spreading so rapidly as to make it incumbent on all choir directors, and, indeed, on all concerned, to familiarize themselves as soon as possible with the methods of training of choir boys.

"While the literature of the phase of the reform movement which treats of congregational singing in church services is not very extensive, much of interest has already appeared in non-musical periodicals. *Church Music* will lay before its readers practical articles written by those whose experience in meeting successfully the difficulties involved will assure the validity of their methods and suggestions.

"As it is the purpose of *Church Music* to become a permanent record of easy accessibility in all important matters within the domain of church music, it will make a specialty of decrees and documents.

"In the important department of 'Current Literature' *Church Music* will present in each issue an ample summary or digest of the literature of the reform movement appearing in magazines and reviews—whether in English or in foreign languages—not generally accessible to choir directors. An intelligent survey of this field will be as interesting as it will be useful, and we are sure that this department of *Church Music* will be greatly appreciated by its readers.

"Well-considered 'Reviews' will appear regularly, giving presentations of the scope, plan, achievements of the publication discussed, so that a fair estimate of their value may be had.

"Discussions will be welcomed, due regard always being had for the well-established amenities of controversy. *Church Music* will be irenic in character, since it is recognized that while there should always be freedom in matters doubtful, there must be in all things charity.

"In the department of 'Correspondence' will be given a clear view of the work being done throughout the Catholic world in the domain of church music. Readers will find these pages highly stimulating and informing.

"Requests for information on all details of the theory and practice of plain chant, polyphony and modern church music, training of

choir boys, congregational singing, liturgy, repertoires for special occasions, etc., etc., will be welcomed and submitted for answer to trained and competent specialists.

"*Church Music* begins issue as a quarterly. In choosing this term of publication we have been mindful of the fact that the music of the Catholic Church is essentially liturgical in character, and by following the convenient division of the Breviary in its four seasons—winter, spring, summer, autumn—*Church Music* conforms to the liturgical year. As each ecclesiastical season has practically its own special atmosphere, so each number of *Church Music* will have its own special character and individuality."

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OF GOD AND HIS CREATURES. An annotated translation (with some abridgement) of the *Summa Contra Gentiles* of St. Thomas Aquinas. By *Joseph Rickaby, S. J.* Received from B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$7.00 net.

The favor with which this welcome publication of Father Rickaby is being received in the learned world is a fresh confirmation of the wisdom of the old adage that "Truth is mighty, and shall prevail." For four centuries Protestants, with rare exceptions, have followed the example of Luther in reviling the great Angel of the Schools. It has been recently demonstrated by Father Denifle that Luther's acquaintance with the writings of St. Thomas was of the most superficial kind; that in fact he was blaspheming things he knew next to nothing about. In this he has been followed by his admirers, who affect too much contempt for the Angelic Doctor and the scholastics generally, to take the pains to read their "barbarous Latin." Even in Catholic circles, though St. Thomas has remained throughout the ages the prince of Catholic Doctors, yet he is known to the vast majority only at second hand. This is due largely to the fact that, although the saint is at all times forcible and logical, yet his language, which was perfectly intelligible to his immediate hearers and readers, is now clear to those only who have made a special study of scholastic terminology. This does not mean that such a language was "barbarous," unless we apply the same epithet to the still more grotesque terms of modern science. However, Father Rickaby has performed a valuable office to the English-speaking world by rendering this monumental defense of Christianity into the vernacular. And he has accomplished his difficult task so perfectly that his work will last and his name will be associated with the name of his master as long as the English speech shall endure. He wisely decided not to give a slavishly literal rendition of the text, but to endeavor to clothe the author's ideas and



arguments in modern vesture, as the saint would undoubtedly have done were he wrestling with the same problem. "If St. Thomas' works are to serve modern uses," he says, "they must pass from their old Latinity into modern speech; their conclusions must be tested by all the subtlety of present-day science, physical, psychological, historical; maintained, wherever maintainable, but altered where tenable no longer. Thus only can St. Thomas keep his place as a living teacher of mankind." This sensible treatment of a great classical work, destined for all time, would be as acceptable to the saint as it is to the reader.

The work known familiarly as "Summa Contra Gentiles" was written by St. Thomas at the instigation of his great brother Dominican, St. Raymond of Pennafort, who was desirous of putting into the hands of missionaries among the Moors and Jews of Spain and elsewhere a succinct summary of the arguments which sustain the Christian religion. It differs, therefore, from the later and greater "Summa," inasmuch as the arguments are not founded on the authority of Scripture, but on reason. It was composed when the saint was at his prime, a veteran in the art of composition, having read all that had been written pro and con and perfectly acquainted with the errors he meant to confute. No one can compare with the Angelic Doctor, except possibly St. Augustine and Cardinal Newman, in the ability to enter thoroughly into the minds of his opponents, in the candor and fearlessness with which he states their position and arguments, and in the gentleness with which he treats their person whilst mercilessly riddling their errors. What a contrast between this calm, truly philosophic spirit and the brutal violence of the Renaissance and Reformation!

The "Summa Contra Gentiles" is divided into four books. The first treats of the existence and attributes of God; the second, of "God the Origin of Creatures;" the third, of "God as the End of Creatures;" the fourth, of "God as the Author of Supernatural Revelation." The argument advances step by step, like the laying of stone upon stone, until we lay down the book with the feeling that we are standing before a most beautiful edifice founded on the immovable rock.

We must thank Father Rickaby not only for having so ably translated the mediæval Latin into such clear and elegant twentieth century language, making the work entirely modern in tone, but even more for the extremely valuable foot notes which all along illustrate, and at times point out the want of cogency in the arguments, slight defects generally proceeding from a defective knowledge of physical phenomena. It is by all odds the most important English publication of the year and has a great mission in an age of unbelief.

The typographical setting of the work deserves all praise. One picks up the book fearing that its weight will make it unmanageable, but finds, to his surprise, that it is lighter than many a smaller book. The printing is large and clean cut.

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**HUMILITY OF HEART.** From the Italian of Father Cajetan Mary Da Bergamo, Capuchin. By Herbert Cardinal Vaughan. Pp. 211. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. 1905.

The preface, by Bernard Vaughan, S. J., best tells the story:

"The 'Thought and Sentiments of Humility' were written by Cardinal Vaughan during the last months of his life. Being ordered by his medical advisers out of London, the Cardinal went to Derwent, where, as the guest of Lord and Lady Edmund Talbot, he found that perfect freedom and multitude of peace of which he had long felt the need.

"It was while reposing his soul in quiet prayer and feasting his sight on the fine scenery of this ideal spot among the moorlands of Derbyshire that the thought came to him of translating, while yet there was time, Father Cajetan's treatise on humility.

"For more than thirty years Cardinal Vaughan had known and studied that work, and it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that he made it during the last fourteen years of his life his constant companion, his *vade mecum*.

"What lessons it had taught him, what sights it had shown him, what stories it had told him, those only know to whom he revealed his inmost soul. However, even those who knew the Cardinal less intimately could scarcely fail to realize in their dealings with him that they were treating with a man whose growing characteristic was humility of heart. A more truly humble man I have seldom, if ever, come across. It was the humility of a child, it was so sweet and simple, and yet so strong and saint-like—may I not even venture to say, Christ-like?

"It was the sort of humility that could not go wrong, for it was founded on truth. Does not St. Bernard remind us that 'humility is truth?' It is a truth which, inasmuch as it is a home-thrusting truth, none of us can afford to ignore. It is the truth all about oneself in one's triple alliance with God, with one's neighbor, with one's own soul.

"To his own soul Cardinal Vaughan found so much benefit from the cultivation in it of humility, that he resolved at no small cost to himself, in the feeble state in which he then was, to gird himself and to go forth sowing broadcast, into the soil of the hearts of the laity as well as of clergy, this despised little mustard seed of which men speak so much, but know so little.

"It was Padre Gaetano's work on humility that had been the instrument in God's hand of helping the Cardinal. Accordingly in his zeal for souls he proposed to put it into English, so as to bring the work within the reach of all such as care for the health, growth and strength of their own individual souls in solid virtue.

"That the Cardinal has left us a precious legacy in this treatise on humility will, I feel sure, be the verdict of all who study or who only peruse these pages, done into English from the Italian of the devout Minor Capuchin whose death occurred two centuries ago.

"This treatise is a sort of last will and testament of Cardinal Vaughan, bequeathed to those with whom he was most intimately associated in the work for the good of souls. It is a legacy from one who made humility a life-long study, and who had more opportunities than most of us know for making tremendous strides in it, through the humiliations which he welcomed as most precious opportunities offered him by God for the salvation and sanctification of his soul. May he rest in peace."

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PRAYER. By *L'Abbe Henry Bolo*, Vicar General of Beauvais. Translated by Madam Cecilia, religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

We always prefer to let some one more competent than ourselves take the reviewing chair, and therefore on this occasion we yield the pen to the Bishop of the author, who thus wrote to him of the book before us:

"My Dear Vicar General: Although I have rarely had the privilege of hearing your eloquent sermons, I have, nevertheless, had some compensation in reading your book on 'The Sublimity of Prayer,' a work of great doctrinal and literary merit. Those same qualities which have made your fame as an orator are noticeable in your writings. You excel in drawing from the Sacred Scriptures the very substance of their poetical style and of their divine inspirations. I find united in your works Scriptural knowledge and personal inspiration woven with consummate art. You grasp so clearly the meaning and the words of Holy Scripture that by your writings your readers are reminded of those old commentaries in which it is difficult to discern where the interpretation begins or where the sacred text ends. While your book contains the authorized Scriptural doctrines, it is also both modern and original. It is clear that, writing on such a subject as prayer, an author need seek no new theories; the essential has been said, and there is nothing important which can be added to the teachings of the fathers and of the doctors of the Church. While wisely avoid-

ing new doctrines as regard the matter, you have admirably succeeded in presenting them under a new form. To a blameless orthodoxy you have added an agreeable and varied mode of expression, fresh comparisons and the attractions of a sympathetic tone. Believe me, I have no intention to address you with mere congratulations, but I venture to add to them my earnest wish that you will continue your literary labors. Heaven has endowed you with a precious gift, the 'gratia sermonis.' I beg of you not to allow this sublime talent to remain sterile. Continue to utilize it for the glory of God and the good of your brethren.

"Accept, my dear Vicar General, the assurance of my affection and devotedness. ✠ FREDERICK, Bishop of Beauvais."

We shall not add one word to this, except to quote the author's preface, which we think proves the words of the Bishop and compels attention to what follows:

"When a man's last hour approaches the lips are silent, the intelligence wanes and finally the heart ceases to beat and the cold rigidity of death sets in. In the human soul the progress of spiritual death follows a like course; for if so many who have received the grace of baptism had not neglected prayer, their intelligence would not have lost the divine light, nor would their heart have been chilled by indifference and neglect of God."

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ADDRESSES TO CARDINAL NEWMAN, WITH HIS REPLIES, etc. 1879-81. Edited by the Rev. W. P. Neville (cong. orat.). With two illustrations. Longmans, Green & Co., 91 and 93 Fifth avenue, New York; London and Bombay.

Everything from the pen of Cardinal Newman has a charm all its own, which is irresistible. Probably we shall not receive much more, and the wonder is that there has been so much to receive, and all so rich. The letters in the present book have a special charm, because they show us the mind of the great man in his moment of triumph. Like all great men, he was misunderstood, and misinterpreted, and misquoted, and doubted, and questioned, but finally the Holy Father elevated him to the Cardinalate, and the atmosphere was cleared. A small man at such a time would have tried to make himself large, but a truly great man is humbled by dignity and honors. Cardinal Newman was a truly great man, and he shows it in these letters.

"This volume is given to the public as material actually printed from Fr. Neville's MS., the staple of it almost ready for press at the time of his death. It virtually comes from him.

"It has been deemed best to issue, with as little delay as may be,

what stands complete in itself and forms not an unimportant part of the Cardinal's work. Indeed, some few portions are, perhaps, equal to anything he has written, and deal occasionally with subjects of special interest to the religious world at the present day.

"A prefatory narrative introduces the various replies made by His Eminence to addresses received in 1879-81, on occasion of the Cardinalate conferred upon him in the former year by Pope Leo XIII.

"In an appendix will be found the Italian and Latin versions respectively of two out of three letters given after the prefatory narrative; also a letter from Dr. Newman to Bishop Ullathorne, the terms of which gave rise to the impression that the Cardinalate had been declined; and three notes are added in connection with his journey from Rome, a projected second journey thither, the duties of the Cardinalate, etc. Finally a small index has been added."

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ADDRESSES—HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL. By *Frederick R. Coudert*. 8vo., pp. 452. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, London. The Knickerbocker Press.

The addresses contained in this book were delivered by their distinguished author at various times throughout his long public life, and are grouped under the following heads: "Arbitration and International Law," "History and Biography," "Morals and Social Problems," "Social Organization."

We feel that Mr. Coudert needs no introduction to the American public, and least of all to the American Catholic public. Nor is any apology required for presenting his addresses to the public. His personal character, his education, his ability as a Christian Catholic gentleman and lawyer render his public utterances very valuable.

"The addresses and articles here brought together comprise but the recoverable fragments of the record of a life singularly broad and useful. Taken up mainly with the work of a profession which vouchsafes little leisure, the life of a lawyer rarely leaves any surviving residuum other than the latent influence born of every effort to make good the reign of law, order and justice. However broad his sympathies, however alive his realization of the manifold fields in which there is good work to be done, it is rare for the lawyer who does not virtually abandon his profession to leave any other record of his usefulness than the evanescent memory of an advocate's labors—'brief as lightning in the collid night.'

"Mr. Coudert's intellectual activity and the wide reach of his sympathies were such that neither the science of the law nor the

active exercise of its profession, deeply as they engrossed his attention, could suffice to absorb the individual or to monopolize his heart and brain. From his college days to the last hours of his life his spirit moved, 'without haste, without rest,' through the orbit of all human interests, throwing out its illuminating sparks and diffusing its cordial warmth upon every endeavor and aspiration within its ken."

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RITUALE ROMANUM. Pauli V. Pontificis Maximi iussu editum et a Benedicto xiv. auctum et castigatum, cui Novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum appendix; Editio octava post typicam. 16mo. Neo Eboraci: Sumptibus et Typis Friderici Pustet.

It was our pleasure recently to notice what we considered the best medium-sized Missal on the market, which had come from the house of Pustet, and we are now glad to place beside it what we believe is the most convenient Ritual yet published. Those who use the Ritual constantly feel the need of a small book, yet complete, with paper and type that really make it attractive and practical. Hitherto we have been divided between the large Ritual, badly indexed, and the small "excerpta," which was constantly proving insufficient at some critical moment. In the Ritual which has just come from the Pustet Press we have the ideal book; it is complete, convenient and dignified in size, large enough to be used in the most solemn public functions, and small enough to be carried in the pocket or handbag. We appear to be striking the happy medium in liturgical books. For a while the very large were very fashionable; then there was a demand for the very small; now we are getting the golden mean.

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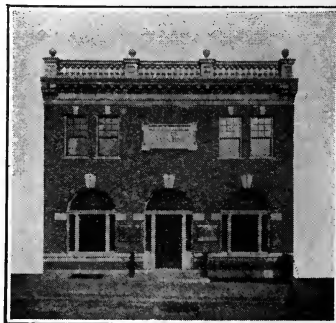
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"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XXXI.—APRIL, 1906—No. 122.

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## ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF OUR HOLY FATHER POPE PIUS X.

TO THE ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS, CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF FRANCE.  
TO OUR WELL-BELOVED SONS,

FRANCOIS MARIE RICHARD, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS; VICTOR LUCIEN LECOT, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX; PIERRE HECTOR COULLIE, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF LYONS; JOSEPH GUILLAUME LABOURE, CARDINAL PRIEST OF HOLY ROMAN CHURCH, ARCHBISHOP OF RENNES, AND TO ALL OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS AND TO ALL THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

PIUS X., POPE.

*Venerable Brethren, Well-Beloved Sons, Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

OUR soul is full of sorrowful solicitude and our heart overflows with grief when our thoughts dwell upon you. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, immediately after the promulgation of that law which, by sundering violently the old ties that linked your nation with the Apostolic See, creates for the Catholic Church in France a situation unworthy of her and ever to be lamented?

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That is, beyond question, an event of the gravest import, and one that must be deplored by all right-minded men, for it is as disastrous to society as it is to religion; but it is an event which can have surprised nobody who has paid any attention to the religious policy followed in France of late years. For you, Venerable Brethren, it will certainly have been nothing new or strange, witnesses as you have been of the many dreadful blows aimed from time to time at religion by the public authority. You have seen the sanctity and the inviolability of Christian marriage outraged by legislative acts in formal contradiction with them; the schools and hospitals laicised; clerics torn from their studies and from ecclesiastical discipline to be subjected to military service; the religious congregations dispersed and despoiled, and their members for the most part reduced to the last stage of destitution. Other legal measures which you all know have followed—the law ordaining public prayers at the beginning of each Parliamentary session and of the assizes has been abolished; the signs of mourning traditionally observed on board the ships on Good Friday suppressed; the religious character effaced from the judicial oath; all actions and emblems serving in any way to recall the idea of religion banished from the courts, the schools, the army, the navy, and, in a word, from all public establishments. These measures and others still which, one after another, really separated the Church from the State, were but so many steps designedly made to arrive at complete and official separation, as the authors of them have publicly and frequently admitted.

On the other hand, the Holy See has spared absolutely no means to avert this great calamity. While it was untiring in warning those who were at the head of affairs in France, and in conjuring them over and over again to weigh well the immensity of the evils that would infallibly result from their separatist policy, it at the same time lavished upon France the most striking proofs of indulgent affection. It had then reason to hope that gratitude would have stayed those politicians on their downward path, and brought them at last to relinquish their designs. But all has been in vain—the attentions, good offices and efforts of our predecessor and ourself. The enemies of religion have succeeded at last in effecting by violence what they have long desired, in defiance of your rights as a Catholic nation and of the wishes of all who think rightly. At a moment of such gravity for the Church, therefore, filled with the sense of our Apostolic responsibility, we have considered it our duty to raise our voice and to open our heart to you, Venerable Brethren, and to your clergy and people—to all of you whom we have ever cherished with special affection, but whom we now, as is only right, love more tenderly than ever.

That the State must be separated from the Church is a thesis absolutely false, a most pernicious error. Based, as it is, on the principle that the State must not recognize any religious cult, it is in the first place guilty of a great injustice to God; for the Creator of man is also the Founder of human societies, and preserves their existence as He preserves our own. We owe Him, therefore, not only a private cult, but a public and social worship to honor Him. Besides, it is an obvious negation of the supernatural order. It limits the action of the State to the pursuit of public prosperity during this life only, which is but the proximate object of political societies; and it occupies itself in no fashion (on the plea that this is foreign to it) with their ultimate object, which is man's eternal happiness after this short life shall have run its course. But as the present order of things is temporary and subordinated to the attainment of man's supreme and absolute welfare, it follows that the civil power must not only place no obstacle in the way of this object, but must aid us in affecting it. It also upsets the order providentially established by God in the world, which demands a harmonious agreement between the two societies, the civil and the religious, although each exercises its authority in its own sphere. It follows necessarily that there are many things belonging to them in common in which both societies must have relations with one another. Remove the agreement between Church and State, and the result will be that from these common matters will spring the seeds of disputes which will become acute on both sides; it will become more difficult to see where the truth lies, and great confusion is certain to arise. Finally, it inflicts great injury on society itself, for it cannot either prosper or last long when due place is not left for religion, which is the supreme rule and the sovereign mistress in all questions touching the rights and the duties of men. Hence the Roman Pontiffs have never ceased, as circumstances required, to refute and condemn the doctrine of the separation of Church and State. Our illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII., especially, has frequently and splendidly expounded Catholic teaching on the relations which should subsist between the two societies. "Between them," he says, "there must necessarily be a suitable union, which may not improperly be compared with that existing between body and soul.—*Quaedam intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio (inter illas) quae quidem conjunctio non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine corpulantur.*" He proceeds: "Human societies cannot, without becoming criminal, act as if God did not exist or refuse to concern themselves with religion, as though it were something foreign to them, or of no purpose to them. . . . As for the Church, which has God Himself for its author, to exclude her

from the active life of the nation, from the laws, the education of the young, the family, is a great and pernicious error.—*Civitates non possunt citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abjicere. . . . Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipse constituit, ab actione vite excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error.*<sup>1</sup>

And if it is true that any Christian State does something which is eminently disastrous and reprehensible in separating itself from the Church, how much more deplorable is it that France, of all nations in the world, should have entered on this policy; France, which has been during the course of centuries the object of such great and special predilection on the part of the Apostolic See, whose fortunes and glories have ever been closely bound up with the practice of Christian virtue and respect for religion. Leo XIII. had truly good reason to say: "France cannot forget that Providence has united its destiny with the Holy See by ties too strong and too old that she should ever wish to break them. And it is this union that has been the source of her real greatness and her purest glories. . . . To disturb this traditional union would be to deprive the nation of part of her moral force and her great influence in the world."<sup>2</sup>

And the ties that consecrated this union should have been doubly inviolable from the fact that they were sanctioned by oath-bound treaties. The Concordat entered upon by the Sovereign Pontiff and the French Government was, like all treaties of the same kind, concluded between States, a bilateral contract binding on both parties to it. The Roman Pontiff on the one side and the head of the French nation on the other solemnly stipulated both for themselves and their successors to maintain inviolate the pact they signed. Hence the same rule applied to the Concordat as to all international treaties, viz., the law of nations, which prescribes that it could not be in any way annulled by one alone of the contracting parties. The Holy See has always observed with scrupulous fidelity the engagements it has made, and it has always required the same fidelity from the State. This is a truth which no impartial judge can deny. Yet to-day the State, by its sole authority, abrogates the solemn pact it signed. Thus it violates its sworn promise. To break with the Church, to free itself from her friendship, it has stopped at nothing, and has not hesitated to outrage the Apostolic See by this violation of the law of nations, and to disturb the social and political order itself—for the reciprocal security of nations in their relations with

<sup>1</sup> Ency. "Immortale Dei," Nov., 1885.

<sup>2</sup> Allocution to the French pilgrims, April 13, 1888.

one another depends mainly on the inviolable fidelity and the sacred respect with which they observe their treaties.

The extent of the injury inflicted on the Apostolic See by the unilateral abrogation of the Concordat is notably aggravated by the manner in which the State has effected this abrogation. It is a principle admitted without controversy, and universally observed by all nations, that the breaking of a treaty should be previously and regularly notified in a clear and explicit manner, to the other contracting party by the one which intends to put an end to the treaty. Yet not only has no notification of this kind been made to the Holy See, but no indication whatever on the subject has been conveyed to it. Thus the French Government has not hesitated to treat the Apostolic See without ordinary respect and without the courtesy that is never omitted even in dealing with the smallest States. Its officials, representatives though they were of a Catholic nation, have heaped contempt on the dignity and power of the Sovereign Pontiff, the Supreme Head of the Church, whereas they should have shown more respect to this power than to any other political power—and a respect all the greater from the fact that the Holy See is concerned with the eternal welfare of souls, and that its mission extends everywhere.

If we now proceed to examine in itself the law that has just been promulgated, we find therein fresh reason for protesting still more energetically. When the State broke the bonds of the Concordat and separated itself from the Church it ought, as a natural consequence, to have left her her independence and allowed her to enjoy peacefully that liberty granted by the common law which it pretended to assign to her. Nothing of the kind has been done. We recognize in the law many exceptional and odiously restrictive provisions, the effect of which is to place the Church under the domination of the civil power. It has been a source of bitter grief to us to see the State thus encroach on matters which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church; and we bewail this all the more for the reason that the State, dead to all sense of equity and justice, has thereby created for the Church of France a situation grievous, crushing and oppressive of her most sacred rights.

For the provisions of the new law are contrary to the constitution on which the Church was founded by Jesus Christ. The Scripture teaches us, and the tradition of the Fathers confirms the teaching, that the Church is the mystical body of Christ, ruled by the *Pastors* and *Doctors* (Ephes. iv., 11 sqq.)—a society of men containing within its own fold chiefs who have full and perfect powers for ruling, teaching and judging (Matt. xxviii., 18-20; xvi., 18, 19; xviii., 17; Tit. ii., 15; II. Cor. x., 6; xiii., 10, etc.) It follows that

the Church is essentially an *unequal* society, that is, a society comprising two categories of persons, the pastors and the flock, those who occupy a rank in the different degrees of the hierarchy and the multitude of the faithful. So distinct are these categories that with the pastoral body only rests the necessary right and authority for promoting the end of that society and directing all its members towards its end; the one duty of the multitude is to allow themselves to be led, and, like a docile flock, to follow the pastors. St. Cyprian, Martyr, expresses this truth admirably when he writes: "Our Lord, whose precepts we must revere and observe, in establishing the episcopal dignity and the nature of the Church, addresses Peter thus in the Gospel: *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, etc.* Hence through all the vicissitudes of time and circumstance the plan of the episcopate and the constitution of the Church have always been found to be so framed that the Church rests on the Bishops, and that all its acts are ruled by them.—*Dominus Noster, cujus praecepta metuere et servare debemus, episcopi honorem et ecclesiae suae rationem disponens, in evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro: Ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus, etc. . . . Inde per temporum et successionum vices Episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur*" (St. Cyprian, Epist. xxvii.-xxviii. ad Lapsos ii. i.). St. Cyprian affirms that all this is based on divine law, *divina lege fundatum*. The Law of Separation, in opposition to these principles, assigns the administration and the supervision of public worship not to the hierarchical body divinely instituted by Our Saviour, but to an association formed of laymen. To this association it assigns a special form and a juridical personality, and considers it alone as having rights and responsibilities in the eyes of the law in all matters appertaining to religious worship. It is this association which is to have the use of the churches and sacred edifices, which is to possess ecclesiastical property, real and personal, which is to have at its disposition (though only for a time) the residences of the Bishops and priests and the seminaries; which is to administer the property, regulate collections and receive the alms and the legacies destined for religious worship. As for the hierarchical body of pastors, the law is completely silent. And if it does prescribe that the associations of worship are to be constituted in harmony with the general rules of organization of the cult whose existence they are designed to assure, it is none the less true that care has been taken to declare that in all disputes which may arise relative to their property, the Council of State is the only competent tribunal. These associations of worship are therefore placed in such a state of dependence on the civil authority that the



ecclesiastical authority will, clearly, have no power over them. It is obvious at a glance that all these provisions seriously violate the rights of the Church and are in opposition with her divine constitution. Moreover, the law on these points is not set forth in clear and precise terms, but is left so vague and so open to arbitrary decisions that its mere interpretation is well calculated to be productive of the greatest trouble.

Besides, nothing more hostile to the liberty of the Church than this law could well be conceived. For, with the existence of the association of worship, the Law of Separation hinders the pastors from exercising the plenitude of their authority and of their office over the faithful, when it attributes to the Council of State supreme jurisdiction over these associations and submits them to a whole series of prescriptions not contained in common law, rendering their formation difficult and their continued existence more difficult still; when, after proclaiming the liberty of public worship, it proceeds to restrict its exercise by numerous exceptions; when it despoils the Church of the internal regulation of the churches in order to invest the State with this function; when it thwarts the preaching of Catholic faith and morals and sets up a severe and exceptional penal code for clerics—when it sanctions all these provisions and many others of the same kind in which wide scope is left to arbitrary ruling, does it not place the Church in a position of humiliating subjection and, under the pretext of protecting public order, deprive peaceable citizens, who still constitute the vast majority in France, of the sacred right of practising their religion? Hence it is not merely by restricting the exercise of worship (to which the Law of Separation falsely reduces the essence of religion) that the State injures the Church, but by putting obstacles to her influence, always a beneficent influence over the people, and by paralyzing her activity in a thousand different ways. Thus, for instance, the State has not been satisfied with depriving the Church of the religious orders, those precious auxiliaries of hers in her sacred mission, in teaching and education, in charitable works, but it must also deprive her of the resources which constitute the human means necessary for her existence and the accomplishment of her mission.

In addition to the wrongs and injuries to which we have so far referred, the Law of Separation also violates and tramples under foot the rights of property of the Church. In defiance of all justice, it despoils the Church of a great portion of a patrimony which belongs to her by titles as numerous as they are sacred; it suppresses and annuls all the pious foundations consecrated, with perfect legality, to divine worship and to suffrages for the dead. The resources furnished by Catholic liberality for the maintenance of

Catholic schools, and the working of various charitable associations connected with religion, have been transferred to lay associations in which it would be idle to seek for a vestige of religion. In this it violates not only the rights of the Church, but the formal and explicit purpose of the donors and testators. It is also a subject of keen grief to us that the law, in contempt of all right, proclaims as property of the State, departments or communes the ecclesiastical edifices dating from before the Concordat. True, the law concedes the gratuitous use of them, for an indefinite period, to the associations of worship, but it surrounds the concession with so many and so serious reserves that in reality it leaves to the public powers the full disposition of them. Moreover, we entertain the gravest fears for the sanctity of those temples, the august refuges of the Divine Majesty and endeared by a thousand memories to the piety of the French people. For they are certainly in danger of profanation if they fall into the hands of laymen.

When the law, by the suppression of the Budget of Public Worship, exonerates the State from the obligation of providing for the expenses of worship, it violates an engagement contracted in a diplomatic convention, and at the same time commits a great injustice. On this point there cannot be the slightest doubt, for the documents of history offer the clearest confirmation of it. When the French Government assumed in the Concordat the obligation of supplying the clergy with a revenue sufficient for their decent subsistence and for the requirements of public worship, the concession was not a merely gratuitous one—it was an obligation assumed by the State to make restitution, at least in part, to the Church whose property had been confiscated during the first Revolution. On the other hand, when the Roman Pontiff in this same Concordat bound himself and his successors, for the sake of peace, not to disturb the possessors of property thus taken from the Church, he did so only on one condition: that the French Government should bind itself in perpetuity to endow the clergy suitably and to provide for the expenses of divine worship.

Finally, there is another point on which we cannot be silent. Besides the injury it inflicts on the interests of the Church, the new law is destined to be most disastrous to your country. For there can be no doubt but that it lamentably destroys union and concord. And yet without such union and concord no nation can live long or prosper. Especially in the present state of Europe, the maintenance of perfect harmony must be the most ardent wish of everybody in France who loves his country and has its salvation at heart. As for us, following the example of our predecessor and inheriting from him a special predilection for your nation, we have not confined

ourself to striving for the preservation of all the rights of the religion of your forefathers, but we have always, with that fraternal peace of which religion is certainly the strongest bond ever before our eyes, endeavored to promote unity among you. We cannot, therefore, without the keenest sorrow observe that the French Government has just done a deed which inflames on religious grounds passions already too dangerously excited, and which, therefore, seems to be calculated to plunge the whole country into disorder.

Hence, mindful of our Apostolic charge and conscious of the imperious duty incumbent upon us of defending and preserving against all assaults the full and absolute integrity of the sacred and inviolable rights of the Church, we do, by virtue of the supreme authority which God has confided to us, and on the grounds above set forth, reprove and condemn the law voted in France for the separation of Church and State as deeply unjust to God, whom it denies, and as laying down the principle that the Republic recognizes no cult. We reprove and condemn it as violating the natural law, the law of nations, and fidelity to treaties; as contrary to the Divine constitution of the Church, to her essential rights and to her liberty; as destroying justice and trampling under foot the rights of property which the Church has acquired by many titles and, in addition, by virtue of the Concordat. We reprove and condemn it as gravely offensive to the dignity of this Apostolic See, to our own person, to the Episcopacy and to the clergy and all the Catholics of France. Therefore, we protest solemnly and with all our strength against the introduction, the voting and the promulgation of this law, declaring that it can never be alleged against the imprescriptible rights of the Church.

We had to address these grave words to you, Venerable Brethren, to the people of France and of the whole Christian world, in order to make known in its true light what has been done. Deep indeed is our distress when we look into the future and see there the evils that this law is about to bring upon a people so tenderly loved by us. And we are still more grievously affected by the thought of the trials, sufferings and tribulations of all kinds that are to be visited on you, Venerable Brethren, and on all your clergy. Yet, in the midst of these crushing cares, we are saved from excessive affliction and discouragement when our mind turns to Divine Providence, so rich in mercies, and to the hope, a thousand times verified, that Jesus Christ will not abandon His Church or ever deprive her of His unfailing support. We are, then, far from feeling any fear for the Church. Her strength and her stability are divine, as the experience of ages triumphantly proves. The world knows of the endless calamities, each more terrible than the last, that have fallen upon her during

this long course of time—but where all purely human institutions must inevitably have succumbed, the Church has drawn from her trials only fresh strength and richer fruitfulness. As to the persecuting laws passed against her, history teaches, even in recent times, and France itself confirms the lesson, that though forged by hatred, they are always at last wisely abrogated, when they are found to be prejudicial to the interests of the State. God grant that those who are at present in power in France may soon follow the example set for them in this matter by their predecessors. God grant that they may, amid the applause of all good people, make haste to restore to religion, the source of civilization and prosperity, the honor which is due to her, together with her liberty.

Meanwhile, and as long as oppressive persecution continues, the children of the Church, *putting on the armor of light*, must act with all their strength in defense of Truth and Justice—it is their duty always, and to-day more than ever. To this holy contest you, Venerable Brethren, who are to be the teachers and guides, will bring all the force of that vigilant and indefatigable zeal of which the French Episcopate has, to its honor, given so many well-known proofs. But above all things we wish, for it is of the greatest importance, that in all the plans you undertake for the defense of the Church, you endeavor to ensure the most perfect union of hearts and wills. It is our firm intention to give you at a fitting time practical instructions which shall serve as a sure rule of conduct for you amid the great difficulties of the present time. And we are certain in advance that you will faithfully adopt them. Meanwhile continue the salutary work you are doing; strive to kindle piety among the people as much as possible; promote and popularize more and more the teaching of Christian doctrine; preserve the souls entrusted to you from errors and seductions they meet on all sides; instruct, warn, encourage, console your flocks, and perform for them all the duties imposed on you by your pastoral office. In this work you will certainly find indefatigable collaborators in your clergy. It is rich in men remarkable for piety, knowledge and devotion to the Holy See, and we know that they are always ready to devote themselves unreservedly under your direction to the cause of the triumph of the Church and the eternal salvation of souls. The clergy will also certainly understand that during the present turmoil they must be animated by the sentiments professed long ago by the Apostles, rejoicing that they are found worthy to suffer opprobrium for the name of Jesus, "*Gaudentes quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati*" (Rom. xiii., 12). They will therefore stoutly stand up for the rights and liberty of the Church, but without offense to anybody. Nay, more, in their earnestness to preserve charity,

as the ministers of Jesus Christ are especially bound to do, they will reply to iniquity with justice, to outrage with mildness, and to ill-treatment with benefits.

And now we turn to you, Catholics of France, asking you to receive our words as a testimony of that most tender affection with which we have never ceased to love your country, and as comfort to you in the midst of the terrible calamities through which you will have to pass. You know the aim of the impious sects which are placing your heads under their yoke, for they themselves have proclaimed with cynical boldness that they are determined to "de-Catholicize" France. They want to root out from your hearts the last vestige of the faith which covered your fathers with glory, which made your country great and prosperous among nations, which sustains you in your trials, which brings tranquillity and peace to your homes, and which opens to you the way to eternal happiness. You feel that you must defend this faith with your whole souls. But be not deluded—all labor and effort will be useless if you endeavor to repulse the assaults made on you without being firmly united. Remove, therefore, any causes of disunion that may exist among you. And do what is necessary to ensure that your unity may be as strong as it should be among men who are fighting for the same cause, especially when this cause is of those for the triumph of which everybody should be willing to sacrifice something of his own opinions. If you wish, within the limits of your strength and according to your imperious duty, to save the religion of your ancestors from the dangers to which it is exposed, it is of the first importance that you show a large degree of courage and generosity. We feel sure that you will show this generosity, and by being charitable towards God's ministers, you will incline God to be more and more charitable towards yourselves.

As for the defense of religion, if you wish to undertake it in a worthy manner, and to carry it on perseveringly and efficaciously, two things are first of all necessary: you must model yourselves so faithfully on the precepts of the Christian law that all your actions and your entire lives may do honor to the faith you profess, and then you must be closely united with those whose special office it is to watch over religion, with your priests, your Bishops, and above all with this Apostolic See, which is the pivot of the Catholic faith and of all that can be done in its name. Thus armed for the fray, go forth fearlessly for the defense of the Church; but take care that your trust is placed entirely in God, for whose cause you are working, and never cease to pray to Him for help.

For us, as long as you have to struggle against danger, we will be heart and soul in the midst of you; your labors, pains, sufferings—

we will share them all with you; and pouring forth to God, who has founded the Church and ever preserves her, our most humble and instant prayers, we will implore Him to bend a look of mercy on France, to save her from the storms that have been let loose upon her, and, by the intercession of Mary Immaculate, to restore soon to her the blessings of calm and peace.

As a pledge of these heavenly gifts and a proof of our special predilection, we impart with all our heart the Apostolic Benediction to you, Venerable Brethren, to your clergy and to the entire French people.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on February 11, in the year 1906, the third of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.

#### PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

IT IS said that the present Sovereign Pontiff on the day of his election to the Chair of Saint Peter gave as his reason for choosing the name of Pius that it had been borne by the Popes who had defended the Church and the Holy See against the Revolution from its beginning, and that as he, too, was in presence of the same enemy, he had adopted a name which recalled their courageous resistance. The Revolution, indeed, still carries on its warfare against the Church, more especially on the Continent of Europe, and though the Radicals and Socialists of the present day have laid aside the sanguinary methods employed by their forerunners, the Jacobins of the end of the eighteenth century, they are animated by a spirit no less hostile to Christianity than that which abolished every manifestation of religion in France and deluged the land with blood. Their fanaticism was, however, but the inevitable result of the infidelity which had been so actively propagated in the early part of the same century by Voltaire and his followers who formed that school of atheistical writers known as "*les Philosophes*" from their pretension to be guided solely by the light of reason, or as "*les Encyclopedistes*," from the voluminous work which they compiled for the purpose of disseminating their doctrines. The preparatory steps in this campaign, which was undertaken for the express purpose of eradicating Christianity, consisted in seeking to subject the Church to the civil power as much as possible; in severing, or at least hindering the relations of the Bishops with Rome, and in depriving them of the assistance afforded them by the religious orders,

above all others of that order which had fought most strenuously against the teaching of Voltaire, which had shown itself the most zealous in sustaining the authority of the Holy See, and whose destruction, it was clearly foreseen, would bring about that of all the rest—the Society of Jesus.

A plan for effecting the abolition of the religious orders slowly and gradually, so as not to excite too much alarm among the public, by secularizing at first only the smaller communities, and by raising the age for the reception of novices, was drawn up about 1745 by the Marquis d'Argenson (1694-1757), Minister for Foreign Affairs under Louis XV., a friend and a protector of Voltaire, and for over forty years the French Government continued to be guided by it in its dealings with the Church.<sup>1</sup> The suppression of the Jesuits was more especially the work of the Marquis de Pompadour and of the Duke de Choiseul, who, of all the ministers of Louis XV., was the one on whose assistance Voltaire most relied, and he is reported to have said while conversing with some foreign envoys that if he had the power he would destroy the Jesuits alone, as then all the other religious organizations would fall of themselves.<sup>2</sup> Frederic II. of Prussia also saw the necessity of suppressing the religious orders before attacking the hierarchy, and in a letter to Voltaire of March 24, 1767, he states that he had remarked that in those places where there were most monastic houses the people were most attached to religion, and that there could be no doubt but that their destruction would render the people lukewarm and indifferent. He then dissuades Voltaire from attacking the Bishops first, as it was not as yet time to do so, but that when the religious feeling of the people should have cooled down the Bishops would be like little children and the sovereigns could then treat them as they thought fit. The same idea reappears in the King's letter of August 13, 1775, where, alluding to the Catholic Church, he reminds his impatient correspondent that the edifice must be undermined secretly and noiselessly so as to make it fall to pieces of itself.<sup>3</sup>

In this warfare against the Jesuits and the other religious orders the "Philosophers" were powerfully aided by the lawyers who composed the various Parliaments of France, which though originally only High Courts of Justice, had gradually usurped the powers of the "*Etats Généraux*" (or States General), which the Kings had ceased to convoke since more than a century. In the earlier times of the French monarchy it had been the custom for these tribunals to register the edicts issued by the sovereign, giving them thereby

<sup>1</sup> L'Abbé Barruel, "*Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*," 1797, Part I., p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Barruel, pp. 113 and 117.

publicity and legal force. They had also the right of expressing their opinions and presenting their remonstrances against measures which they considered unjust. Little by little they laid claim to exercise greater control over the acts of the Crown and to make their will be felt in political questions, and though these tendencies had been repressed under the rule of Cardinal de Richelieu and later under that of Louis XIV., the Parliaments regained their ascendancy under the regency of the Duke of Orléans (1715-1722), and their unceasing conflicts with the government during the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. had no small share in preparing the way for the Revolution.<sup>4</sup>

A large number of the presidents and councillors of these courts were Jansenists, sectarians masquerading as Catholics, and who, though professing great austerity of life and affecting much outward piety, were vehemently opposed to the authority of the Holy See, and were therefore the most bitter and unscrupulous enemies of the Jesuits. Under their influence the Parliament of Paris, followed by most of the provincial Parliaments, exceeding the limits of its jurisdiction, claimed the right to interfere in the discipline of the Church; it dispensed from their vows rebellious members of religious orders;<sup>5</sup> it commanded the parish priests to administer the sacraments to unrepentant Jansenists on their deathbed; it forbade to teach the supremacy of the Pope in the universities and seminaries; in 1730 it suppressed the office and the feast of St. Gregory VII., and in 1737 it refused to allow the publication of the Bull by which Clement XII. announced the canonization of St. Vincent de Paul.<sup>6</sup> Such was the tribunal which expelled the Jesuits from France without the formality of a trial.

The series of aggressions of which the Jesuits had been for many years the object in the Parliament of Paris were brought to a climax by a decree of July 18, 1761, ordering the college of the fathers in Paris to be closed. Its execution was, however, suspended by an edict from the King, as he wished to have the opinion of the Bishops of France before proceeding further, and they, with only four exceptions out of an assembly of fifty-four, made a strong protest in favor of the Society. But the Parliament, profiting by the King's dread of another attempt on his life like that of Damion, induced him to withdraw his edict, and then, by a decree dated April 1, 1762, closed the eighty-four colleges belonging to the Jesuits.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> L'Abbé Proyart, "Louis XV. détroné avant d'être Roi," Londres, 1800, p. 324.

<sup>5</sup> Rev. J. M. Prat, S. J., "Essai historique sur la destruction des Ordres Religieux en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," Paris, 1845, p. 149.

<sup>6</sup> L'Abbé I. Bertrand, "Le Pontificat de Pie VI. et l'Athéisme Revolutionnaire," Paris, 1879, pp. 75, 76, 235.

<sup>7</sup> Prat, *op. cit.*, p. 116. Henrion x., 432.



By another decree of August 6 the Parliament declared that the Society could no longer be allowed to exist. It expelled the fathers from their houses and forbade them to follow the rule of their order to live in community, to teach or to exercise any religious function unless they bound themselves by oath to accept the doctrines of the Gallican Church as expressed in the declaration of the French clergy in 1682.<sup>8</sup> Of the 4,000 Jesuits then in France only five submitted to this decree.<sup>9</sup> The Parliament then published a long report, known as the "*Extraits des Assertions*," etc.,<sup>10</sup> which it had caused to be compiled, mainly with the help of some monks who were ardent Jansenists, a report which professed to expose the erroneous doctrines taught by the Jesuits, and in the 542 pages of which the fathers were able to point out when they published an answer to it in the course of the following year, no less than 758 misrepresentations and falsifications of the original texts.<sup>11</sup> It is only just to say that the Parliaments of Douai and Besançon and the Supreme Council of Alsace, as well as very large minorities in other provincial Parliaments, took up the defense of the Jesuits, but the Parliament of Paris would listen to no argument; it condemned the works written in favor of the Society to be burned by the executioner, and hanged a priest who at Brest had spoken disrespectfully of their proceedings.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Rev. A. M. Cahour, S. J., "Des Jésuites par un Jésuite," II., p. 226.

<sup>9</sup> Schoell, "Cours d'histoire des Etats Européens," vol. 40, p. 51; quoted by Cahour, *ibid.*, p. 227.

<sup>10</sup> The complete title of the work is, "Extraits des Assertions dangereuses et pernicieuses en tout genre, que les soi-disant Jésuites ont dans tous les temps et persévérément, soutenues enseignées et publiées dans leurs livres, avec l'approbation de leurs supérieurs et généraux. Vérifiées et collationnées par les Commissaires du Parlement en exécution de l'arrêt de la Cour du 31 Août 1761 et arrêt du 3 Septembre suivant, sur les livres, thèses, chiers composés dictés et publiés par les soi-disant Jésuites et autres actes authentiques. Déposés au Greffe de la Cour par arrêts des 3 Septembre 1761, 5, 17, 18, 26. Février et 5 Mars 1762. Paris, chez Pierre Guillaume Simon Imprimeur du Parlement, 1762." Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>11</sup> Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

<sup>12</sup> Prat, *op. cit.*, 129.

The following extract explains why the Jesuits allowed so much time to pass before replying to the "*Extraits et Assertions*:"

L'Abbé Dazès: Il est temps de parler, ou Compte rendu au public des œuvres legales de M. Ripert de Monclar, et des événements passés en Provence et à Paris, etc., à l'occasion des Jésuites-à-Arles, 1764, t. II., p. 250. "Avant que de faire paraître le Livre des Assertions on avait en soin de fermer à Paris et à Lyon la Bibliothèque des Jesuites. La précaution était sage: ces Bibliothèques étaient imenses et bien composées. Quinze jours avec des livres auraient suffi pour confondre ce monstrueux recueil de calomnies et pour charger le parlement de Paris de tout l'opprobre, dont il voulait couvrir les Jésuites; on avait prévu cet inconvénient, et le scellé prudemment appliqué aux grandes Bibliothèques de la Société, en avait été le remède. . . . Paris a servi de modèle; à l'imitation de la Capitale, on a fermé en Provence les Bibliothèques des Jésuites: après quoi on les a invités à se défendre légalement sur toutes ces noirceurs que leur impute l'infâme *Extrait des Assertions*."

The Parliament also condemned to be burned the pastoral letter in which Mgr. Christophe de Beaumont, the Archbishop of Paris, supported by the other Bishops of France with but three exceptions,<sup>13</sup> denounced the iniquitous sentence, and at the request of the same body the King, incapable of resisting the evil influence of Madame de Pompadour and of the Duke de Choiseul, banished the courageous prelate to the monastery of La Trappe. It was in vain that Clement XIII. undertook the defense of the Society, and by a brief which he communicated privately to the French Cardinals declared the decrees of the Parliament to be null and void,<sup>14</sup> and that Queen Maria Leczinska and the Dauphin united their prayers and protests to those of the French clergy. They were unable to persuade the King to reject the decree of March 9, 1764, by which the Parliament of Paris, followed by those of Toulouse, Rouen and Pau,<sup>15</sup> ordered the Jesuit Fathers to ratify by an oath the truths of the accusations which had been brought against them in previous decrees or to be deprived of the small pension of 400 francs which had been allowed them, and to be banished from the country. Louis XV. by the royal edict of November, 1764, while declaring that he had no ill-will against the Jesuits, and that he yielded reluctantly merely with the object of restoring peace in his kingdom,<sup>16</sup> confirmed the sentence, though modifying it to the extent of allowing the fathers to remain in France as private persons; but the Parliament when registering the edict added as conditions that they should not come within ten leagues of Paris; that they should reside in the dioceses where they were born and report themselves every six months to the authorities.<sup>17</sup> The expulsion of the order from Spain, which took place shortly after, gave apparently a fresh stimulus to the animosity of the Parliament of Paris, and by another decree of May 9, 1767, which the King was requested to extend to all France, it enacted that all the Jesuits who had not taken the prescribed oath should be expelled within a fortnight, and the feeble monarch, who feared to irritate the turbulent magistrate, yielded again and signed the decree.<sup>18</sup>

In the other Catholic countries of Europe the war against the Society was carried on, as in France, by ministers imbued with the anti-Christian doctrines of the "*Encyclopedistes*" and partisans of the supremacy of the State over the Church, such as Sebastian Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal in Portugal, Count d'Aranda in Spain,

<sup>13</sup> Prat, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> R. P. de Ravnigan, S. J., "Clément XIII. et Clément XIV.," Paris, 1854, I., p. 145.

<sup>15</sup> Cahour, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

<sup>16</sup> Ravnigan, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>17</sup> Henrion, *op. cit.*, xi., p. 187.

<sup>18</sup> Henrion, "Histoire générale de l'Eglise," x., p. 451.

Bernardo Tanucci in Naples, Guillaume du Tillot, Marquis of Felino in Parma, and between the years 1759 and 1768 the property of the Jesuit Fathers in those countries was confiscated, their colleges were closed and they were expelled from their missions in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies and deported to the Papal States under circumstances of the greatest brutality. As it was necessary also to ensure that these unjust and arbitrary proceedings on the part of these governments should be accepted and approved by public opinion, every country in Europe was inundated at the same time with scurrilous and calumnious writings calculated to inflame the minds of the people against the Society.<sup>19</sup> It is needless to enter into any further details on this subject, as it has been so fully treated in the article on Pombal published in the *AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW* of January, 1877, and in that on the suppression of the Jesuits in the number for October, 1888. It will suffice to say that the ministers of the Bourbon sovereigns, not content with the spoilation of the Society and its expulsion from their States, insisted on its abolition. The Spanish Ambassador in Rome, Don Jose Moñino, Count of Florida Blanca, was their most ardent and implacable foe, and as he threatened Clement XIV. with the suppression of all the religious orders in Spain and hinted even at the possibility of a schism in case of noncompliance with the wishes of his master, the Sovereign Pontiff yielded at last after a long resistance lest greater misfortunes should befall the Church.<sup>20</sup>

Owing to the spirit of revolt against the authority of Rome which the insubordination of the Jansenists had created in France, the disturbances and the angry controversies produced by the intervention of the Parliaments in questions of ecclesiastical discipline, and still more to the irreligion and hatred of Christianity which were being gradually diffused among all classes of society by the infidel literature which Voltaire, d'Alembert and their adherents were causing to be distributed gratuitously in every part of Europe, but especially in France, much relaxation and disorder prevailed in some religious houses and afforded to those who aimed at the total destruction of monastic life the opportunity which they sought. Such was not, however, the sentiment which inspired the General Assembly of the French Clergy, but the desire to put an end to these abuses, when in 1765 it resolved to request Pope Clement XIII. to name a commission of prelates who should institute an inquiry into the state of

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<sup>19</sup> The Pere de Ravignan publishes (*op. cit.*, II.) a selection of fifty letters from those which were written by prelates from all parts of Europe to Clement XIII. in 1759 and 1760, in which they denounce these pamphlets as "libelli calumnüs, contumeliüs, maledictisque referti."

<sup>20</sup> Crétineau-Joly, "Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus," v., p. 350. Cahour, *op. cit.*, part II., p. 273.

the monastic orders and take steps to reestablish obedience and the observation of the rule wherever it was necessary.<sup>21</sup> The Assembly informed Louis XV. of this resolution in order that he might instruct his ambassador in Rome to obtain the consent of the Holy Father, but the King, acting under the influence of de Choiseul, took the matter into his own hands by an edict dated 26th May, 1776, and, in spite of the remonstrances of the Assembly, by another edict of July 31 he created a board of five Archbishops, to whom he added five lay members of his council, some of whom were known to be hostile to the authority of the Holy See.<sup>22</sup> The president of this commission, named *La Commission de la Réforme*, was Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, a secret adherent of *les philosophes* and a friend of d'Alembert, who helped to have him elected a member of the French Academy and praised him in his letters to Voltaire. The prelates associated with de Loménie, who alone was acquainted with the secret intentions of de Choiseul and the philosophers,<sup>23</sup> seem to have allowed themselves to be dominated by his stronger will, and not to have offered sufficient resistance to his insidious projects of reformation, of which perhaps they did not foresee the disastrous consequences, while the laymen, whose number could be augmented at the will of the commission, or rather of its president, were quite ready to take part in promoting any measures calculated to be prejudicial to the interests of the Church. As might have been expected under such circumstances, the reforms projected by de Loménie and his colleagues did not tend to appease the religious controversies raging throughout France or to restore discipline in the cloisters, but to excite still more discontent and insubordination among the more relaxed of the regular clergy, to provoke more hostility on the part of the public against the monastic orders, to reduce the number of religious and to suppress many ancient communities.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the age at which monastic vows might be pronounced was to be raised to 21 for men and to 18 for women, and all professions which in future might be made before that age were to be declared null. All monasteries containing less than fifteen monks, or in some special cases eight, were to be closed, and no order was to be allowed to possess more than two houses in Paris or one in any other town without a license from the King.<sup>25</sup>

The Council of State approved and confirmed these measures by two edicts in April, 1767, and in March, 1768, and the commission speedily carried out its operations, inspecting the religious houses,

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<sup>21</sup> Prat, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>23</sup> Barruel, *op. cit.*, I, p. 123.

<sup>24</sup> Prat, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192, p. 194.

revising and renovating their rules and statutes, uniting some orders together and secularizing others. These new codes and regulations were then sometimes submitted to the approbation of the Holy See,<sup>26</sup> but in most cases an edict of the weak-minded Louis XV. or of his equally incapable successor, Louis XVI., sufficed to ratify them and give them force of law, and before many years had elapsed the commission had suppressed several orders, disorganized many others by introducing into them a spirit of insubordination and closed more than 1,500 religious houses without heeding the opposition and the remonstrances of the General Assemblies of the French Clergy.<sup>27</sup>

The "*Commission de la Réforme*," having thus completed its labors, tendered its resignation to Louis XVI., who by an edict of 19th March, 1780, thanked the members of it for having by their "*care and zeal*" provided the greater part of the religious congregations of his kingdom with a code of statutes and regulations which the superiors of these orders were commanded to obey. Another edict, however, of the same date reorganized the commission as a board for the purpose of examining demands for the suppression, the union or the translation of benefices and ecclesiastical property, and under its new form it continued to exercise its powers for the destruction of monastic life in France until even the Parliament of Paris accused it of destroying more than reforming and demanded its suppression.

These attempts to destroy the Church by gradually eliminating her most faithful defenders and by the circulation of anti-Christian literature were attended with greater success in France than in the southern countries of Europe, where, as a rule, the people still remained attached to their faith and the great majority of the clergy resisted all attempts to separate them from Rome. A large number, however, of the middle class were animated by the same spirit of hostility to the supremacy of the Holy See as the Jansenists, and many of the aristocracy had adopted the ideas of Voltaire and of the Encyclopedia and were guided by them in their relations with the Church.

Thus the Venetian Senate, which, indeed, had sometimes in past centuries already shown a tendency to interfere in purely ecclesiastical matters, published several decrees between 1767 and 1773 which were calculated to infringe the liberties and rights of the Church by the same methods as those which had been recommended by Frederick II. and were at that moment being employed in France. It was prohibited to make any donation or bequest to a church or a religious order without the permission of the Senate. The reception of any more novices in the mendicant orders was forbidden, and in

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>27</sup> Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

the others it was not to be allowed until the age of 20, and the final vows were not to be pronounced until the age of 25. The superiors of religious houses were prohibited from inflicting any punishment on their monks without having recourse to lay tribunals, and all the regular clergy were also withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their generals residing in Rome and placed under that of the Bishops of their respective dioceses, especially with regard to the administration of the sacraments.<sup>28</sup> In 1770 nine of the Benedictine abbeys in the State of Venice were also suppressed; the monks were allowed a small pension out of their former possessions and the rest was confiscated. Clement XIII. protested strongly against this aggression on the rights of the Church, for he saw that the real object of the decrees was to annihilate the religious orders under the pretext of reforming them, and he ordered the Bishops not to make use of the powers conferred on them by the secular authorities. The Senate replied with most fervent expressions of its veneration for the Holy See and its filial affection for the Holy Father,<sup>29</sup> but it would not withdraw its edicts, and though the Venetian Bishops at first refused to submit to them, they yielded little by little and undertook the visitation of the monasteries. Clement XIII. died without having been able to subdue the obstinacy of the Senate, and his successor, Clement XIV., offered no further opposition to the execution of the decrees.<sup>30</sup>

The cunning policy suggested by Frederick II. was also put in practice in those Italian States which were ruled by members of the House of Bourbon, or rather by the ministers who governed in their name, and who took advantage of the absolute power claimed by the sovereign to invade the rights and plunder the possessions of the Church. The Duchies of Parma and Piacenza formed one of these principalities, a territory which had belonged to the Papal States since the year 730, when the inhabitants had rebelled against the Iconoclastic Emperor of Constantinople and put themselves under the authority of Pope Gregory II.<sup>31</sup>

In 1545 Pope Paul III. (Alessandro Farnese, 1534-1549), who had been married before entering the Church, gave these Duchies to his son, Pier-Luigi Farnese, to be held by him and his heirs male as a fief of the Holy See for the annual payment of 9,000 golden ducats. The male line of the Farnese came to an end in 1731 on the death of Duke Antonio, and the Duchies should have reunited to the rest of the Papal States, but by the treaty of London in 1728 between

<sup>28</sup> Gaetano Moroni, "Dizionario di erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica," Venezia, 1858, vol. 92, p. 595.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 600.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 603.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 51, p. 222.

the Empire, France, Spain and Holland, Antonio's niece, Elizabeth Farnese, who in 1714 had married Philip V. of Bourbon, King of Spain, as his second wife, obtained the right to transmit them to her eldest son, Don Carlos, a right confirmed in 1722 and 1723 by the treaties of Cambray and of Vienna, in spite of the protests of Innocent XIII. (1721-1724). In the course of the war between France, Spain and Austria, caused by the disputed right of succession to the throne of Poland, Don Carlos, who had taken possession of the Duchies in 1732, became King of Naples under the title of Charles VII., and in 1735 the Duchies were ceded to Austria; but at the conclusion of the seven years' war between the pretendants to the title of Emperor of Germany, Parma and Piacenza were given to Don Philip de Bourbon, the younger brother of Don Carlos, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapella (18th October, 1748), which disregarded and set aside the claims of the Holy See.

The young Duke, who had married the eldest daughter of Louis XV., had for his Prime Minister a French lawyer, Guillaume Léon du Tillot, whom his father-in-law had sent to assist him in his controversy with the Papal Government about the investiture of the Duchy. He was a good administrator, but like de Choiseul and Tanucci, he was a disciple of the Encyclopedists and acted according to their theories in his relations with the Sovereign Pontiff and the religious orders. He, therefore, is responsible for the Duke's refusal in 1764 to pay the usual tribute of 9,000 ducats, and this was followed by an edict by which testators were forbidden to bequeath to the Church more than one-twentieth of their fortune,<sup>32</sup> which should never be more than 300 crowns to be paid in ready money, and the members of monastic orders were obliged to renounce all rights of inheritance with the exception of a small annuity. The Duke died the following year, and during the minority of his son Don Ferdinand, du Tillot published on January 16, 1768 another edict by which it was prohibited to have recourse to foreign tribunals, not even to those of Rome, without the Duke's authorization, which would also be requisite for the collation of benefices and for the validity of any document emanating from the Roman Curia. Clement XIII., who had already often protested against previous measures of due Tillot prejudicial to the rights of the Church, but who had been led to believe that his remonstrances would be listened to, replied on January 30 to this last aggression by a monitorium which declared that this edict and all those which had preceded it were null and void, and that the persons who had had a share in their publication had incurred the censures of the Church. By way of reprisal du Tillot, imitating the action of the courts of France, Spain

<sup>32</sup> A. Coppi, "Annali d'Italia du 1750," Roma, 1828, p. 77.

and Naples, arrested all the Jesuit Fathers in the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza at nightfall on February 7 and sent them, escorted by soldiers, across the frontier of the Papal States; while, as a proof that the other Bourbon sovereigns approved of du Tillot's conduct, Louis XV. seized the town of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin, possessions of the Church situated in France, and the Neapolitan Government not only occupied those in the Kingdom of Naples, such as Benevento and Ponte Corvo, but later on in the year sent troops to Orbitello, a fortress in Tuscany, with the intention of taking Castro and Ronciglione, towns in the Papal States, which had formerly been held by the Farnesi as fiefs, but had been restored to the Holy See since many years.<sup>33</sup>

The right claimed by the Duke of Parma of authorizing the publication of acts issuing from Rome and of thereby establishing their validity was known as the *Regium Placet* or *Exequatur*, and had frequently been the cause of protestations on the part of the Papal Government. It appears to have originated at the time of the great schism of the West, when it was often necessary to ascertain whether a Bull or a Brief proceeded from the lawfully elected Pope or from the Antipope, but it was abolished by Pope Martin V. in 1417, when peace had been restored to the Church, and had ceased to be employed for over a century,<sup>34</sup> until the Spanish Viceroy of Naples under Philip II. attempted to revive the practice. Thus the Count of Ayala in 1567 and the Count of Olivares in 1596 impeded the execution of certain Papal decrees because the *Exequatur* had not been demanded; but the former submitted after having been excommunicated by Mgr. Orsini, Bishop of Strongoli, the Apostolic Visitor, and the latter yielded to the energetic protests of Clement VIII. and desisted from his opposition.

The spirit of resistance to any manifestation of the authority of the Holy See persisted, nevertheless, in the Kingdom of Naples as in other Catholic States. It acquired greater development in the eighteenth century, according as the teaching of the French philosophers became more widely diffused among the nobility and the very numerous class connected in one way or another with the legal profession,<sup>35</sup> and it directed the policy of the ministers who succeeded

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<sup>33</sup> Avignon and the comtat Venaissin, Benevento and Ponte Corvo were restored to the Church by the two Bourbon courts after the suppression of the Jesuits, but Clement XIV. had indignantly refused to make their restitution one of the conditions of his consent.

<sup>34</sup> Padre Flario Rinieri, S. J., "Della rovina di una Monarchia. Relazioni storiche tra Pio vi e la Corte di Napoli negli anni 1776-1799, secondo documenti inediti dell'Archivio Vaticano," Torino, 1901. Introduzione, pp. xvi., xviii.

<sup>35</sup> Calculated at 26,000 in the city of Naples. Tivaroni, "L'Italia prima della Rivoluzione Francese," p. 335.



one another in the government of the country under Charles VII. of Bourbon and his incapable and illiterate son, Ferdinand IV.

Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783), the first of these, was a lawyer from Tuscany, and had been professor of jurisprudence at the University of Pisa. His violent attack on the privilege of sanctuary which was enjoyed by the Church and of which a Spanish soldier had taken advantage, made him known to Don Carlos when he entered Tuscany at the head of his troops in 1732, as the acknowledged heir of Giovanni Gastone, the last Grand Duke of the House of Medici, and on his way to take possession of Parma and Piacenza. Tanucci then became auditor of the treasury to the Prince and one of his councillors, in which capacity he accompanied him in 1734 on the expedition which resulted in the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. There he rose to be Minister of Justice, and in 1755 he was made Minister of Foreign Affairs and of the Royal Household.

When the Emperor Joseph II. visited Naples in 1769 he described Tanucci as being an intelligent and well informed man, but a hypocrite and an arrant pedant, full of little artifices and chicanery, which he looked upon as statesmanship, attaching great importance to trifles, extremely jealous of his authority and managing to keep in his own hands the distribution of all favors and places.<sup>36</sup> Like most lawyers of that time he was a strong upholder of the absolute authority of the sovereign in religious as well as civil matters, but he does not seem to have offered any opposition to the Concordat which was made in 1741 between Benedict XIV. and Charles VII., in which reciprocal concessions were made with regard to the right of sanctuary in churches, the taxation of church property, the constitution and jurisdiction of ecclesiastical and mixed tribunals and the collation of benefices.

This agreement was not, however, strictly observed for very long by the Neapolitan Government, which interpreted in its own favor, extended and sometimes even exceeded the conditions which had been stipulated.<sup>37</sup> Thus by successive edicts it was enacted that the number of priests should be limited to ten per thousand of the population; that the Church should acquire no more real property; that Papal Bulls should have no effect unless accepted by the King,<sup>38</sup> and that episcopal censures incurred by persons engaged in carrying out a law should be regarded as null. As an edict of the King's had forbidden the construction of new churches, convents or hos-

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<sup>36</sup> A. von Arneth, "Maria Teresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz Wien, 1867," vol. I., p. 262. "Un pédant fieffé, rempli de petites finasseries et de chicanes."

<sup>37</sup> Pietro Colletta, "Storia del Reame di Napoli dal 1734 al 1825," Capalago, 1834, vol. I., p. 87.

<sup>38</sup> Which meant that the Exequatur was reestablished.

pitals unless his permission had been obtained, a church which had been built in honor of the patron saint of a city in the Abruzzi was ordered to be demolished because the necessary formality had not been fulfilled.<sup>39</sup>

When Charles VII. succeeded in 1759 to the throne of Spain under the title of Charles III., on the death of his brother, Ferdinand VI., he transferred the crown of Naples to his third son, Ferdinand IV. (1751-1825), then aged eight, and confided him to the care of a Council of Regency, of which Tanucci formed part. In this position Tanucci found himself invested with almost absolute power over the Kingdom of Naples, and thenceforth he lost no opportunity of manifesting still more openly his animosity against the Church. His authority in the Council soon predominated over that of his co-regents, for he maintained a weekly correspondence with the King of Spain, who continued to direct from Madrid the policy and the acts of the Court of Naples.<sup>40</sup> A serious accusation has been made against Tanucci: that he let the young King grow up without giving him an education which would have rendered him capable of performing the duties of a sovereign,<sup>41</sup> and surrounded him with frivolous and incapable men, who allowed him to neglect his studies and give himself up almost exclusively to field sports,<sup>42</sup> so that when he attained his majority at the age of sixteen he knew little more than how to read and write.<sup>43</sup> Ignorant and coarse, but kind-hearted, indulgent and not deficient in common sense, vulgar in appearance and with the manners and language of a Neapolitan *lazzarone*, which caused him to be idolized by the lower orders, King Ferdinand had an intense aversion to business and left state affairs as much as possible to his ministers and to his wife, the Austrian Archduchess Maria Carolina (1752-1814), the daughter of the Empress Maria Teresa, spending his time as much as possible shooting pheasants in the Island of Procida or hunting deer and wild boar in the forests of

<sup>39</sup> Colletta, p. 88.

<sup>40</sup> Danvila y Collado, "Reinado de Carlos III.," Madrid, 1893, vol. I., p. 138, and II., p. 49. Janucci's correspondence with the Neapolitan ambassadors at Madrid and with Charles III. from 1736 to the eve of his death, on April 28, 1783, in 110 in-folio volumes, as well as that of the King with Janucci from 1759 to 1782, in 39 in-quarto volumes, is preserved in the Spanish Archives at Simancas and in the General Central Archives at Alcalá de Henares.

<sup>41</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, xlii. Henrion, "Histoire générale de l'Eglise," t. xi., p. 132.

<sup>42</sup> Pietro Calà Ulloa, Duca di Lauria, "Intorno alla Storia del Reame di Napoli di Pietro Colletta," Napoli, 1877. The Duke defends Janucci and throws all the blame on the Prince of San Nicandro, the King's tutor, who had been chosen, as well as the other members of the regency, by the King's father.

<sup>43</sup> Rinieri, *ibid.*

Persano and Venafro, or catching fish in the lakes of Patria and Fusano, which he afterwards sold on the quay, bargaining and disputing with his customers like one of the populace.<sup>44</sup> His mind had, however, been filled from his earliest years with the most exaggerated ideas of the unlimited authority of a sovereign and the prerogatives of the crown, of which his ministers adroitly took advantage and were thus able to render a King who was not deficient in religious sentiments or in respect for the Holy Father<sup>45</sup> one of their most serviceable tools in their warfare against the Church.

They could also reckon on the coöperation of the Queen, a restless and ambitious woman, with a strong will and a passion for intrigue, which she was enabled to satisfy when, after the birth of her first son, in 1774, she was allowed to take part in the deliberations of the Council of State,<sup>46</sup> and it is not surprising that the sister of Joseph II. of Austria and of Leopold of Tuscany should have been frequently guided by their advice and have sought to imitate their schismatical attempts to establish the supremacy of the Church over the State.

Tanucci, therefore, who ruled despotically over the King's court and even over his private life, especially during his minority and the early years of his reign,<sup>47</sup> found no obstacles in his way when carrying out his plans for enslaving the Neapolitan Church and severing every link which united her prelates with Rome. Thus the tithes paid to the clergy were suppressed; the revenues of vacant bishoprics and benefices were seized by the State; the number of priests allowed to be consecrated, which Charles VII. had reduced to ten per thousand of the population, was still further reduced to five; only sons were forbidden to enter the Church, and no family was allowed to have more than one son in holy orders.<sup>48</sup> Tanucci also declared that the rights of the crown could not be alienated; that the most ancient Papal documents were null and void if they had not been confirmed by the King's acceptance of them; that any concessions made to the Church by a King could be revoked by the same King or by his successors; that the will of a founder could be suppressed or modified

<sup>44</sup> Tivaroni, *op. cit.*, p. 414. Colletta, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>45</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>46</sup> It was one of the stipulations of the marriage contract.

<sup>47</sup> Von Arneth, *op. cit.*, I., p. 262. "Il tient, outre cela la bourse, tant du Roi que de la Reine . . . Il se rend agréable par les faveurs qu'il accorde du Roi dans la collation des charges, pour les quelles le Roi doit réellement le supplier, de même quand il veut faire une dépense pour son plaisir, ou quand il veut, animé par la Reine, prendre la moindre liberté sur son étiquette espagnole, comme par exemple pour souper seulement au jardin il faut une négociation préalable, et une concession par écrit de M. Tanucci, pour que le Roi puisse la faire." Report sent by Joseph II. to Maria Teresa about the Court of Naples, in April, 1769.

<sup>48</sup> Colletta, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

according to the pleasure of the sovereign;<sup>49</sup> that marriage was essentially a civil contract, and that the sacrament was only an accessory. Tanucci also suppressed ten monasteries in the Kingdom of Naples and seventy-eight in the Island of Sicily;<sup>50</sup> the Bishops were forbidden to interfere in educational matters or to publish any document not approved by the King; the boundaries of several dioceses were changed without consulting the Pope, and every appeal to Rome without the King's permission was prohibited. When the King of Spain caused all the Jesuit Fathers in his dominions to be seized and deported to the Papal States, Tanucci willingly followed his example, and as Ferdinand refused to sign an edict for the expulsion of the members of the Society from Naples, he forced him to yield by employing his usual argument—the express commands of Charles III.<sup>51</sup> In virtue of this decree the 630 Jesuits then in the kingdom of the two Sicilies, who had frequently been assured by Tanucci that they would not be expelled, were arrested during the night of November 20, 1767; 212 of these who were coadjutors or novices were obliged to return to their families; 65 who were too aged to undergo the fatigue of a voyage were sent to reside in different monasteries, and the others, to the number of 353, were escorted by soldiers across the frontier of the Papal States or disembarked on its shores near Terracina.

It was while the clergy was being thus hampered and deprived of their jurisdiction and their independence by sovereigns who still claimed the right to call themselves Catholic, and that the destruction of one religious order after another was allowing greater liberty to the band of atheists who were already rejoicing in the approaching downfall of the Church,<sup>52</sup> that the Conclave which assembled on October 5, 1774, after the death of Clement XIV., elected as Pope, on February 15, 1775, Cardinal Giovanni Angelo Braschi, who took the name of Pius VI. The new Pontiff, who was born at Cesena, in the province of Romagna, on December 27, 1717, of a noble family, had received his early education at the Jesuits' college of his native town, whence he proceeded to the University of Ferrara to perfect

<sup>49</sup> Tivaroni, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

<sup>50</sup> Henrion, "Histoire générale de l'Eglise," t. xi., p. 362.

<sup>51</sup> Von Arneth, *op. cit.*, p. 263. "Le Roi de Naples d'un autre côté est continuellement intimidé par Janucci qui lui représente la coterie de son père, et qui fait même écrire au Roi d'Espagne là-dessus tout ce qu'il veut. Le Roi qui est naturellement timide et inappliqué, est charmé d'avoir un prétexte pour faire toutes les choses que la lumière même de sa raison désapprouve, et il se sert du prétexte de son papa dans toutes les occasions où cela lui convient." Joseph II. to Maria Teresa, 1769.

<sup>52</sup> "Cet édifice frappé par ses fondements va s'érouler, et les nations transcriront dans leurs annales que Voltaire fut le promoteur de cette, révolution." Frederick II. to Voltaire, May 5, 1767. Quoted by Bertrand, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

himself in the study of law under the guidance of his uncle, Carlo Bandi, who was the auditor of Cardinal Ruffo, the Papal Legate. Chosen by the Cardinal to be his secretary, he accompanied him to Rome in 1740, where as his conclavist he assisted with him at the election of Cardinal Prospero Lambertini, who took the name of Benedict XIV. The Abate Braschi, who already intended to enter the Church, then became the Cardinal's auditor, and was charged with the administration of the Diocese of Ostia and Velletri, in which capacity, as well as in a diplomatic mission on which he was sent to the Court of Naples, he showed so much talent that Benedict XIV., in 1755, made him his secretary and "*cameriere secreto*," as well as a Canon of the Basilica of St. Peter's, and shortly afterwards he was ordained priest.

When Clement XIII. succeeded Benedict XIV., in 1758, the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Rezzonico, who was Camerlengho, or Prefect of the Apostolic Camera, chose Mgr. Braschi for his auditor, and in this important post he gave such proofs of energy and of a thorough knowledge of economical questions that in 1766 he was named Treasurer General, one of the highest posts under the Papal Government. Mgr. Braschi held this important position for nine years, during which his administration was distinguished by the most scrupulous integrity, by his severe supervision over his subordinates and by the desire to remedy whatever abuses had existed under his predecessors.<sup>53</sup> In 1773 he was raised by Clement XIV. to the dignity of Cardinal, and then withdrew to the Abbey of Subiaco, which he held *in commendam*, where he passed his time in study until his election to the Chair of St. Peter.

The experience which Pius VI. had acquired in the different official positions which he had held, and especially in that of Treasurer, was soon turned to good account for the purpose of carrying out various reforms and developing the resources of the Papal States. A large number of pensions which had been too generously and imprudently granted by preceding governments were suppressed, and a commission of Cardinals was named to examine the existing system of taxation and to modify it so as to render it more profitable to the State and less oppressive to the people. Duties were also imposed on foreign merchandise for the protection and development of native industry, and the result of these operations was to increase the revenues of the Papal Treasury by a third more than they had been under Clement XIV.<sup>54</sup> Important public works were also carried out in various parts of the Papal States. The marshy lands

<sup>53</sup> Abate Francesco Beccatini, "Storia di Pio VI.," Venezia, 1841, vol. I, p. 20.

<sup>54</sup> *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 5 Agosto, 1899, p. 267. Beccatini, I., p. 40.

surrounding Città della Pieve, as well as those in the neighborhood of Perugia, Spoleto and Trevi, were drained; the harbors of Porto d'Anzio and of Ferracina were deepened; the State prisons in the fortress of San Leo were rebuilt and rendered more commodious; the prisoners were freed from their chains and provided with better food.<sup>55</sup> In Rome Saint Peter's was embellished by the construction of a new sacristy and the *Museo Pio-Clementino* was completed. The addition of this gallery to the palace of the Vatican for the purpose of containing the collections of statuary formed by several Popes since the time of Julius II., had been suggested to Clement XIV. by Mgr. Braschi when Treasurer, and Pius VI. enriched it with more than 2,000 ancient works of art, the result of excavations in or around Rome.

But the most remarkable of the works undertaken by Pius VI., and one which alone would have sufficed to illustrate his reign, was the drainage of the Pontine Marshes. This vast extent of swamp, about 25 miles long by 8 to 10 broad, which stretched along the coast at the foot of the Volscian Mountains, and is separated from the sea by a long and narrow sandy plain covered with dense woods, was once a thickly inhabited, well cultivated territory in the days which preceded the foundation of Rome, and in the fifth century before Christ it was there that the Romans in times of scarcity sent to purchase corn. But the conquest of the Volscian land in the early times of the Roman Republic, by laying the country waste and slaughtering the inhabitants, or leading them away into captivity, in order to replace them by small colonies of Roman citizens, began the downfall of its prosperity. The low-lying plain, liable to be frequently inundated by mountain torrents, had been rendered habitable only by an extensive system of drainage, traces of which still remain, and by the continual labor of the numerous population which inhabited the thirty-three small towns mentioned by Pliny;<sup>56</sup> but with their disappearance it gradually passed into the condition of a pestilential morass. Before, however, the district had sunk into this state, the Censor, Appius Claudius, in 312 B. C., constructed through the midst of it the road from Rome to Capua, which bears his name, and the canal along which is believed to have been made by the Consul M. Cornelius Cethegus in 160 B. C. Julius Cæsar formed the project of draining these marshes, but it was never carried out, though while the Roman Empire lasted the Appian Way was frequently restored and was again reconstructed under Theodoric, King

<sup>55</sup> Tavanti, Giov. Battista, "Fasti del S. P. Pio VI.," *Italia*, 1804, I., p. 165; II., pp. 12, 13.

<sup>56</sup> René de la Blanchère, "Un chapitre d'histoire pontine. Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres," Paris, 1893, tome x.

of the Ostrogoths (454-526). During the Middle Ages, an epoch of continual warfare, no measures could be taken to check the devastation caused by the inundations of the rivers descending from the Volscian Mountains, and though Leo X. and Sixtus V. made some attempts at reclamation and caused two canals to be dug, and plans for the same purpose were drawn up under the reigns of Benedict XIV., Clement XIII. and Clement XIV., they were attended with no very efficacious results. When in 1777 Pius VI. resolved to begin his colossal undertaking the Appian Way was in some places broken and sunk in the swamp, in others overflowed by torrents which could find no outlet through the ruined bridges and which kept a great portion of the land continually submerged. At that date 48,469 acres of the Pontine Marshes were under water all the year round, while in the district comprising the basins of the river which flow into them, 26,444 acres were inundated during part of the year and 248,831 acres were susceptible of being much improved by their neighborhood to the drainage works.<sup>57</sup>

The plans for the drainage of the Pontine Marshes were made by a Bolognese engineer, Gaetano Rapini, and in December, 1777, 3,500 men were set to work. In 1784 the Appian Way had been rebuilt considerably above its original level, the canal running alongside of it had been reopened, and before many years had elapsed the annual produce of the reclaimed lands amounted to 97,200 bushels of corn and 194,000 of maize.<sup>58</sup> In 1792 the works had already cost 8,677,611 francs (\$1,621,983), and though from time to time much damage was occasioned by inundations, the works were continued until 1796, and would have received further development if they had not been stopped by the invasion of the French revolutionary armies.

At the time of the election of Pius VI. Tanucci was still in power and still continued to seize every opportunity of manifesting his animosity towards the Holy See. It was the year of the Jubilee, and the usual indulgence had been granted to those who should visit, while it lasted, the four principal churches of Rome; but with the intention probably of expressing his desire of completely separating the Kingdom of Naples from Rome, Tanucci persuaded the King to publish an edict to the effect that to obtain these spiritual graces it would be quite enough to visit the four principal churches of Naples.<sup>59</sup> He then informed the Holy Father that since he refused to confer on Mgr. Filangieri, the Archbishop of Naples, the

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<sup>57</sup> De Prony, "Description Hydrographique et Historique des Marais Pontins," Paris, 1822, p. 94.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>59</sup> Henrion, *op. cit.*, xi., p. 362.

dignity of Cardinal, which had been usually held by his predecessors, the King would establish in his States a body of clergy clothed in red like the Cardinals. The threat was never carried out, but the Papal Nuncio at Naples was fully justified in stating in a letter to Rome, in September, 1776: "The principle which rules here is that the King's legislative authority extends also to ecclesiastical matters."<sup>60</sup>

Tanucci's domination was, however, drawing to its close. During his long tenure of office he had so persistently made war on the liberties and possessions of the Church, treating both the secular and regular clergy as dangerous enemies of the State, who should be deprived of all influence and wealth, that he had taken no notice of the progress made by Freemasonry, which had been introduced into Naples probably about 1745 (for the exact date is uncertain), had spread rapidly in all parts of the kingdom in a few years and reckoned many priests and nobles in its lodges. It was only in 1751, when Pope Benedict XIV. had renewed the censures pronounced against Freemasonry by Clement XII. in 1738, that Charles VII. published an edict by which the association was suppressed and his subjects forbidden to form part of it. Its head at Naples, Don Raimondo di Sangro, Prince of San Severo, the first Italian who was Grand Master, promised to abandon it, but the edict remained a dead letter and the lodges continued to multiply and to meet secretly, diffusing without restraint their anti-Christian and anti-monarchical doctrines, while monasteries were being suppressed, religious orders plundered and the Jesuits especially made the victims of a relentless persecution.<sup>61</sup> It was only in April, 1775, that King Ferdinand seems to have had his attention called to the matter by a general officer and informed his father that a number of persons of high rank at his court were Freemasons, and that the country was full of them; but when Charles III. expressed the desire that they should be suppressed he found that the Queen's influence presented an insurmountable obstacle.

Maria Carolina had come from a court where the Freemasons had been longer in power and more openly than in Naples; "she had grown up in an atmosphere of Freemasonry."<sup>62</sup> Her brother, the Emperor Joseph II., is suspected of having been a Freemason, and her father, Duke Francis of Lorraine, the husband of the Empress Maria Teresa, was enrolled among them. King Ferdinand's correspondence with Charles III. is full of piteous complaints of his wife's tyrannical conduct towards him on account of his desire to obey his

<sup>60</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, Introduzione, p. lvii.

<sup>61</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

<sup>62</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 386.



father; she had found him in tears caused by the reproaches in his father's letters, and had told him contemptuously not to mind them; she protected the Freemasons and assisted at their banquets; she had even asked him to become a Freemason, but he had always refused; she was instigated in her acts by the Court of Vienna, and she always insisted on reading his letters, but would never allow him to read hers.

At last Tanucci, who was extremely jealous of his authority and who saw that the Freemasons, among whom were a large number of members of the aristocracy, were helping the Queen to acquire supreme power at the court, declared war against the sect, and by a royal edict published in September, 1775, the Freemasons were denounced as guilty of high treason and their meetings prohibited; but, though the principal members ostensibly submitted and promised to abandon the association, the lodges still continued to assemble, though in greater secrecy than before. By Tanucci's orders a police magistrate named Gaetano Pallante then surprised, in March, 1776, a lodge while it was engaged in the reception of a candidate at a meeting which had been convoked by spies in his pay, and the prisoners were sent for trial before the "*Giunta di Stato*," a court for the trial of crimes against the State. Intrigues were at once set on foot to obtain the acquittal of the accused. Petitions were sent to the Queen from all sides, powerful personages sought to intimidate the judges, the fall of Tanucci was decided, and Ferdinand writing to his father in June, 1776, evidently at the Queen's suggestion, asked to be allowed to dismiss the minister, as his great age had rendered him incapable of administering the affairs of the kingdom. Charles III. refused to accede to this request, though he was not aware that its object was to save the Freemasons; but on October 25, 1776, Tanucci was informed by a note from the King that he had ceased to exercise his functions.<sup>63</sup> He was, however, allowed to remain in charge of the trial of the Freemasons, but the *Giunta* now took the defense of the accused. The meeting at which they had been arrested was not, it was said, meant to be a serious matter; it was a mere jest, and had been convoked at the instigation of Pallante, who had promised immunity to his spies. All proceedings against the prisoners were, therefore, quashed; they were declared not guilty and were set free, while Pallante was made to appear the real culprit and was banished to thirty miles from the city of Naples. The health of Maria Carolina, the protectress of the Freemasons, was drunk at Masonic banquets throughout France, Italy and Germany, and a medal was struck in commemoration of the event;<sup>64</sup> but

<sup>63</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

<sup>64</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

Tanucci had to submit in silence to his defeat lest he should draw down the Queen's anger upon himself, for he had amassed great wealth, and he feared for his possessions. His successor as Prime Minister was the Marquis de la Sambuca, a Sicilian nobleman who had been Ambassador at Vienna; and under his administration the same irritating policy of interference in every detail of ecclesiastical discipline was carried to even greater lengths than previously, and constituted one of the most painful trials to which Pius VI. was subjected.

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### OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE.

TO THE majority of educated Americans the name Guadalupe Hidalgo is familiar as the place where the treaty which closed the war with Mexico was signed in 1848. For Catholics the suburb of the Mexican capital has a higher interest of a kind distinct from politics. It is the seat of the oldest and most remarkable shrine and pilgrimage in the New World, comparable indeed in many respects with those of Loretto, Assisi and Mount Alvernia. The city itself is insignificant, and counts only some six or seven thousand inhabitants, but on the patronal festival, the 12th of December, which is also that of the Mexican nation, the crowd of pilgrims and visitors often reaches a quarter of a million. These conditions have been scarcely changed during three centuries, as the Mexican annals tell us. In 1625 Guadalupe was credited with five thousand inhabitants, and long before that time it was noted as a place to which "great crowds came with special devotion to venerate the sacred picture there." The town is scarcely two miles from the capital, with which it is connected by a railroad since 1857. The service is now by horse cars, and Guadalupe is really a part of the City of Mexico, though with a municipality of its own.

The site is not attractive of residents in itself, though picturesque. It is at the foot of a rocky hill, the sides of which are dotted with thorny cactus and "Spanish bayonets," and beyond which a range of arid mountains rises towards the north. The shallow Lake of Texcoco to the east, and two streams, which in the rainy season become torrents, to the west, give natural limits that cannot be passed to the town's extension. The soil around is mostly alkaline and barren, and the wells mineral in character, and though medicinal,

unfit for common use. These conditions sufficiently account for the absence of any large population at Guadalupe, but the number and importance of the buildings there is in strange contrast to the fewness of inhabitants. Water is brought nearly three leagues for domestic use on a noble aqueduct of twenty-three hundred arches in masonry. The road to Mexico is bordered with chapels dedicated to the mysteries of the Holy Rosary, solidly built in the same material. The houses are also solidly built and show marks of antiquity in their construction sufficient to indicate that Guadalupe is not a place of yesterday. The central point of the town, architecturally, is the great group of the basilica and collegiate buildings connected with it. They are in the classic style of architecture with a wide plaza around the group and the mountain immediately behind their enclosure. The grouping is somewhat like that of a Californian mission. The basilica stands on the west side with towers at its four angles and a dome of Spanish fashion over its centre. A long and lofty building runs almost in a line with the front of the basilica towards the east, and a dome in its centre indicates the existence of a second church there in other days. A plainer church, without a dome, stands away back at the corner of the square formed by the basilica with the conventual buildings. Still further away in the same direction another dome indicates the place of another church. The mountain behind is crowned by a fifth domed structure, the ascent to which is marked by massive walls in masonry, beyond which a curious monument raises itself high in the air. It is the imitation in stone of a ship's mast with all sail set, and was the votive offering of a crew that attributed its preservation in shipwreck to the protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe long years ago.

The whole atmosphere of the town is, if we may so say it, a religious one. Masses are constantly being celebrated all through morning hours in the various churches, the basilica, that of the Indians, as the building adjoining the enclosure is styled, the sanctuary on the hill and that of the Well, the other two domed chapels. The Church of the Hill is quite modern, having been rebuilt in 1882, and the basilica seems constantly receiving repairs or additions. It is a noble building, both inside and outside. Its length is somewhat over two hundred feet, its width about a hundred and twenty, divided into nave and side aisles. The floors are in Mosaic of hardwoods, the lining of the walls marbles of various colors. Several fine oil paintings of recent execution decorate the interior. The altar of the miraculous picture is of elaborate workmanship as well as materials. The peculiar Spanish instinct for using the most costly material in the service of religion finds full expansion here. The inner frame of Our Lady's picture above the high altar is of pure

gold, the outer one of massive silver, as are many of the lamps and other furniture. The question of Judas, "Could not this ointment be sold for three hundred denarii and its price given to the poor?" is not asked by poor or rich in Mexico. "Is anything too good for Our Lady's service?" is the general remark of all classes when questioned on the subject by strangers of a more practical turn of mind, who are only lavish on public libraries, halls of fame and State Capitols.

The picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe itself is indeed the central fact in the existence of all these churches, as well as of the special devotion of the Mexican people to the Mother of God. It is always open to the public view in its place above the high altar, and its occasional removal to other places have been carried out with a solemnity and reverence to which it is hard to find comparison elsewhere. Viewed as a picture, it is singularly beautiful, yet it belongs to no school of art. There is nothing resembling it in the works of the European schools except so far as it has been copied since its own appearance. The cloth on which it is impressed is a coarse fabric like sackcloth and about five and a half feet by forty inches in dimensions. The figure of Our Lady is nearly four feet in height and may be called life size. She stands on a crescent moon with the hands joined on the breast and the head slightly inclined forwards. The hands and features are exquisitely modeled and of a flesh tint that may be called Eastern, but is neither Spanish nor Indian. The flowing robe of scarlets and purples in varying shades is like that, it is said, of the Mexican Indian women of rank. It is covered with flower patterns of conventional rather than realistic form, lightly lined with gold. The outer cloak is blue, shading towards green, and is surrounded by gold rays, beyond which is a border of small white clouds. On the head is a golden crown of conventional form, and an angel supports the moon below, with wings outstretched and only the upper part of the body shown above the clouds. The effect of the whole is as if the figure were standing before the sun, whose rays are visible all around it. The conception and execution have absolutely nothing in common with either the Spanish or Indian pictures used at the time when it was given to Lumarraga or to any Mexican school during the sixteenth century at least.

The materials used to produce the colors in the picture and their mode of application are facts for which science down to the present day fails to account. It has been submitted to commissions of artists and scientists more than once, notably in 1666 and 1794. The statements of all were that there was no sign whatever of lead or other priming on the cloth, and further that without such it is impossible

to paint upon it. The fabric is woven from fibres of the wild palm known in Mexico as *izcotl*, and used by the poorer class as a dress material. It is too porous to receive color on its surface with any regularity, and the weaving is so coarse that the light can be seen distinctly through. The back of the cloth of the picture is quite plain and shows no trace of other tint than its own. It is also rough in texture, while the front is smoothed by some means unknown to art. The colors seem incorporated directly into the material as images of objects are sometimes impressed on others by electric discharges or temporarily by a magic lantern. The picture further seems in execution as if partly done in oil, partly in water color, pastels and distemper besides the gold. No painter so far has found the secret of uniting these different processes in a congruous and perfect composition, as that of Guadalupe is beyond question.

The gold used so freely in the crown, drapery and sun rays is still more inexplicable according to the testimony of the artists who have examined it. One of them, Cabrera, stated that at first sight he believed it gold in fine powder which could be blown off with the breath. He found, however, that it was solidly fixed in the body of the fibres, though at first sight suggesting comparison with the metallic powder on the wings of a butterfly. The same appearance can be noted to-day, two centuries since Cabrera made his examination.

The durability of both tints and the material under them is indeed as inexplicable by any modern science as their origin. This picture on its *ayate* canvas has been nearly four centuries in its present place, exposed to the effects of sun and air, the smoke of thousands of lamps burning around it and the alterations of temperature of a tropical climate, alternately dry and damp in excess. It was for more than a hundred years without even the protection of glass, and its existence goes back to the lifetime of Michelangelo and Titian. All familiar with old pictures know how the masterpieces of art of human origin have, without exception, suffered fading and obscurity from the passage of time, but this figure and its surroundings show no sign of discoloration. Decay's effacing fingers have been powerless on it. Its guardians unanimously assert that neither dust nor soot ever settles on its surface, though they do in abundance on the glass, even internally, and the frame. The countless moths, ants and other insect destroyers so common in Mexico have never touched its frail fibres. The *ayate* cloth is as perishable in its own nature as it is common. Colors of all other kinds fade more rapidly in Guadalupe than in any European country, owing to its changes of temperature and the clouds of alkaline dust which fill the air in the dry season. Oil, distemper and gilding alike are speedily worn

away in the other pictures of the various churches within a few years. A special case is recorded of a copy of the miraculous picture made with special care by a celebrated Spanish painter, Bartolache, in 1789. He had a canvas prepared from the same material as that of the miraculous picture and treated with all mechanical methods known to him to fit it for artist's use. The copy was a fine one, though it failed to give the peculiarities of the original in the mingled appearance of oil, water and pastel colors. Senor Bartolache's copy was placed in the Church of the Well near by, but within seven years its colors had so changed that it was removed to the sacristy, where it perished completely within a few more years. The blues had become dirty greens, the other tints ash color and even mouldy. What the tints of the original are to-day can be seen by any observer. That it has received no aid from the retoucher is equally patent both from artists' inspection and from the records of the sanctuary, not to mention the publicity which would necessarily attend any interference with so sacred an object.

The authorship, the coloring and the durability of the picture of Guadalupe are thus all three beyond explanation by human science of the twentieth century, as by that of the four preceding it. Yet they are facts patent to the senses and confirmed by the testimony of fifteen generations of observers of all classes, friendly or hostile. History offers an explanation based on a supernatural manifestation in the past clearly told in detail. It is accepted with full confidence by the whole population familiar with it, both as reasonable in itself and as in accordance with Catholic faith. Clergy and laity, rich and poor, Spanish Creoles and Indians of native race agree in this acceptance. They further believe without doubt that a supernatural grace for the diffusion of spiritual and temporal blessings of God among men attaches to the picture as well as its marvelous physical properties. That belief finds and has found through three centuries practical expression in public acts. The Holy Picture of Guadalupe was carried from its shrine to the Cathedral of Mexico in solemn procession by joint action of the chapter, Archbishop and Town Council in 1629 as a protection against the sudden and prolonged rising of the waters of the adjoining lakes, which then threatened to permanently occupy the site of the city. Their recession after five years was attributed without hesitation to the influence of the Blessed Virgin in connection with the reverence shown her image. A similar public function was adopted by Church and State authorities in 1757 on occasion of an epidemic, and its cessation within a few days was confidently ascribed to the same influence. Of supernatural favors to individuals received at the shrine of Guadalupe the list is so like the history of Lourdes or St. Anne of Beauprè that we may

be dispensed from further illustration. In both public and individual cases the influence attributed to the picture itself by Mexican Catholics is the same as that which the converts of St. Paul believed to attach to the handkerchiefs and cloths which touched the body of the Apostle. It is a grace united to particular material objects by the Divine Will, and to be profited of in that form by believing Christians without command of so profiting. That grace of a supernatural kind can be and often is united by God's dispensation to material objects is a doctrine which Catholics must receive as part of their faith. To what objects it is so united in particular cases is left to the individual reason's assent, subject to the Church's authority should it see fit to pronounce a judgment in the matter.

The Mexican people almost unanimously believe that the picture of Guadalupe is supernatural and founds its assent both on its intrinsic qualities and the account of its origin handed down by history. The one confirms the other, and the duration of the belief during nearly four centuries adds additional strength to the motives of belief. It is a test alike sanctioned by Cicero and Gamaliel that time destroys false beliefs and confirms true ones. The account is that in December, 1531, an Indian convert while going from his home at a neighboring village to attend Mass and instructions in Mexico was arrested at the rocky peak overlooking the present town by celestial music. He climbed the peak to seek its source, and there was met by a lady of heavenly beauty, who addressed him affectionately and bade him go to the Bishop and tell him she desired a shrine built in her honor at that place. The Indian, Juan Diego, obeyed and called at the residence of Bishop Lumarraga with the message. The Bishop received him kindly, but doubted the value of his message, and told Juan Diego to return another day, when he would have more time to hear his story.

The Indian returned directly to the rock where the lady had first spoken to him and found her there again. He told the ill success of his visit and asked that she send some person of rank to accomplish her design. The lady bade him return the next day to the Bishop, repeat to him her first message, and further that she who sent was the ever Holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God. He followed her command faithfully, and with much difficulty got admission. Bishop Lumarraga heard him with more attention, but doubted the accuracy of his story. He dismissed Juan Diego with the remark: "If she wishes to obtain what she desires, more than words are needed. Some sign is necessary to let me know that she who sends is indeed the Queen of Heaven." With this answer Juan Diego departed, promising to ask the needed sign from the lady.

He could not go to the rock the following day on account of the

sudden and severe illness of an uncle, Juan Bernardino. He was employed finding him a medical attendant the next day, and early the following morning set out to Mexico to bring one of the Franciscans to his assistance. In his anxiety to get the priest at once he decided not to mount the rock where the vision had appeared to him on the two former occasions, but as he passed near its base the same lady met him. Juan Diego prostrated himself before her and told with simplicity that he was going to seek a priest for his dying relative, but when that was accomplished he would return the next day to tell her the result of her message. She heard him graciously, assured him that his uncle had already recovered, and promised himself her own protection. The Indian then told the message of Lumarraga. The lady bade him climb the peak where she had first spoken to him and gather the flowers he would find there as the needed token of her will. Juan Diego obeyed and found the rocks covered with beautiful flowers of European kinds, roses and lilies being prominent. He gathered a quantity of them and carried them to the lady in the fold of the tilma or blanket which he wore in native fashion over his blouse. She arranged them with her own hands in that receptacle and told the messenger to fold the tilma over them and carry them to the Bishop as her sign that she desired a temple built on the place in her honor. She further charged him not on any account to open his blanket to view until he should meet the Bishop himself.

Juan Diego carried out her instructions. He had difficulty in getting admission from the porters, who even tried to take some of the flowers from him, but found they could not detach them. When at last he got audience with Lumarraga he told his message and opened his tilma to shake the flowers on the floor. As he did so the picture was seen engraved on the front of the garment. The Bishop and all present were alike astounded and convinced of the Indian's truthfulness. The former reverently removed the tilma from the shoulders of the native and carried it to his oratory. The next day he sent some of his household with him to the cabin where Juan Bernardino had been left ill. They found him perfectly recovered, and he, too, told how at the time when Juan Diego was stopped by the lady on his road she had appeared to himself, healed him and bade him tell the Bishop that the name of the picture should be Holy Mary of Guadalupe. They brought Juan Bernardino to the Bishop, before whom he repeated his statement on oath. The Bishop then removed the picture to the pro-Cathedral of Mexico, where it was exposed to public devotion until a chapel could be built on the spot indicated by Juan Diego as the place of his last meeting with the Blessed Virgin. When that was completed the miraculous



picture was carried to it and became the centre of devotion to the population, native and Spanish.

Such in summary are the facts told in connection with the origin of the picture. That they are possible in the supernatural order will not be questioned by any Catholic. The authority of the two Indian messengers who alone received the favor of the four apparitions must rest for others as for Lumarraga on the miraculous character of the material proofs they brought, and of which the principal still remains. The picture and the explanation of its origin were given through the same hand, and the first confirms faith for the second. Of supernatural facts the only judge is the supernatural authority of the Church itself. Its verdict on those of Guadalupe was rendered first by the Bishop of Mexico and his successors and confirmed more than two hundred years later by the Sovereign Pontiff Benedict XIV. and since by Leo XIII.

The verbal statements for which credence was asked in connection with the picture are extremely few. They are only that a supernatural personage who declared herself to be the Mother of God appeared to two Indians of humble position and told them she desired a church built in her honor on a particular site. She added a name by which it was to be called and promised personal favor in life to one of the messengers, while she healed the other of an illness. The messenger apparently testified that the visible picture which he brought was a faithful representation of her whom he had seen, but even this is not set down in the account given. No reason for the erection of the church was intimated beyond the will of the Blessed Virgin. No promise attached to it beyond personal protection to the messenger. All the rest was left to the inferences that might be drawn by reason under guidance of faith from the material token from heaven. What those inferences ought to be history helps to ascertain in its own course of events. The fulfillment of the promises made to Juan Diego personally is a secondary fact of the event on which subsequent history can throw light. It is recorded by tradition alone, but in itself has nothing marvelous. It is simply that the Indian led a very good life for seventeen years after the event; that he gave over his cottage and plantation to a relative and lived alone in a cabin near the first shrine, in which he was buried; that he was venerated by the Indians; that he was known as the Pilgrim among them from his fondness for solitude; that he received Communion by special permission three times a week, and that his portrait was preserved on the wall of his cabin from shortly after his death are about all that is told. The universal belief of the Indians at the time that such a life was itself a fulfillment of the promise of heavenly favor is also recorded. It is itself a strange

evidence of the change of ideas and hopes among the Aztec warriors and former cannibals which followed the building of the sanctuary at Tepeyacac demanded by Our Lady through Juan Diego.

The name itself of Guadalupe is unaccountable for on any historic grounds outside the message to the Indian. Why the Blessed Virgin chose the name no explanation was given nor so far has any been attempted by Catholic devotion. That it was her choice is held without doubt, and that there is a reason for that choice, but what the reason may be has not yet appeared. The analogy with the Apocalypse in the Sacred Scriptures suggests itself in this connection as well as the words of Our Lord to His Apostles, "What I now do you know not now, but you shall know hereafter." The name Guadalupe was unknown to the race to which Juan Diego belonged, nor is it connected with Bishop Lumarraga's native place. There is indeed a sanctuary of the Blessed Virgin of that name in Spain, but it is situated in Estramadura, far from the Basque birthplace of the Bishop. It does not appear that the Spanish Guadalupe was much known to any of the conquistadores of Mexico, though the statue of Our Lady and the Divine Child there was an object of veneration and pilgrimage before the discovery of America. Further it has no resemblance whatever to the Mexican picture, which has always been held to typify the Immaculate Conception, not the Divine Maternity. The Mexican name Tepeyacac continued to be given the town till 1563, though the designation of Our Lady of Guadalupe applied to the picture is mentioned by Bernal Diaz, the companion of Cortez. Its origin as told in the oldest account of the apparitions is not unlike the account given by Bernadette at Lourdes of the Lady who called herself "The Immaculate Conception." The Lady who sent Juan Diego with the picture to Lumarraga also visited and healed his uncle, Bernardino. "She told him to publish what he had seen and how he got back his health, and that the most holy picture was to be called Holy Mary of Guadalupe." So it is called ever since.

Don Miguel Canchez, a priest of the Oratory, was the first to print a history of the apparitions, and it bears date 1648. Another, in Mexican, drawn from documents, some of them apparently cotemporary with the apparitions, was printed the following year by Father Lasso de la Vega, a chaplain of the shrine and familiar with its history and the native language. It is from the latter that the summary just given has been condensed. De la Vega only edited the work, and the authorship is usually given to Juan Valenano, an Indian magistrate nearly cotemporary with Juan Diego and Lumarraga. That the latter left acts of the events in the Cathedral archives which were in existence between 1602 and 1606 was attested

on authority of the dean of the chapter, quoted by Sanchez, but they had since been lost. Printing was not common in Mexico at the time. The history of Bernal Diaz, though completed in 1568, was only printed in 1621. That the Mexican documents relating to the apparitions, of which ten are enumerated as well known before de la Vega's publication, is not to be wondered at. Father Becerra Tanco, also an Oratorian, published a history of the miraculous origin of the sanctuary in 1666, which was reproduced in Madrid and Seville. It was in connection with an application to the Holy See for a special office of Our Lady of Guadalupe and with a formal investigation of the existing traditions and their evidence which is of the highest weight in the history of Guadalupe. Fathers Sanchez and Tanco both presented themselves before the Commission of Inquiry and testified on oath that they had written only what they had gathered from statements of old persons of good credit who stated the tradition as they wrote it. Father Tanco added that he had seen and examined the documents and pictures of the Indians recording the miracle and had heard the chant in which the facts were embodied at the time of its occurrence, according to old Aztec use. He added that his history was a literal translation from those Mexican documents and pictures.

Twenty-one witnesses were examined at this time on all the points of the traditional history, and their evidence was strikingly similar. Eight natives of the village of Juan Diego and his uncle were among them. Two were of a hundred years, one a hundred and ten and one a hundred and fifteen. No less than ten witnesses deposed to the facts as related to them by actual acquaintances of Juan Diego personally. Eleven of the twenty-one were priests, eight members of different religious orders and all familiar with the shrine and the opinions of the Church on the facts as well as the native traditions. The whole number substantially repeated the same account of the apparitions and the later life and character of the Indian messenger. The accuracy of memory in the older witnesses was carefully tested by interrogations on other events of legal record and the condition and materials of the old church long disappeared. None of them failed in those tests. It was a mass of evidence which would decide any court in a matter of doubted title. It was sufficient for the judgment of so strict a critic as Benedict XIV. when submitted to him. Tradition of such a quality is certainly historical evidence.

The existence and development of the cult of the sacred picture, with the approbation of the successive Bishops of Mexico, is further attested by secular history. Bernal Diaz, whose long life in America included the career of Bishop Lumarraga, mentions in his history

the "Shrine of Guadalupe, which stands in Tepeaquilla, where Sandoval had his quarters when we captured Mexico," and adds: "See what miracles have been worked and are worked there." It may be observed that the old soldier historian was anything but credulous. In the introduction to his history he denounces sarcastically the sham prodigies which some Spanish writers beyond the seas had seen fit to invent in connection with the campaign of Cortez. Archbishop Montufar in 1563 donated a thousand dollars to repairs of the Chapel of Guadalupe. The Viceroy Erinquez in 1575 informed Philip II. that a confraternity had been founded at Guadalupe in consequence of the miraculous cure of a herdsman some years earlier. It numbered in his time four hundred members and two priests were stationed there. The letter of the Viceroy, it may be added, indicated little personal interest in the facts and objected to having a monastery founded near it, as desired by several parties in Mexico.

The historian Sahagun, who wrote at the same time and had been a resident of Mexico since 1529, referred to the sanctuary of Guadalupe in terms which show its widespread popularity. They further indicate a certain jealousy of the natives that implies they were the chief element in its frequenters even with the approbation given it by the Church authorities. After mentioning the former existence of a pagan temple at Tepeyacac, where the Aztec divinity known as "Mother of the Gods" had been worshiped under the name of Tonantzin, he wrote that the natives applied the same term to Our Lady "now that the Church of Guadalupe was founded." For himself, Sahagun disapproved of the custom, as it might cover some worship of the old deity. He added: "The natives come from very far to visit this shrine, as they did to the old one." He thought their devotion open to suspicion on that account, as "there were many churches of Our Lady which they did not go to, while they came from distant parts to this one."

The writer's scruples seem excessive, as the Aztec word complained of meant simply Our Lady, not an objectionable one to Catholic ears. His doubts about the sincerity of the Indian worshipers in the faith was not warranted by subsequent history. They prove at all events the widespread popularity which the devotion to the sacred picture had gained within a few years. Cisneros, another historian of the same century, calls Guadalupe "the oldest sanctuary in Mexico. It is a picture highly venerated and widely visited, which works and has worked many miracles from a time almost that when the land was won."

The extraordinary extension of the Catholic religion among the Mexican natives in the twenty years following 1531 may account

both for Sahagun's suspicions and in a degree for an object of the Blessed Virgin's appearance. In 1540 the Franciscan Motolinia and another priest baptized fourteen thousand two hundred persons in five days, and in 1548 more than four hundred thousand Indians received Confirmation. The Franciscans alone before that year had registered six millions of baptisms. Such an acceptance of the faith by any race was unheard of in history, and learned men like Sahagun might well feel bewildered and doubt its reality. Though not directly connected by any cotemporary with the revelation at Guadalupe, the almost simultaneous conversion of the Aztec race and its devotion to the miraculous picture are clearly told. It seems no presumption to attribute the former to the latter in a very large degree. The material temple erected by Lumarraga in compliance with the request of the Queen of Heaven was a low oratory of adobe forty-two feet square without lime or mortar. Such was the unanimous evidence of the witnesses of 1666. Humanly speaking, it seemed altogether an inadequate object for a supernatural interposition. The conversion of many millions of souls supplies an explanation at least congruous with the facts.

Whether the Europeans stood somewhat aloof from the Indian shrine in the earlier years or not, they fully joined in venerating it before the close of the century. A Spanish nobleman, Villa Seca, built a hospital at Guadalupe in 1566. The Viceroy, Luis Velasco, spent a night there at his second coming to Mexico in 1589, as did his successor six years afterwards. The development of the cult among all classes was specially shown at the inundation of 1629, but thirty years earlier the Chapter of Mexico took on itself the task of replacing the chapel of Lumarraga by a stately stone church. Its foundation was laid in 1609 and it was completed and consecrated in 1622. It was on the site of the present basilica, and its cost, estimated at fifty thousand dollars, made up by public offerings from all classes. Ten years afterwards a house of reception for visitors was added.

The fame of the sanctuary spread widely, not only in Mexico, but also in Spain, after the inundations of 1629-34. Father de la Vega, the publisher of the first printed Mexican history, built a second church between the sites of the first chapel and the cottage of Juan Diego. They had both fallen to ruin, and Father Lasso rebuilt on their sites in stone. The first is the sacristy, the second the baptistery of the existing "Church of the Indians." It was enlarged subsequently to its present dimensions, about ninety feet by twenty-six in width. Father de la Vega also enclosed with a building the well near the church, which the natives regarded as having healing properties, though it is not mentioned in the account of the apparition.

This building has since been replaced by a very beautiful circular chapel known as the "Church of the Well."

The Spanish benefactors, Christobalde Aguirre and Dona Teresa Peregrina, added a fourth to the sanctuaries of Guadalupe in 1660 by building a chapel on the summit of the hill where the Lady first appeared and the flowers sprang up for Juan Diego. It was rebuilt in masonry forty-five years afterwards and is known as the "Church of the Hill." The foundation of the three secondary sanctuaries was thus almost cotemporary with the publication of the first account of the picture and apparitions in Spanish. The cult made progress slowly, but with ever increasing vigor.

A notable proof of it was given in 1666, when the chapters of the Dioceses of Mexico and Puebla ordered the solemn investigation of the history of the apparition already mentioned. It was on petition of one of the canons, Father Francisco Siles, and on its completion the chapters and the Viceroy applied to the Holy See for recognition of the miraculous events. They asked that the 12th of December should be declared a holy day through Mexico and a special office granted for it. The application was sent to Rome by an agent, but his death and that of Father Siles stopped further prosecution of the project at the time. The Mexican devotion to Guadalupe, however, continued to grow, and quite a number of works were published in connection with it during the following generation. The church of 1609 was found too small, and in 1695 a far more magnificent building was begun to replace it. The first church was demolished and the picture transferred for the time to the "Church of the Indians." Two citizens gave eighty thousand dollars towards the work, and the entire cost was reckoned at nearly half a million, all made up by spontaneous offerings. The new church was dedicated in 1709, in the reign of Philip V. and during the war of the Spanish succession. The wealth of decoration lavished on its interior was wonderful. The reliquary of the picture was of solid silver weighing over sixteen hundred pounds and elaborately worked. Its cost alone was nearly eighty thousand dollars. The gifts offered subsequently at the shrine were reckoned in 1792 as weighing thirteen thousand marks, or nearly seven thousand pounds of silver, in the form of lamps, frames, railings and balustrades.

A virulent epidemic, which broke out in Tacuba in 1736 and spread death through the capital the following spring, caused a further development of the veneration for the miraculous picture. The citizens and the Audiencia begged the Archbishop to place the city, by a public solemn act, under the special protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe as patroness. Archbishop Vizarron granted the request, and on the 26th of May, 1737, the population, after a long function

and procession, made a solemn profession of fidelity to the Blessed Virgin under her title of Guadalupe. The epidemic, it is stated, at once slackened in violence and disappeared within a few days. The impression made by the occurrence through Mexico was so strong that during the following few years every diocese followed the example of the capital and placed itself by public acts under the patronage of Our Lady of Guadalupe. She was acclaimed as special protector of Mexico on the 12th of December, 1747, and the Town Council of the capital sent a commission to Rome to obtain confirmation of the patronage and cult from the Congregation of Rites and the establishment of the 12th of December as a national holiday.

The petition, after long investigation, was granted by Benedict XIV. in 1754, and thus the shrine of Guadalupe received final recognition from the Head of the Church two hundred and twenty years after the approbation of Lumarraga as Bishop of Mexico. The whole course of events was in keeping with the established practice of the Church since its first ages.

The identity of procedure on the part of the Church authorities in dealing with the miracle at every stage of its investigation from 1531 to 1894 is most striking. An unknown Indian first tells of a heavenly revelation to the head of the Church in Mexico. He is received with doubt and told to get some sensible evidence of the truth of his statement. The only credulity attributed to Lumarraga on this occasion is a readiness to believe miracles possible, coupled with natural distrust of the evidence of an unknown stranger in such matters. He receives a material testimony to the fact and accepts it as true in his own judgment. He gives that belief the public sanction of his position as a teacher in the Church, and that sanction is generally accepted as reasonable by the population around of both races. They have the material evidence that convinced the Bishop under their own eyes as a motive of belief. Critics like the Viceroy Enriquez and Father Sahagun see the facts and find no ground to dispute them, but they have a certain general distrust of Indian human nature, and don't like to encourage the new devotion, which after all they think is not a necessary thing for Catholics. The public mind of the community takes a different view altogether. If the Blessed Virgin has really shown herself in their country and requested certain honors, the Mexican Catholics feel and believe those honors ought to be given, and they give them, on the assurance of successive Bishops and Archbishops that there is no un-Catholic superstition in so doing. Minds formed on Christian principles naturally desire ever increasing knowledge of the unseen world and accept particular parts of it as a direct benefit, not an intellectual burden. The question with them is not whether the teaching Church

orders them to profess their belief, but whether she allows them as reasonable men to believe what their private judgment suggests as true.

The investigation held by the diocesan authorities in 1666 is marked by the same spirit as Lumarraga's action towards the first revelation. The witnesses were held strictly to the few leading facts, and their personal knowledge tested under solemn appeal to their truthfulness and accuracy. Tradition, documents, monuments and the existing facts are separately consulted, and the commission then sent its findings to the highest tribunal of the Church and asked its sanction to the existing belief among Mexican Catholics and to form of its expression adopted by them. The Holy See received the application in the same spirit of caution and pronounced no decision either way. The devotion continued to grow in strength for eighty years more and received confirmations by new circumstances regarded themselves as supernatural by the Mexican people. A second application is made to Rome under another Pope and in an age of critical investigation and growing incredulity in Europe. The tradition is then pronounced highly probable at least and the devotion arising from it entirely Christian. Benedict XIV. grants a new festival and office to the Mexican Church and authorizes the name of Guadalupe in connection with Our Lady as special patroness of Mexico. He imposes no new belief on Catholics, but simply sanctions one already existing.

The latest application to the Holy See by the Mexican Bishops on the subject was made to Leo XIII. in 1890 and granted after three years' investigation. Its subject matter may seem unintelligible to many outside the Catholic Church, but is a peculiar evidence of the minuteness of verification practised in its judgments on particular revelations. The request of the Bishops was mainly that in the office of the festival the judgment of the Holy See on the reality of the apparitions should be expressed more strongly. The first office recited that "Our Lady is said (*fertur*) to have appeared to Juan Diego." That of Leo XIII. puts it: "Our Lady, according to ancient and constant tradition, appeared to Juan Diego." The mental temper which lays such value on increased definiteness of expression, even to so apparently small an extent, certainly is not one of self-confident credulity. It finds parallels in that of the Christian body in the fourth, fifth and sixteenth centuries on the definitions of Consubstantiality, Dual Nature and Transubstantiation. The whole history of the apparitions and devotion at Guadalupe offers a strange parallel to the developments of doctrine and ritual of the Church at large.

The innate vigor of the cult continued to show itself in its own



land all through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It found expression in material works as well as in public worship and pilgrimages. The Church had been made a parochial one in the seventeenth century, but the devotion of the people desired it a higher rank, and in 1709 Don Andres Palencia bequeathed a large fortune for the endowment of a collegiate chapter in connection with it. Many years passed before the needed bulls and other faculties were obtained, but in the middle of the century the collegiate chapter was formally inaugurated. It consisted of an abbot, ten canons, six choir assistants, six chaplains, two sacristans and a staff of musicians and acolytes. Provision for support of all was made by the generosity of the founder, whose bequest amounted to five hundred and twenty-six thousand dollars, a larger sum than that expended on the church building. The succession of abbots and chapter has continued undisturbed since through all the revolutions and changes of government of the land. The sixteenth, Abbot Don Plancarte, was the agent in obtaining the new office from Leo XIII. It may be remarked that all the abbots except two were natives of Mexico. One of the two, Dr. Conejares, was elected in 1851 and received the additional dignity of the mitre. National jealousies have been singularly absent from the Guadalupe devotion all through its history.

A convent of Franciscan nuns (Capuchins) joined to the sanctuary was the next addition after the foundation of the chapter. It was begun in 1780 and completed in 1787 under the reign of Charles III. The buildings, like all the others at Guadalupe, were erected by free gifts, alms as the Spanish term goes. Their cost was two hundred and twelve thousand dollars. The picture of Guadalupe has been three times transferred to the chapel of the convent adjoining during repairs in the basilica. The community still maintains its existence, though within recent years the convent buildings have been appropriated by the Liberal Government. They are now used for school purposes.

The basilica was somewhat injured by the construction of the convent and a proposition was made to rebuild it in 1792. The work was not carried out, however, but in 1802 a general remodeling of the interior and the construction of a new altar was begun. The works were suspended during the rebellion of Hidalgo and only completed in 1836 at a total cost of over three hundred thousand dollars. The beautiful "Church of the Well" was rebuilt at an expense of fifty thousand during the erection of the convent. A peculiar mark of public reverence was attached to Guadalupe after the middle of the eighteenth century by the Spanish Viceroy. They received possession of their office in its sanctuary. The practice began with the first Marquis Revillagigedo and continued till the close of the

Spanish dominion. The universality of the devotion to the shrine by all classes in Mexico—clergy, religious orders and laity, Indians and Spaniards, rich and poor, officials and general public—is as remarkable as its spontaneity in each and the absence of any attempt to make it subservient specially to any one.

The general feeling thus marked showed in strange form during the Revolution. Hidalgo, the leader of the first insurrection in 1810, took a picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe from the Church of the Indians to serve as his standard. Iturbide, the Royalist general who effected the separation of Mexico from Spain, founded a Mexican Order of Knighthood under the title of Guadalupe in 1822, and the Republican President Santa Anna restored it in 1853. The rival candidates for the Presidency made their peace at the sanctuary in 1841, and Herrera, after the downfall of Santa Anna, three years later, celebrated his inauguration with a "Te Deum" there. It was visited with devotion by the ill-starred Maximilian and Carlotta in 1864. The troops of Juarez under Porfirio Diaz occupied the collegiate buildings during the campaign of 1867, but there seems no evidence of any injury offered to the sanctuary beyond the record that after the soldiers left a man brought back "a silver wing of St. Michael" purloined by some soldier and repurchased from him at the cost of a "hat worth ten dollars."

Twenty years after that occupation a movement began to add a new decoration to the sanctuary of Guadalupe. This was to have the miraculous picture crowned, that is to say, to have a golden diadem suspended over its top. Archbishop Labastida entered into the project with enthusiasm, though the first suggestion was due to Father Plancarte, the agent of the Mexican Bishops in obtaining the new office at Rome. The approbation of Leo XIII. for the ceremony of coronation was given in 1887, and the steps to carry it out indicate how strong is the devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe in the present generation. The cost of the crown itself, a matter of thirty thousand dollars, was made up without difficulty, but to place it in a suitable position on the existing altar was not so easy. It was decided to build a new altar, and as the foundations of the sanctuary were somewhat unsafe a complete remodeling of the interior was decided on. The works were begun in 1887 and continued during seven years, in which the miraculous picture occupied its place in the secularized chapel of the Franciscan convent. The new altar with the crypt involved an expenditure of a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, not to speak of the paintings, statuary, stained glass and other works given by the generosity of individuals. So extensive were the changes that little more than the walls of the sanctuary of 1709 remained when the coronation ceremony was performed in

1895. The close of the nineteenth century, like that of its predecessor, has witnessed a complete remodeling of the temple desired by the Blessed Virgin of Lumarraga. The early part of the sixteenth saw the wish fulfilled in an oratory of sun-dried bricks; the beginning of the seventeenth replaced it in a stately stone church, which the popular devotion at its close pronounced too poor for its object and replaced with the basilica whose royal decorations in 1792 still excite surprise by their value. Even then it was felt that more ought to be done, and three hundred thousand dollars were poured into new adornments during the years of national passion and poverty of the insurrection against the old government and the instability of the new. All costs were freely offered by the popular devotion to the special patroness of the Mexican people at Guadalupe. If permanent vigor be the mark of truth in ideas connected with religion, as Gamaliel pronounced to the Sanhedrin at the origin of Christianity itself, then the devotion of Guadalupe bears such marks of truth in its history.

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"PACATA HIBERNIA."

**I**T WOULD be interesting to learn how many of the citizens of the United States have ever read the three volumes entitled "*Pacata Hibernia, Ireland Appeased and Reduced; or, An Historie of the Late Warres of Ireland,*" which were printed in London in 1633 by one Robert Milbourne. The publisher of the work was a Thomas Stafford, who in a pompous dedication to King Charles I. and an introduction addressed to the general body of its readers explained its purport and scope. In his address to the King Stafford told His Majesty:

That which I now in all humilittie present is your Majesties by many titles: First, from the subject matter, being the final dispersion of that cloud of rebellion, which hath so long over that Kingdom of Ireland, which by undoubted title, and lawfull succession is descended to your Majestie, and that performed by the prudent fortitude of the English nation, which your Majestie now so happily governes.<sup>1</sup> Next, from your Majesties late faithful servant, the Earl of Totnes,<sup>2</sup> whose actions are not the least part of the argument of this historie, hee being at that time chiefe Governour of the Province of Mounster, which was the stage whereon the last and greatest scene of that tragedie was acted, and since advanced by your Majesties Royall father and your selfe to many honourable titles and employments of State.

<sup>1</sup> "Your Majestie" was already engaged in the conflicts and troubles which were destined eventually to cost him his life and throne.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Carew, created Earl of Totnes.

In his address to his readers Stafford proceeded to account for the great delay which had occurred in the publication of a narrative which had been prepared "thirty years and upwards previously." He recalled that "it was composed while the actions were fresh in the memories of men, but the direction and appointment of the Right Hon. Earl of Totnes—late deceased—then Lord President of Munster." According to Stafford, the "retired modesty" of the bloodthirsty and unscrupulous Carew had induced him to hold it back "from the stage of publication, lest himself being a principal actor in many of the particulars, might be perhaps thought, under the narration of public proceedings, to give vent and utterance to his private merit and services, howsoever justly memorable." Carew, it seems, "leaving the world, left it among his papers," and accordingly it became possible to print the story of his crimes and tyrannies in Ireland.

Now, what lends most interest to the pages of "Pacata Hibernia" is the undoubted fact that it was dictated by Carew himself, and that when we peruse it we are, so to say, listening to that grim old soldier's own words. On the recall of the Earl of Essex, who had failed to achieve the results expected by Elizabeth, the Virgin Queen "being resolved to send a new Lord Deputy into Ireland, made choice of a worthy and noble gentleman endued with excellent parts, as well of body as mind, Sir Charles Blunt, Lord of Mountjoy." Moreover, as "at that time the Presidency of Munster was void by the unfortunate death of Sir Thomas Norris, lately slain by the rebels, she made election of Sir George Carew, Knight, who was by his former services experienced in the Irish wars, to be the Lord President of that province." All this, be it noted, was set down by direction of the personage of "retired modesty," who sought duly posthumous honor. It appears that Mountjoy and Carew embarked at Beaumaris, in Wales, on the 23d of February, 1599, and on the following day arrived at Howth, the bold headland which forms one side of the noble Bay of Dublin. Fatigued as the two worthies must have been by a voyage which is occasionally not wholly free from discomfort when it is made nowadays in one of the mail steamers of the Dublin Steam Packet Company—which convey passengers from Kingstown to Holyhead and *vice versa*, in the worst weather in something between three and four hours—they were compelled to lie up for the night "at the Lord of Howth's house."<sup>3</sup> The next day the pair "rode to Dublin," where they found a distracted Privy Council, confronted by "a miserable torn state,

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<sup>3</sup> Howth Castle, still the residence of the descendants of the nobleman named. The splendid old mansion and its grounds are freely open to visitors.

utterly ruined by the war, and the rebels swollen with pride by reason of their manifest victories which almost in all encounters they had lately obtained." Much, as he alleges, against his will, Carew was obliged to make a long stay in Dublin. He had to wait, for one thing, for the arrival of the 3,000 foot soldiers and 250 horsemen who were to accompany him into Munster. Moreover, his colleague had to get various patents and authorities passed under the great seal of the Irish Privy Council, constituting a special council for the better government of Munster, and conferring on Carew authority to exercise martial law whenever and wherever he deemed "meer necessity shall require." It was furthermore ordained that it should be lawful for Carew and his council, "or any two of them, whereof the Lord President to be one, to prosecute and oppress any rebel, or rebels, with sword and with fire, and for the doing of the same to levy in warlike manner and array, and with the same to march, such and so many of the Queen's subjects as to his discretion shall seem convenient."

The commission issued to Carew and the newly formed Munster Council, which was in reality created mainly for the purpose of registering his edicts and thus giving them some kind of formal sanction, conferred on the Lord President practically arbitrary power whenever and wherever he might find himself in a position to exercise. His authority was not confined to the temporal domain, because he was enjoined to look sharply after matters of spiritual moment. One of the many clauses of the commission ran as follows:

Also, we the said Lord Deputy (Mountjoy) and Council, do earnestly require, and straightly charge the said Lord President (Carew) and Council, that they at all times, and in all places, where any great assembly shall be made before them, do persuade the people by all good means and ways to them seemingly good, and especially by their own examples, in observing all orders for Divine service, and other things appertaining to Christian religion, and to embrace, follow, and devoutly observe the order and service of the Church, established in this realm by Parliament, or otherways by lawful authority, and earnestly to call upon and admonish all Bishops and Ordinaries, within the precinct of their commission, diligently, fervently, and often to do the same.

The first chapter of Carew's memoir of his services describes how, shortly before the landing of himself and Mountjoy, the "arch-traitor Tyrone, to unite the rebels of Munster, and especially to confer with James Fitz-Thomas, the titular Earl of Desmond, and Florence MacCarthy," made a journey into the province named. The perfidious White Knight, who had entered into treaty with the English, and his son-in-law, Donagh MacCormac Carthy, had been made prisoner by O'Neill and borne away "in hand-locks," while he had restored Florence MacCarthy to the enjoyment of his rightful rank as the MacCarthy More. Furthermore, he had made war upon the Lord Barry, who had become a Protestant, and despoiled his terri-

ories, adding insult to injury by addressing to that recreant a letter, a portion of which may be quoted :

My Lord Barry, your implety to God, cruelty to your soul and body, tyranny and ingratitude both to your followers and country are inexcusable and intolerable. You separated yourself from the unity of Christ's mystical Body, the Catholic Church. You know the sword of extirpation hangeth over your head, as well as ours, if things fall out other ways than well; you are the cause, why all the nobility of the South—from the East part to the West—you being linked unto each one of them, either in affinity or consanguinity, are not linked together to shake off the cruel yoke of heresy and tyranny, with which our souls and bodies are oppressed.

Therefore, O'Neill abjured Lord Barry to "enter into the closet of your own conscience," and having pondered well on his ill-doing, to retrace his steps both politically and religiously. Carew sets out O'Neill's letter in full and also Barry's reply, in which the latter declared his conviction that :

By the law of God and His true religion (the Protestant) I am bound to hold with Her Majesty. Her Highness hath never restrained me for matters of religion, and as I have felt Her Majesty's indifference and clemency therein, I have not spared to relieve poor Catholics with dutiful succor, which well considered, may assure any well disposed mind, that if duty had not—as it does—yet kindness and courtesy should bind me to remember, and to requite to my power, the benefits by me received from Her Majesty.

Barry went on to remind O'Neill that he held his lands only by security of a grant from the English Crown, and to require him to make restitution of the "four thousand kine and three thousand mares and garrons" which he had carried off as spoil of war or for the service of his soldiers. The letter was dated "At Barry Court, this 26th February, 1599." Tyrone was, unfortunately, compelled about this time to return to Ulster in order to defend his own patrimony against the impending advance of the forces sent by Mountjoy. Before his withdrawal, however, he was successful in drawing into an ambush of his "hell-hounds"—as Carew styles them—a considerable body of the English garrison of Cork. In the action which followed Sir Warham St. Ledger and Sir Henry Power, the leaders of the English force, were killed.

It was not until the 7th of April, 1600, that Carew was able to leave Dublin to commence his operations in Munster. He was accompanied by the Earl of Thomond, Lord Audley, Captain Roger Harvey, Captain Thomas Browne, Captain Garret Dillon and some other captains "and gentlemen," with 700 foot and 100 horse. He was accompanied by the Lord Deputy and some members of the Privy Council "two miles out of the town," reaching Naas the same night. The next day he marched to Carlow and on the third he reached Kilkenny, where he at once paid his respects to the Earl of Ormond, whom he found full of importance over the parley which he had arranged to hold the next day with Rory O'Moore at a spot some eight miles beyond the city. This parley had an ill ending

for Ormond. The Earl of Thomond, who with Carew accompanied him to the place of meeting, set out what occurred in an official report to the latter. It seems that Ormond brought with him a comparatively small escort, and that in his train were several "lawyers, merchants and others upon hackneys." Rory O'Moore, on the contrary, had a large body of his followers in attendance. Whether he intended treachery or not is quite impossible to decide from Thomond's description of what occurred, but it seems not unlikely that the conflict which arose and which resulted in the capture of Ormond was the outcome of some insult offered to Father Archer, S. J., who was in O'Moore's camp. Thomond's story ran in part as follows:

After an hour or more was idly spent, and nothing concluded, we and others did pray his Lordship (Ormond) to depart. But he desirous to see that infamous Jesuit, Archer, [Father James Archer, one of the most courageous and persistent of the many brave priests who, in the midst of innumerable perils and privations, long strove to maintain the spirit of hostility to Protestant domination amongst the masses of the people and to secure that united action among their chiefs and leaders which would aid in securing the success of a Spanish invasion. To describe such a man as a "traitor" was, of course, grotesque. The avowed policy of Elizabeth and her lieutenants was to banish the Catholic religion from the land, and the only possible means in the circumstances of the time whereby such design would be defeated was by armed resistance.] did cause him to be sent for; as soon as he came, the Earl and he fell into an argument, wherein he called the Jesuit a traitor, and reproved him for sending, under pretext of religion, Her Majesty's subjects into rebellion.

During this disputation O'Moore's men had been closing round and mingling with Ormond's followers. Suddenly contention arose. Thomond appears to have done his best to save Ormond, but was compelled to make his own escape by riding down those who opposed his passage. Carew himself was actually seized by O'Moore, but some of his friends coming between he was enabled to secure safety by flight. Carew's despatch, covering Thomond's report, was sent from Waterford on the 18th of April, 1600.

Passing over some very graphic descriptions of various minor conflicts between isolated parties of Carew's men and some of the Irish, we find the Lord President recording his arrival at Cork on the 26th of April, the previous night having been spent at Lord Barry's house on the way from Youghal. The "*Pacata Hibernia*" also contains a number of entries recording the successful accomplishment of destructive raids by the native leaders, almost similar to those with which the recent war in South Africa made the whole world familiar. Carew, however, like Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener—in the latter case—knew the actual importance of such forays as compared with the fulfillment of the definite plan of campaign he had marked out for himself. They were annoying, but after all only a case of the fly tickling the lion's ear. On the 7th of June Carew received intelligence from himself of the release of

Ormond by Rory O'Moore on the payment of a ransom of £3,000. Having regard to the value of money at the time as compared with our own, the sum was an enormous one. During the months which followed the Lord President was busily engaged in reducing the castles and other strong places in the possession of the so-called rebels, and as his soldiers were fairly well equipped with artillery, while the Irish possessed practically none, he was almost always successful in his operations. In nearly every case such of the defenders as were captured were put to the sword, but in many instances Carew claims to have spared the women and children. What became of them, however, he omits to state. That their fate must have been deplorable is quite certain, because wherever the English forces passed they killed all the natives whom they met and left the country in the condition of a desert. Carew's main purpose was to capture the Earl of Desmond, whom his lieutenants persistently pursued. Somehow or other he got possession of a letter written by "the Spanish Archbishop of Dublin"<sup>4</sup> to the Earl. This ran as follows:

My most honorable good Lord, having long desired a fit opportunity to write unto you, the same is now offered by Mr. John [the Earl's brother], whereof I am very glad, and that by such a most sure and faithful messenger I might open my mind to your Lordship; as also to show that most certain and undoubted hope of aid is shortly to come. I would most willingly have come unto your Lordship's presence, which lately I have essayed, and doubtless would have done, unless I had not been hindered by these Lords, who told me that present and imminent dangers were to be feared in my journey, unless I had an array of soldiers to conduct me; and now—but that there is a necessity of my returning into Spain—I would have come to you in the company of Master John. But I hope that most speedily and most fortunately I shall return unto you again. In the mean time I have premitted nothing which might tend to your profit, as well to our Catholic Master, as any other whosoever, which now also in Spain I will perform. I would, therefore, entreat your Excellency, that you would be of good courage, together with all others of your faction; and that you would fight constantly and vallantly for the faith and liberty of your country, knowing and firmly hoping, that the help of my Lord, the Catholic King, is now coming, which when it cometh, all things shall be prosperous, and will place you in your formet liberty and security, that you may possess your desired place and tranquillity. The Almighty conserve your Lordship in safety long to continue. From Donegal, 13th February, 1601.

At this time the Earl of Desmond was a hunted, houseless fugitive, seeking safety in the bogs and woods of Kerry. The letter just

<sup>4</sup> Dom Matheo de Oviedo was born in Segovia and was educated at Salamanca. He joined the Franciscan order at an early age, and became prior of the monastery at Toro, in the Diocese of Zamora, in old Castile. He was appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1600. The selection can only be justified on the ground that there were fair hopes of a Spanish conquest of Ireland. It is not likely that Dom Matheo ever entered his see, which in his absence was ruled by a vicar general appointed by the Pope, Father Robert Lalor. Oviedo escaped to Spain, where he remained until his death in 1609, supported by a pension granted him by King Philip. In 1611 the Pope gave Dublin another Archbishop in the person of Dr. Eugene Matthews, an Irishman, who maintained existence within his episcopal territory for several years, but was eventually compelled to seek refuge in the Netherlands, where he died in 1623.



quoted was in itself sufficient intimation to Carew that the Spaniards intended to attempt the invasion of Ireland, and he, naturally enough, lost no time in conveying the intelligence of the fact to Mountjoy in Dublin and his friend Cecil, Lord Burghley, in London.

On the 20th of September, 1601, "towards night, the Sovereign of Kinsale<sup>5</sup> sent a messenger to Sir Charles Wilmot, then in Cork, with letters importing that there was a fleet of five-and-forty ships discovered from the Old Head of Kinsale, and that they were past the river of Kinsale, bearing towards the harbor of Cork. The inhabitants likewise at Cork harbor brought him word that the said fleet was discovered afore that haven's mouth." Wilmot lost no time in communicating with Carew, who immediately proceeded to assemble all his available forces at Cork. Meantime the Spaniards had withdrawn their ships from the cove of Cork, now styled Queenstown, and reappeared off Kinsale. Hearing this, Carew sent orders to the small English garrison of the latter place to evacuate it. On the 23d of September "the enemy landed their forces in the Haven of Kinsale and marched with five-and-twenty colours (standards) towards the town. Upon their approach the townsmen, not being able to make resistance—if they had been willing thereunto—set open their gates and permitted them without impeachment or contradiction to enter the town. The Sovereign with his white rod in his hand, going to billet and ease them in several houses more ready than if they had been the Queen's forces." Immediately after landing the Spanish commander, Don Juan de Aquila, published the following proclamation:

We, Don Juan de Aquila, General of the Army of Phillip, King of Spain, by these presents do promise that all the inhabitants of the town of Kinsale shall receive no injury by any of our retinue, but rather shall be used as our brethren and friends, and that it shall be lawful for any of the inhabitants that list to transport (*i. e.*, to remove) without molestation in body or goods, and as much as shall remain, likewise without any hurt.

JUAN DE AQUILA.

It will be seen that the Spanish general desired to treat the English settlers and sympathizers in Kinsale with the utmost consideration and courtesy.

Carew quotes a Spanish description of what happened shortly after the arrival of Don Juan at Kinsale. This document appears to have been in the nature of an official publication explanatory of the proceedings of the Spanish commander. It fixes the 1st of October as the precise date of his landing, and it describes the retirement of the small English garrison—fifty foot and forty—"the persons of better sort going with them." Don Juan occupied the town with as little delay as possible, but he found that it contained so few houses his own men were exposed to much discomfort. Moreover,

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<sup>5</sup> A title equivalent to that of Mayor or Baillie.

it was wholly unfortified and surrounded by hills which rendered it incapable of defense, unless these could be occupied. The Spanish military arrangements seem to have been as bad as Spanish military arrangements have generally been. The invaders could only land to field pieces and two demi-cannon, "leaving the rest of their artillery unlanded, not having munition sufficient for so much artillery." Moreover, according to the statement, "the powder and match was little and the greater quantity came wet." It was with such equipment King Philip sent poor Don Juan to achieve the conquest of Ireland! The only course open to the Spanish leader was to send back some of his ships to his own country to obtain additional supplies. He occupied the small castle of Rincorran, near the town, and erected something of the nature of earthworks. On the other side, Mountjoy hastened from Dublin to join Carew, and energetic action was taken to secure the speediest possible concentration of all the available English forces against Kinsale. Two Frenchmen who deserted from the Spaniards gave the total number of those landed as 3,500, adding, however, that reinforcements were expected. The force collected by the Lord Deputy and the Lord President was one far superior to that at the disposal of Don Juan, while English ships cruised off the entrance to the port, effectually blockading it. The Spaniards were in a trap of their own making. The English also had Irish allies, because "Cormac MacDermond, chief lord of a country called Muskery," brought all his clansmen to their aid. A comparatively brief bombardment of the castle of Rincorran compelled its garrison to surrender. The Spaniards were sent as prisoners of war to Cork, but all the Irish found within its walls were put to the sword. Meantime the main body of invaders held the fortifications which they had hastily constructed round the town.

Receiving tidings of what was going on at Ulster, Earls Tyrone and O'Donnell proceeded to march into Ulster with a view to assisting the Spaniards by compelling the diversion of a portion of the English force. So large, however, was the number of men at the disposal of Carew and Mountjoy that this movement came to nothing. Carew marched against the Earles, while Mountjoy closed the toils still tighter round the Spaniards. Ships of war were hurried from England, and coming into the harbor of Kinsale bombarded the place and its entrenchments. Moreover, thousands of soldiers were hastily transported from the English ports lying nearest to Ireland, and these were soon at the disposal of the Lord Deputy and the Lord President. All the time, however, the Spaniards demeaned themselves as brave men and held out stoutly. A few amongst them, nevertheless, proved recreants and deserted to the English, conveying valuable information as to the condition of their hard-pressed comrades, who were exposed both day and night to the fire of the

English guns. The result of the conflict was never for a moment in doubt, but assurance was rendered doubly sure by the fact that Carew and Mountjoy were enabled to detach a force sufficiently large to avoid all chance of the Ulster Earls being able to relieve the Spaniards. Suddenly, however, a new element of hope appeared. Six Spanish galleons, carrying 700 soldiers, with goodly store of arms and munitions at Castlehaven, and with these O'Donnell was able to join hands. To the camp of the united Irish and Spanish forces speedily flocked most of the principal Catholic chiefs and nobles of Cork and Kerry. Nearly all these were enrolled as officers in the pay of the King of Spain and granted command of certain companies of foot and horse. Most of them who owned castles in proximity to the coast or to the camp placed these under Spanish control. The English ships, however, assailed those of the Spaniards and speedily destroyed them. Finding his own position growing daily more and more precarious, Don Juan de Aquila despatched an urgent appeal, on the 28th of December, 1601, to Tyrone and O'Donnell begging them to take active measures to ensure his relief. The letter concluded: "Though you are not well prepared, yet I beseech your Excellencies to hasten towards the enemy, for it imports much. I think it needful to be all at once on horseback (*i. e.*, they should mount and ride forthwith); the greater haste you make it is so much the better." Nothing short of a miracle could save the Spaniards, and no miracle worked.

Carew was very indefinite as regards the dates in his narrative, but so far as the context in the original enables judgment the 21st of December, 1601, witnessed fresh developments in the beleaguering of the Spanish garrison. We are told that:

This morning being fair, the ordnance played oftener, and broke down a good part of the wall; and to the shot we might proceed the more roundly if Tyrone's force came not the sooner upon us—another great trench was made beneath the platform [a wooden structure on which the English cannon were mounted]; to hinder which the enemies made many shot, but all would not serve: for by the next morning that work was brought to a good perfection, though the night fell out stormy, with great abundance of thunder and lightning, to the wonder of all men, considering the season of the year. This night came certain intelligence that Tyrone would be the next night within a mile and a half of us.

The estimate, however, fell short of the mark, because "towards night Tyrone showed himself with the most part of his horse and foot upon a hill between our camp and Cork about a mile from us, and on the other side of the hill encamped that night, where he had a fastness of wood and water." Tyrone was accompanied by many Ulster chieftains and had with him almost all the Spaniards who had landed at Castlehaven. Amongst his officers, however, was a traitor, one Brien MacHugh Oge MacMahon. It appears that a son of this man had served as a page in Carew's household in Eng-

land, and the father, relying on this fact, sent a message to the Lord President by a ragged little peasant boy begging the gift of a flaggon of aquavitae, or whisky. Carew granted the request with a courteous verbal reply. In return the bibulous MacMahon sent information regarding Tyrone's plans and as to his intention to attack the English camp on the following night. This scoundrel had taken part in the council of war at which the scheme of operations had been settled. The result was that Mountjoy and Carew were able to make preparations which enabled the complete defeat of the combined Irish and Spanish forces. According to Carew, the Irish had 1,200 killed and 800 wounded, most of them mortally. The Spaniards taken prisoners were granted quarter, but their allies were brutally massacred. We are told that:

The Earl of Clanricarde had many fair escapes, being shot through his garments, and no man did bloody his sword more than his Lordship did that day, and would not suffer any man to take any of the Irish prisoners, but bade them kill the rebels . . . There were some of the Irish taken prisoners that offered great ransoms, but presently, upon their bringing to the camp, they were hanged.

The Spaniards and Irish shut up in Kinsale made several gallant sorties, entering the English entrenchments at many points, but the relatively enormous force at the disposal of Mountjoy enabled him to drive them back within their own poor fortifications. The success of Carew in destroying most of the relieving army and in compelling its remnant to retreat was complete. The toils were closing fast round the doomed garrison.

On the 31st of December, 1600, the condition of the Spanish and Irish garrison of Kinsale had become so straitened, the port being blockaded by the English ships and the town and fortifications exposed to artillery fire from places of vantage on land. Don Juan beat a parley. He sent out a drum major and an officer bearing a flag of truce. The latter carried also a sealed letter addressed to the Lord Deputy. This missive, according to Carew's narrative, requested that "some gentlemen of special trust and sufficiency might be sent into the town from His Lordship (Mountjoy) to confer with him, whom he would acquaint with such conditions as he stood upon." Mountjoy was fully alive to the advantage derivable from putting an end to the Spanish lodgment on the coast of Ireland, which, however ineffective in itself, afforded secure landing places for reinforcements from Spain should the blundering King Philip decide to send them. The truth appears to be that the Spanish monarch had entirely misconstrued the position of affairs in Ireland. If his soldiers had been landed in Ulster, where O'Neill and O'Donnell were still comparatively powerful, things might have gone very differently from that in which they actually ran. The mere fact

that the Northern Earls had been able to organize a considerable force in Ulster wherewith to march into Munster in itself attests their military capacity and strength. It is, however, pretty obvious that their army, such as it was, must have been largely supported by forced contributions of cattle and produce, levied off the very people whose liberation from English and Protestant domination it came to aid. There is, consequently, some ground for assuming that the unfortunate population of Munster, ground as they were between the upper and nether millstone, displayed slight enthusiasm in support of a plan of campaign which made their possessions the spoil of war.

Mountjoy on receiving the message from Don Juan decided to send one of his chief lieutenants, Sir William Godolphin, into the town to ascertain the condition of the garrison. If Carew is to be trusted, the Spanish commander proceeded to lavish compliments on the Lord Deputy and the English troops, while he was equally liberal in his denunciation of the Irish. According to the same authority, "he was so far in his affection reconciled to the one and distasted with the other as did invite him to make an overture of such a composition as might be safe and profitable for the State of England with less prejudice to the Crown of Spain, by delivering into the Viceroy's (Mountjoy's) power the town of Kinsale, with all other places in Ireland held by the Spanish, so as they might depart upon honourable terms, fitting such men of war as are not by necessity enforced to receive conditions, but willingly induced for just respects to disengage themselves and to relinquish a people by whom their King and master had been so notoriously abused, if not betrayed." If Don Juan really used the language ascribed to him, it would seem that he was only playing on Mountjoy's well-known savage hatred of the Irish in order to secure the best terms possible for himself and his immediate followers. However this may have been, it is certain that when the Lord Deputy replied refusing to grant conditions of honorable capitulation, unless the Spaniards yielded up their money chest, artillery, ammunition and the Irish serving in their midst, to be dealt with as he might think fit, Don Juan positively refused to surrender. It furthermore appears from the rather confusedly worded summary of the correspondence between the two leaders given by Carew that the total strength of the besieged was only 2,600 men, while that of the English was upwards of 10,000. The latter had, in addition, the advantage of holding a number of positions which commanded the town and its defenses. Regarded impartially, the situation was an utterly hopeless one for Don Juan in the absence of reinforcements from Spain, and in view of the defeat and retreat of O'Donnell and Tyrone.

Carew specifically states that Don Juan relied in particular on this last event as the best gratification of his proposal to capitulate. He lamented that his Irish allies had been "blown asunder into divers parts of the world: O'Donnell into Spain, O'Neill to the furthest part of the North," but he absolutely refused to surrender unless accorded honorable terms and unless the natives serving in his ranks were treated on terms of equality with the Spaniards. Eventually Mountjoy recognized the advantage of acceding to Don Juan's requirements. We are told that "how needful it was to embrace this accord may clearly be seen by whosoever considereth the state of our army, almost utterly tired, how full of danger and difficulty it was to attempt a breach (*i. e.*, to storm) defended by so many hands." Moreover, the English ships lying off the entrance to the port were running short of provisions, while a Spanish fleet carrying reinforcements for the besieged might arrive at any moment. "Furthermore, that which seemed of greatest consequence to induce His Lordship to this agreement was that the Spaniards in Baltimore, Castlehaven and Beerhaven by virtue of this contract were likewise to surrender those places and to depart the country." Consequently, "the Lord Deputy and Council thought it in their wisdom meet to condescend to more indifferent conditions, which, being propounded and agreed upon by Don Juan, were signed and sealed on both parts." The articles of surrender contained the following conditions and statements amongst others:

In the town of Kinsale in the Kingdom of Ireland, the 2d day of the month of January, 1601, between the noble lords, the Lord Mountjoy, Lord Deputy and General in the Kingdom of Ireland, and Don Juan de Aquila, Captain and Campmaster General, and Governor of the Army of his Majesty the King of Spain, the said Lord Deputy being encamped, and besieging the said town and the said Don Juan within it, for just respects, and to avoid shedding of blood, these conditions following were made between the said Lord Generals and their Camps.

First: That the said Don Juan de Aquila shall quit the places which he holds in this Kingdom, as well of the town of Kinsale, as those which are held by the soldiers under his command, in Castlehaven, Baltimore, and the castle of Beerhaven, and other parts, to the said Lord Deputy, or to whom he shall appoint, giving him safe transportation and sufficient for the said people, of ships and victuals, with the which the said Don Juan with them may go for Spain, if he can at one time, if not in two shippings.

Amongst the further articles was that which saved the honor of the Spanish commander and the lives of his Irish soldiers. It ran thus:

For the accomplishing whereof, the Lord Deputy offereth to give free passport to the said Don Juan and his army, as well Spaniards as other natives whatsoever, that are under his command, and that he may depart with all the things he hath, Arms, Munitions, Money, Ensigns displayed, Artillery, and other whatsoever provisions of war and any kind of stuff as well that which is in Castlehaven, as Kinsale and other parts.

As soon as the treaty of surrender had been completed Don Juan appears to have entered into the most friendly relations with Mount-

joy and his colleagues, for Carew goes on to tell how: "The day the articles were signed Don Juan dined with the Lord Deputy and the next day after, the Lord President, having Sir Richard Levison and Sir William Godolphin in his company, went into the town of Kinsale, where he dined with Don Juan." The purpose of this visit was to arrange precise details as regards the amount and nature of the provisions which Mountjoy was to deliver for the sustenance of the Spaniards and their allies. These were agreed upon as follows:

For every week, four days flesh, three days fish.  
For every flesh day, Bread, four and twenty ounces for a man, and six of Beef.

For every fish day, four and twenty ounces of Bread, six ounces of Fish, and one ounce of Butter.

For every hundred men, one Pipe of wine, besides water.

For shipping for every three men, two tons and he (Don Juan) to give forty shillings the ton, and his men to be landed at the first port they can touch in Spain.

It will be seen that the Spaniards had to pay the cost of transport to their own country. They had also to pay for the food which Mountjoy undertook to provide. Carew gives the details of the bill they had to discharge on this latter score. The figures read:

Biscuit, 186,052 pounds.....	£2,067	4	8
Butter, 6,304 pounds.....	157	12	3
Flesh, 47,394 pounds.....	789	18	0
Fish, 18,339 pounds.....	305	13	0
Rice, 1,235 pounds.....	30	17	6
Total .....	£3,351	5	5

On the 9th of January, 1601, Mountjoy struck his camp before Kinsale, and with Don Juan riding beside him as an honored guest rather than a prisoner, made his way to Cork. The Don was attended by "many Spanish captains," but "the gross of his companies were left in Kinsale." Arrived in the Munster capital, the Lord Deputy "lodged in the Bishop of Cork's house, Don Juan in the city and the President at Shandon Castle." On the day following Mountjoy sent Captain Roger Harvey and Captain George Flower with some soldiers to take over "the Castles of Castlehaven, Donneshed and Donnelong at Baltimore, and Dunboy at Beerhaven in the west, all of which were then in possession of the Spaniards."<sup>6</sup>

"O day,' they cried, "of shame and grief!  
Don Juan—curse the coward chief!—  
Whom Phillip sent to our relief,  
Has truckled to the foe,  
Has hauled the Spanish colours down,  
And rendered, not alone the town  
He proudly promised to maintain  
'For Christ and for the King of Spain,'  
But every rood of land we gave  
His dainty troops to guard and save;  
Finin O'Driscoll's castles strong  
Of Donneshed and Dun-na-long,

<sup>6</sup> T. D. Sullivan, in his widely-known poem, "Dunboy," in which he tells in verse the story now received in prose, thus refers to this incident:

Donagh O'Driscoll's castle, too,  
 By Castlehaven's waters blue;  
 All these crafty wretch, Carew,  
     Will hasten to destroy—  
 And then the craven, last and worst,  
 Agreed to yield our foes accurst  
     Our castle! our Dumboy!  
 O fatal night! O woeful day!  
 Our castle tricked and signed away!  
 Our good cause lost, and lost for aye!"

This was entirely in accordance with the terms of capitulation signed at Kinsale. Flower was, however, granted commission conferring on him "power and authority over the Queen's people and her subjects," by virtue of which he was at liberty "to prosecute with fire and sword all rebels, traitors or other capital offenders, with all their aiders, relievers, maintainers, receivers and abettors or any other offenders whatsoever that are not amenable to Her Majesty's laws or have combined or adhered themselves to any Her Majesty's enemies or to any now in actual rebellion against Her Highness, and to make seizure of all their goods and chattles to Her Majesty's use." The terms of this commission were sufficiently wide. It granted its holder full power to execute martial law wherever he passed, as well as "to go aboard any ship, bark or other vessel that shall be or arrive in those parts and to make search in them for traitors, Jesuits, seminaries, letters or prohibited wares." Flower was to serve both as a priest hunter and a revenue officer! Regarded as a whole, the commission was absolutely opposed to the spirit of the Kinsale agreement.

When the Spaniards first arrived they had obtained possession of the various castles belonging to the Irish chieftains, which Don Juan included in the articles of surrender. In acting as he did, the Spanish commander undoubtedly exceeded his rights. The original owners of the castles had only admitted the foreign garrisons under the conviction that they would defend them to the last extremity. Therefore, when they learned that Don Juan had agreed to surrender their strongholds to the English in order to secure favorable terms for himself, they were naturally filled with resentment. For instance, Sir Finian O'Driscoll actually attacked his own residence at Castlehaven and drove out its Spanish occupiers, whom he completely surprised. These, however, speedily commenced active operations for its recovery and were engaged in mining it at the moment when Captain Harvey and his men arrived in the offing. O'Driscoll, perceiving that he was now completely outnumbered, made terms with the Spaniards and left the building, which the latter in due course surrendered to the English. At Baltimore Harvey obtained possession of the Castle of Donelong from the Spanish Governor, one Andreas de Aervy, and three days later the Castle of Donneshed was, "with Spanish gravity, rendered to Her Majesty's use." The real



trouble began, however, when: "From Baltimore Captain George Flower was shipped in a hoy of one hundred and twenty tons with two companies of two hundred in list (*i. e.*, on the roll), but weak by-pole (*i. e.*, in actual numbers), to receive from the Spaniards the Castle of Dunboy, but do all he could by reason of foul weather and contrary winds he could never, although he was at the mouth of the haven of Beere, recover the land, and so was enforced to return, effecting nothing. In this short navigation fifty of his best soldiers by infection died and but seven of the sailors living." This is Carew's account of what happened, but it is highly probable, insanitary though the state of Flower's wretched craft was, that the English commander obtained some information which led him to conclude that residence on board was more conducive to the preservation of his personal health than attempt to affect a landing, because Dunboy was once more in the hands of its rightful owner, Donal O'Sullivan Bear.<sup>7</sup>

Carew tells us what had occurred. He says: "The composition which Don Juan did make when he surrendered Kinsale did infinitely grieve and offend the Irish and especially those who had voluntarily delivered into his hands their castles, but especially Donal O'Sullivan." It appears that, although the Castle of Dunboy was mainly occupied by a Spanish garrison, O'Sullivan had been wise enough to maintain his own residence therein, as well as a personal guard of his clansmen. Among these, probably selected on that account, were a number of skillful masons. According to Carew, "in the dead of night when the Spaniards were soundly sleeping and the key of the castle in their captain's custody, O'Sullivan caused his men to break a hole in the wall, wherein four score of his men entered, for by appointment he had drawn that night close to the castle Archer, the Jesuit, with another priest, Thomas Fitz Maurice, the Lord of Lixmaw, Donal MacCarthy, Captain Richard Tyrrell and Captain William Burke with a thousand men." Father Archer must have been one of those who came in through the hole in the wall, because "when day appeared" he "prayed the Spanish captain to go with him to O'Sullivan's chamber." The latter informed the surprised Don "that his men were entered the castle, that he meant no personal hurt either unto him or to any of his, and that he would keep the same for the King of Spain's use, and also told him that he had one

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<sup>7</sup> O'Sullivan was eventually assassinated at Madrid, where he had found refuge, by an English spy, one John Bath. "He had then," says his nephew in his "*Hist. Cath. Hib.*," "reached his fifty-seventh year, and was singularly pious, for he heard two, and sometimes three, Masses daily, and was extremely charitable to the poor. In person he was tall, elegant and handsome." In the original the words are "procerus, et elegans statura, vultu pulcher."

thousand men within musket shot of the castle." The poor captain, one Francisco de Saavedra, recognizing that resistance was impossible, promptly agreed to surrender. Some of his followers were, however, made of sterner stuff, and coming together "in fury discharged a few musket shot amongst the Irish and slew three of them and hurt one; but by the mediation of O'Sullivan and Francisco de Saavedra all was pacified, O'Sullivan being very careful that no hurt might be done to the Spaniards." The disturbance once quelled, the Spanish troops were quickly disarmed, but O'Sullivan "kept the captain and a few of the better sort, with three or four gunners, in the nature of prisoners, and the rest he sent to Baltimore to be embarked into Spain. He also seized upon all the Spanish ordnance munitions and victuals which was there in store." Shortly afterwards, however, O'Sullivan turned the Spanish captain out of doors, probably recognizing that he was of small use as a fighting man.

On learning what had happened at Dunboy the wretched Don Juan de Aquila offered to lead his own troops against O'Sullivan if so permitted by Mountjoy, but "the Lord Deputy and the President (Carew), who were anxious to see his heels towards Ireland, wished him not to trouble himself with that business." There is no reason for supposing that the Spaniards had any real stomach for the work he pretended anxiety to undertake. Meantime, O'Sullivan was writing letters to the King of Spain, as well as to his friends, the Earl of Caracena, and Dom Pedro Zubiane, justifying his proceedings and imploring aid. These missives were found on board a Spanish pinnace captured by an English ship. O'Sullivan's letter to King Philip was a crushing indictment of that monarch's worthless officers, who must assuredly have been the forefathers of the warriors who lost Cuba and the Philippines to Spain. He told how he had entrusted Dunboy to Spanish keeping "out of meer love and goodwill," with "my wife, my children, my country, lordships and all my possessions forever." His reward was to find that "against all right and human conscience," Don Juan had "tied himself to deliver my Castle and Haven, the only key of mine inheritance, whereupon the living of many thousand persons doth rest, that live some twenty leagues upon the seacoast, into the hands of my cruel, cursed, misbelieving (*i. e.*, Protestant) enemies." Moreover, O'Sullivan went on to say that he had sent into Spain his son, aged five years, "as a pledge for accomplishing your will," even while he told Philip bluntly that he "feared" what had occurred would "give cause to other men not to trust any Spaniard hereafter with their bodies or goods upon these causes." Well would it have been for Ireland if the year 1602 had witnessed the last attempt on the part of Continental States

to use her shores merely as a point of strategic attack upon England, without any real regard for the interests of her people.

The recovery of Dunboy by O'Sullivan was, of course, a matter of serious importance in the estimation of Carew, inasmuch as so long as he retained it he was able to hold open a gate for a new Spanish invasion. Accordingly, we read in "Pacata Hibernia" that:

To make trial whether the rebels in the country of Carbery would submit themselves upon the sight of an army, having been lately wasted and spoiled by the garrisons at Baltimore, Castlehayen and Bantry; upon the 9th March—which was the day the Lord Deputy departed from Cork—the President (Carew) directed the Earl of Thomond with 2,500 foot in list—which were by the pole but 1,200 foot, and 50 horse—to march into Carbery and from thence into Beare, there to view in what manner the Castle of Dunboy was fortified, of the incredible strength whereof much was noised.

Carew gave Thomond written instructions as to the manner in which the duty entrusted to him was to be performed. These were lengthy and need not be quoted at length, but some paragraphs almost demand reproduction:

The service you are to perform is to do all your endeavour to burn the rebels' corn in Carbery, Beare and Bantry, take their cows, and use all hostile prosecution upon the persons of the people (*i. e.*, to massacre), as in such cases of rebellion is accustomed.

When you are in Beare, if you may, without any apparent peril, your lordship shall do well to take a view of the Castle of Dunboy, whereby we may be the better instructed how to proceed for the taking of it, when time convenient shall be afforded.

The capital rebels that are to resist you are O'Sullivan and Tyrrell, your lordship must leave no means unessayed to get them alive or dead; the way—in my judgment—how that service may be effected, I have already made known to your lordship, wherein I pray you to use your best endeavours.

Thomond was soon able to send Carew information which gratified him immensely. "The Earl being gone with his army, marched as far as the Abbey of Bantry, about three score miles from Cork, and there had notice that Donal O'Sullivan Bear and his people, by the advice of two Spaniards, an Italian and a friar called Domnick Collins, did still continue their works about the Castle of Dunboy; the barbican whereof being a stone wall of sixteen feet in height, they faced with sods intermingled with wood and faggots—above four and twenty foot thick—for a defense against cannon; they had also sunk a low platform to plant their ordnance for a counter-battery and left nothing undone either within or without the castle that in their opinions was meet for defense." Carew's story is somewhat confused, but it would appear that Thomond saw enough to enable him to report that if the castle itself were sufficiently bombarded by the English artillery its mouldering walls would soon fall into the barbican, which "was not above six or eight foot distant" therefrom, while they were "exceeding high." All the labor and supposed skill of O'Sullivan's foreign and religious advisers in the art of war had only resulted in the production of a complete death-trap for his gallant clansmen. Carew quickly grasped the situation,

and the moment he received Thomond's despatch reciting the result of his observations promptly made arrangements for the regular investment of Dunboy. Accordingly, we are told that "the President—though feeble and weak in his own estate of health—drew forth of Cork the 23d April, 1602, and encamped that night at Owneboy, being the very place where Tyrone lodged at such time as he received the great overthrow near Kinsale."

The recital proceeds: "The four and twentieth we rose and marched to Timoleague, where the army lodged, and three rebels that were taken and brought before the Lord President were executed." Wherever Carew and his men were able to lay hands on any of the Irish they used "all hostile prosecution upon their persons as in such cases of rebellion is accustomed." In plain words, they murdered and burnt as they passed, reducing the country to a condition of desolation. On the 30th of April the Lord President and his soldiers joined hands with Thomond, and it was possible to commence active operations for the reduction of Dunboy. As a preliminary step, however, marauding parties were sent out in divers directions to gather in supplies for the besieging army:

The 1st May, Captain Taffe's troop of horse, with certain light foot, were sent from the camp, who returned with 300 cows, many sheep and a great number of garrons they got from the rebels.

The 2d, Captain John Barry brought into the camp 500 cows, 300 sheep, and 300 garrons and had the killing of five rebels; and the same day we procured skirmish in the edge of their fastness with the rebels, but no hurt of our part.

It was not, however, until the 1st of June that Carew deemed it advisable to commence the actual siege of Dunboy. In the interval his numerous lieutenants in Kerry and elsewhere had been busy in the work of devastation and slaying, thus guarding against any possible disturbance of his operations against the castle, once these had been begun. O'Sullivan Bear had entrusted the defense to Richard MacGeoghegan, a loyal and worthy soldier, the story of whose death still lives in grateful Irish memory. It is easy to understand why the chieftain did not remain within the walls of his ancient home. Shut up therein during what promised to be a long siege, he would be powerless to enter upon any active service in the cause of his country or co-religionists; while at large he might be able to organize a force capable of relieving his beleaguered followers. However this may have been, he did not remain within the castle, but removed to the Castle of Ardea, whither he appears to have been accompanied by Father Archer. Father Collins remained at Dunboy.

On the 7th of June Carew commenced active operations for the reduction of the place, and "taking Sir Charles Wilmot and one hundred foot for a guard with him, stole out of the camp and marched

directly to the castle to view it and the grounds adjoining; in doing whereof some small shot was bestowed upon them, but none other hurt done than Sir Charles Wilmot's horse shot in the foot. There they found—contrary to the reports of all men that had seen the same—a fair place of good ground and of capacity sufficient to encamp in, within twelve score (yards?) of the castle, and yet out of the sight of it, by reason of a rising ground interjacent, and also upon the top of a small ascent in the midst of the rocks a fair green plot of ground, not a hundred and forty yards distant from the castle, like unto a natural platform, of a just largeness to plant the artillery upon."

After some days' toil the guns were brought to this place. On the 17th the actual bombardment began, the garrison meantime having attempted some sallies, which were repulsed. The firing opened "about five of the clock in the morning, our battery consisting of one demi-cannon, two whole culverings and one demi-culvering." It continued "without intermission till towards nine in the forenoon, at which time a turret annexed to the castle on the southwest part thereof was beaten down, in which there was a falcon of iron placed upon the top of the vault that continually played at our artillery, which also tumbled down. With the fall of that tower many of the rebels were buried therein. That being ruined, the ordnance played on the west front of the castle, which by one of the clock in the afternoon was also forced down." All Carew's calculations as to the effect of his guns on the time-worn walls had been fully verified. To all intents and purposes Dunboy was incapable of defense against a force provided with artillery of the kind which he possessed.

Perceiving their desperate position, the garrison "sent out a messenger offering to surrender if they might have their lives and depart with their arms and a pledge given for the assurance thereof." Carew, however, was bent on slaughter, and the unfortunate envoy, having delivered his missive, "the Lord President turned him over to the Marshal (Provost), by whose direction he was executed." The defenders were clearly in sore straits, and, moreover, "the breach being in our appearance assaultable, the Lord President gave commandment to have it entered." Having regard to the small number of the besieged, the storming party which was formed was absolutely overwhelming in force, and no one knew better than Carew that when he rejected the proposals of MacGeoghegan and his followers to surrender the alternative was massacre. As a matter of fact, massacre followed. The Irish and their few Spanish comrades fought valiantly, but the result was never for a moment in doubt, although resistance was continued in various portions of the castle until sunset, when the small surviving remnant of the garrison took

refuge in the vaults. Throughout the fighting the English gave no quarter.

Only seventy-seven men in all found shelter in the vaults, "into which we having no descent but by a straight winding stony stair, they defended the same against us." It was now nearly nine o'clock, a fact made plain by Carew's statement that sunset compelled the cessation of a struggle which had been continuous from a little after one. The weary and wounded men within the cellars offered anew to surrender on terms, but Carew refused to grant them even their lives. Notwithstanding, Father Collins "came forth and rendered himself."<sup>8</sup> After this all the Lord President could do was to establish "strong guards" to make certain that no one emerged from the vaults until the morning enabled the completion of the bloody work he had in hands. At dawn twenty-three of the Irish, with two Spaniards and one Italian, artillerymen, surrendered unconditionally to the English, the remainder declaring their intention to blow up the powder magazine and themselves rather than surrender. The story is thus told by Carew:

Then MacGeoghegan, chief commander of the place, being mortally wounded with divers shot in his body, the rest made choice of one Thomas Taylor, an Englishman's son—the dearest and inwardest man with Tyrrell and married to his niece—to be their chief, who, having nine barrels of powder, drew himself and it into the vault, and there sat down by it with a lighted match in his hand, vowing and protesting to set it on fire and blow up the Castle, himself, and all the rest, except they might have promise of life.

Carew absolutely refused quarter and set his cannoniers to batter down the walls of the castle with a view to covering over the entrance to the vault and thus burying all within alive. This expedient proved too much for the fortitude of the rank and file; who compelled Taylor to yield unconditionally. MacGeoghegan was, however, made of more stern stuff:

Sir George Thornton, the Serjeant Major, Captain Roger Harvey, Captain Power and others entering the vault to receive them, Captain Power found the said Richard MacGeoghegan lying there mortally wounded and perceiving Taylor and the rest ready to render themselves, raised himself from the ground, snatching a lighted candle and staggering therewith to a barrel of powder—which for that purpose was unheated—offering to cast it into the same, Captain Power took him in his arms, with intent to make him prisoner, until he was by our men—who perceived his intent—instantly killed and then Taylor and the rest were brought prisoners to the camp.

Within a few hours fifty-eight of the captives were executed, and Carew exultingly records that "the whole number of the ward (*i. e.*, garrison) consisted of 143 selected fighting men, being the best choice of all their forces, of which no one man escaped, but were either

<sup>8</sup> Collins, who was a native of Goughal, before he became a Jesuit "had been brought up in the wars of France, and there under the League had been a commander of horse in Brittany." He probably placed undue reliance on the chivalry of Carew and his colleagues.

slain, executed or buried in the ruins, and so obstinate and resolved a defense had not been seen within this kingdom."

It may be regarded as certain that the surrender of Father Collins before the last extremity was reached was induced by disinclination to incur responsibility for the act of wholesale suicide, the perpetration of which was favored by MacGeoghegan and Taylor, and which would have been, had it been effected, more pagan than Christian. Taylor was eventually hanged at Cork by orders of Carew, and Father Collins at Goughal, "the town in which he was born," because "no penitence appeared for his detestable treasons, nor yet would he endeavour to merit his life, either by discovering the rebels' intentions—which was in his power—or by doing of some service that might deserve favour." Not one of the brave men who held Dunboy for God and Ireland escaped death!

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## THE CAUSES OF SOUTH AMERICAN SUSPICION.

ONE of the most significant events in our diplomatic world is the despatching of Mr. Root, the State Secretary, on an official tour over and about South America. Not since the time when Congress sent the Franklin mission to Canada, with John Carroll as interpreter and adviser, has any such advance been made to neighboring people. The meaning of the mission is plain enough. Our Southern neighbors have taken the alarm at recent manifestations of an imperialistic spirit, with its conquering impulses, and have formed a coalition for their mutual protection. Our recent action with regard to Colombia and Panama has certainly aroused a suspicion in other Southern peoples with whom we have relations. They look askance at our magniloquent attempts to pose before the world as their protectors against foreign aggression, and they seek other markets than those of the United States for their surplus products.

Our present Minister to Colombia, Mr. John Barrett, who knows much about South American affairs, since he was formerly Minister to Argentina also, has made commendable efforts to ameliorate the condition of feeling between North and South. In order to dispel what he styles "the lamentable ignorance" that prevails in the United States in regard to Central and South America, Mr. Barrett has given prizes for the best essays by college students on the history and economic conditions of Spanish America. This year he offers sim-

ilar prizes to the students of Columbia University. This is a good endeavor, but it would be better still if Mr. Barrett could get the popular magazines and newspapers to inaugurate a crusade of enlightenment to the same end. There are mountains of prejudice to be levelled, and furrows of bigotry of long standing to be filled up. Religious bigotry is the primary cause of the trouble. This nefarious sentiment is kept alive by the zealous fanning of the missionaries who are sent to the South by foolish philanthropists, under the delusion that they may undermine, by persevering patiently at their work, the great fabric of Catholic faith that Spain long ago reared in the South. As long as funds are forthcoming for such a chimera the spirit of prejudice and mutual distrust will be fed, and the efforts of such sensible people as Mr. Barrett must be rendered largely nugatory.

That such a sentiment could carry people who are ordinarily the sanest and most practical into quagmires of credulity, as though led by a Will-o'-the-wisp, would be hardly credible without some specific tangible proof. Such a proof was afforded in Philadelphia a few years ago, when this writer was one of an audience who sat in the auditorium of the Drexel Building listening to a lecture given by an American traveler who had recently returned from Mexico. The lecturer was an intelligent, practical, observant man whose chief aim in visiting the lovely country of the Aztecs was to study its commercial possibilities. But he could not avoid noting the religious situation that confronted him while there, and he noted it with the lens of a magnifying telescope. The effect was wonderful. He calmly assured that audience of well-dressed, well-educated American people that the Mexican peasant is the slave of the priest, who sucks him dry. This is, writing from memory, the substance of what the lecturer said. The extent to which the peasant is habitually squeezed by the priest was indicated by the lecturer thus: Supposing the laborer earned two American dollars a week, he was obliged to hand over one dollar and a half of that amount to the Church! That respectable audience listened to this traveler's tale with perfect credulity and satisfaction, thanking God, no doubt, that they lived in a country where priests had not the power to levy blackmail at their sweet will. Although the outrageous statement was challenged in the Catholic press, almost immediately, the lecturer did not think it necessary to take any notice of the challenge, but went calmly on his way, delivering the same lecture, no doubt, in other cities, and getting handsomely paid for his limelight pictures of Mexico. Possibly he may have been sincere in his description. Some sharp native, finding him credulous and prejudiced, may have made him the victim of a hoax. Such things are happening every day.



Prejudice has a prescriptive title in the United States, in regard, in especial, to those South American countries. The seeds were very early sown. They brought forth that crop of hatred and injustice which led to the Mexican War and the spoliation of California, Texas and New Mexico. Good men and women, no doubt, denounced Presidents Jackson and Polk and the war party in general in good round American invective, but, as usual, the jingo sentiment swept the nation along and injustice carried the day. At any moment Americans of the present day may find themselves in the whirl of a similar vortex by reason of their own ignorance of real conditions and the representations of the missionary agents in various South American countries, who see things only through the missionary eye and are entirely out of harmony or sympathy with a Catholic people of Indian strain, whose traditions, tendencies and temperament are as different from those of the missionaries as the Euphrates is from the St. Lawrence. Our national vanity, or rather massed individualistic conceit, is likewise a dominant factor in the production of a feeling of distrust on the part of the South American people, in our regard. One of the most influential and plain-speaking of our daily papers, the *New York Evening Post*, declared recently that our bad manners and our contemptuous way, our overbearing way, in fact, of dealing with these peoples, is the reason why they prefer to deal with any other people on earth than ourselves. One virile American, it is commonly shown on the stage, is able to knock together the heads of six "dagoes." The *Evening Post* is getting on the scent, but it has not as yet struck it directly. It has missed the religious equation in the problem.

In 1826 there was published in New York a "View of South America and Mexico," by an anonymous author, "A Citizen of the United States," as he modestly signed himself. It gave a condensed history of all the States of South America, but devoted itself chiefly to Mexico, Chili, Brazil, Colombia and Argentina (then called "the United Provinces"). A copy of the book in the writer's possession is embellished with a portrait of Bolivar, the Liberator, and some practical minded youngster prefigured the course of North American chronicle toward the South by tracing over the lineaments of the great patriot with a pen or brush dipped in writing ink. The effect is grotesque. Bolivar has a pair of black eyes, with no whites visible, and a nose all awry, together with an open mouth sans teeth. Nothing could be happier as a practical simile, in miniature, of the process which historians have chosen with regard to the South American people. The process is still in vogue, and it has cost American manufacturers a large amount of hard cash. The merchant and maker pay for the bigot's whistle.

In an introduction to this work, which was intended, as the author explained, more for popular than critical use, he cited a considerable number of authorities, chiefly British and American—Robertson, Morse, Fune, Hall and others—and only one bearing a Spanish name—Pazo. Then making an excuse beforehand for anticipated mistakes, he said that the explanation for such would be that “most of our information is necessarily derived through a foreign language.” The unknown author was either disingenuous or did not know how to convey his meaning clearly in the one language with which he possessed an unscholarly acquaintance.

When first the idea of taking interest in the affairs of South America manifested itself in this Republic, a genuine sentiment of republican sympathy seems to have been the motive which gave rise to it. The tyrannical rule of Spain over the South American colonies was universally denounced. But it is a fact suggestive of insincerity with regard to this sentiment that after the South American States had shaken themselves free from the Spanish rule the hostility with which that rule was regarded was transferred in many cases to the people who had emancipated themselves from it. These became, in turn, the objects of the same methods of attack as were employed against the Spaniards. They were constantly held up to the world’s scorn as bigoted, superstitious, priest-ridden, lazy, dirty, intolerant and generally decadent. The priests, again, have been the objects of the most unmerciful vilification. Every crime in the calendar has been laid at their doors. To this very hour this unchristian system of calumny is continued. A living example of its activity and venom was afforded in the pages of the *New York Tribune* during the month of March this year. An attempt had been made by four armed men to assassinate General Reyes, the President of Colombia. The *Tribune* immediately published a statement on the subject, based on the word of a Colombian then in New York, declaring without qualification that “it was known” that the Jesuits had hired these assassins to kill the President—why or wherefore it was not thought necessary to say. Then came the news that the assassins had been discovered to be anarchists, and that the whole four had been executed. Again the *Tribune* described them as instruments of Jesuit malignity. What a combination!—Jesuits and anarchists! When absurdity of this kind is found disgracing the pages of a leading organ of public opinion in the very seat of the nation’s heart and brain, as New York may be regarded, what may not one be prepared to find in remote parts of the country, where ancient hatreds and superstitions still flourish in much of their pristine rank luxuriance?

While the civil sway of Spain over the countries of South America

was often oppressive and deserving of opprobrium, it was a thousand times more just, humane and enlightened than that of Great Britain over India and Ireland. It was carried on by the Spanish Government in very much the same way as the government of Ireland and India is to this day carried on. Viceroys were appointed by the Crown, and these again appointed deputies in the various provinces. But the system was infinitely better than the British system in the Old World, inasmuch as each province and division enjoyed a practical system of home rule, with an admirable popularly elected judiciary and a system of representation on all matters wherein taxation was involved. No doubt Spanish domination in its earlier stage brought woe and slavery to the aborigines, but the royal power soon put an end to that form of oppression, and the heroic Jesuits and other religious orders soon threw a shield over the Indian and protected him from the cruelty and greed of the hard-hearted conquistador and the commercial Spanish adventurer—the carpetbagger as we style that human pest to-day. In the splendid system of ecclesiastical government established by royal authority in Nicaragua and other places the power of religion to civilize the savage and convert him into one of the most useful of men was demonstrated in a marvelous way. No such experiment had ever been witnessed before, for under no other government but that of Spain could it have been made possible. Yet the anonymous historian who set out to tell the story of the South American Republics ninety years ago gives no credit to Spain for its liberality and wisdom, but compares its colonial policy unfavorably with that of England. The Spanish Monarchy, he stated, was absolute, while that of Great Britain was limited, and this limited condition affected the rule of the colonies as well as the insular government. Theoretically it did, no doubt, until the abolition of the East India Company and the proclamation of the English sovereignty as an imperial and not a kingly one, during the late Queen's reign, at the instigation of the supple Jew, Disraeli, who was bent on carrying out the dream of Vivian Gray and gaining the title he had chosen in the novel, *Lord Beaconsfield*. Previous to the Indian Mutiny the East India Company ruled India in a fashion so defiant of respect for human right and so cynical in its selfishness and cruelty as to defy all comparison—save perhaps that of the Sultans of Morocco and Zanzibar when the slave trade was the staple source of revenue for the treasury. In India there was a Viceroyalty, as there was in the Spanish colonies; but the Viceroys in India were powerless, in a large measure, before the privileges of the royal charter which the East India Company could flourish in the face of delegated power; while in Ireland the Viceroy was subordinated in authority, by a most paradoxical mal-arrange-

ment of the English Parliament, to his own Chief Secretary, and only served as a mere ornamental figurehead holding a mock court and giving levees and "drawing rooms" on stated occasions, in Dublin Castle.

From the beginning the English-speaking writers of South American history of the type of this unknown one began the work of defaming the Church and the religious orders. A few examples of this spirit and the contradictions in which it often involved the maligners may be offered. Here is a characteristic sample:

"An inconsiderate zeal for the establishment of monasteries was disclosed at an early period, and, from the influence of the regular ecclesiastics, these institutions were multiplied to a pernicious extent, in a new country, where every encouragement ought to have been afforded to the increase of population."

The disingenuousness here is the suppression of the fact that the friars who built and tenanted these monasteries came, as a rule, from Spain, and their presence in the new country in no wise affected the increase or decrease of the population, except in the direction of that improvement in economic conditions which invariably ensues on improvement in moral conditions, such as the monasteries and their spacious settlements speedily brought about in those regions which came within the zone of the Spanish missions.

"Most of the clergy in America were regular, and many of the highest honors and preferments were in their possession. Great numbers of them came as missionaries, and most of them in quest of liberty, wealth or distinction."

How could it be otherwise than that the clergy who came out from Spain should belong to orders? Missionary priests could only be of that class. None of them, it is certainly most safe to say, ever came out "in quest of liberty, wealth or distinction." They came out on the most glorious of missions—namely, to stand between the conquistadore and the bagman and the intended or actual victims of victorious invaders, and to proclaim the inhibition of the Church against oppression of the conquered. They came also to plant the faith of the Cross and to sow the seeds of Christian civilization.

"The success of the missionaries in converting the natives was almost entirely deceptive; they made use of the same unjustifiable means that have been resorted to by the Jesuits in other parts of the world, and with like success. To render the new religion more palatable, and to introduce it with greater facility, they pretended that there was a similarity between the doctrines and mysteries of Christianity and the crude notions of their own barbarous superstitions. By fraud and force, in the course of a few years after the reduction of the Mexican Empire, more than four millions of the

natives were baptized; but they remained the same, or at least no better, for such spurious conversion. They were not entirely ignorant of the doctrines and duties of Christianity, but retained all their veneration for their ancient superstitions. This mixture of Christianity with their own superstitious rites was transmitted to their posterity and has never been eradicated."

Eighty years ago, as we thus find, the seeds of racial and religious rancor were sedulously planted in the North American mental soil. Long before Prescott and Parkman began their labors in the same invidious field, the ground had been broken and furrowed by the toil of cruder litterateurs, and now we of to-day are reaping the harvest of hate thus carefully provided for.

Comparisons between the respective humanity and motives of British colonization and that of Spain, in such a discussion, is quite natural. Both countries began their colonial career in the same historical era. But they each had different conditions to approach. In the East Indies the English adventurers found an ancient and gorgeous civilization founded on a moral and philosophical system rooted in the dawn of history, and productive of a contentment among the millions of the people that, if it did not signify progress, gave the empire of the Moguls a state of permanent, if stagnant, peace. In South America the Spaniards found the primeval forest and the fierce paganism of the untutored savage, tempered in portions of the new region, as in Mexico, with a bloody and revolting cult akin to that of Moloch. And yet historians of the repute of those named shed literary tears over the overthrow of the "civilization" of the Aztecs and its horrible human holocausts! These and their conquerers of lesser rank would fain impress on the world the idea that while a special Providence guided the prows of English ships toward the Oriental Ind, a curse filled the sails of the Spanish caravels that bore the Spanish Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans to South American ports!

As every tree is known by its fruit, the colonizing policy of both Great Britain and Spain is to be judged by the respective results. Here in the North the Anglo-Saxon has left his imprint deep on the page of the aboriginal history. It is a chronicle that brings him no glory. It stamps him as an exterminator and a rapacious coveter and grasper of that which is not his. Spain, on the contrary, has infused her blood and her national traditions into the life of the South American aborigine, and did not proceed to "improve" him, as the English settlers did the Northern aborigine. Yet such a distinction in treatment was held up to Northern admiration, eighty years ago, by a cynical inversion of reasoning, as a circumstance inuring to Spain's discredit and Anglo-Saxon glory! This might

appear a difficult position to advance or maintain, since "facts are stubborn things," and no fact stands out more clearly than the wiping out of the North American Indians and the survival and multiplication of the South American ones. Audacity, however, like necessity, knows no law, as the following passages of the history under consideration will show:

"If the Spaniards rendered little benefit to the natives by their attempts to Christianize them, their conduct towards them in other respects was severe and oppressive in the extreme.

"The views of the Spaniards with respect to the natives were entirely different from those of the English in the American colonies. In the latter the natives were either induced peaceably to cede their lands and retire further into the interior of the continent, or from the successive hostilities which arose were exterminated or dispersed. As the European settlements extended, the natives, who had for ages been 'lords of the soil,' gradually retired, disposed of their lands, or had them wrested from them by war, and sought new abodes, where, depending on the chase, they might enjoy an easy subsistence. They melted away before the sun of civilization like the dew of the morning, without leaving any of their number behind or scarcely" (*sic*) "a trace of their former existence. Not only thousands of individuals, but numerous tribes or nations might say with Logan, the Mingo chief, 'Not a drop of our blood flows in the veins of any living creature inhabiting the land of our fathers.'"

Whatever the wrongs inflicted on the Southern Indians by the early Spanish settlers—and they were many and as long-lived as calamity—they were at length mitigated by the Spanish crown and all attempts to keep the people as serfs by the settlers were in the end frustrated. By the efforts of Las Casas and the religious orders, the Indian was soon placed on a social equality with the conqueror, and no attempt was made to establish the odious color line. How different their case from that of the North American red men and the English settlers!

Craft and cruelty are charged against the early Spanish conquerors, but these vices were not peculiar to them. They are equally applicable to Warren Hastings as to Pizarro. The Begums of Oule were subjected to them no less than the Incas of Peru. Tortures were resorted to by the English adventurers in the East as well as by the Spaniards, in order to gain possession of the riches of the native princes. They are shown in the wars of conquest of to-day not less than in those of the sixteenth century, with only the difference of degree. The war against the Boers of South Africa was begun in craft and carried out in cruelty on the most colossal scale. Is there any parallel in the Spanish wars of colonization for the

burning of 89,000 farms and the driving of the women and children left homeless into foul camps, to die of disease, hunger and despair? No such record ever before blotted the page of history, and it was not of Spain it was written, but of England—the country whose historians have been holding Spain up before the world as the personification of all that is treacherous and cruel ever since the days of the Tudors.

It was inevitable, from the circumstances under which the Spaniards began the colonization of South America, that abuses should spring up in the beginning. The newcomers were selfish adventurers, just as the newcomers in many other colonies were, and they were not over-scrupulous as to the means by which they attained their selfish ambition. They oppressed the natives and used them as slaves. The British in South Africa have been doing the same in regard to Kaffirs and Chinese, and their High Commissioner, Lord Milner, defended the practice of flogging the Chinese coolies in the mines as necessary. No one in such authority ever attempted to defend cruelty toward South American Indians in so bold a way; and as soon as the Spanish monarchs could they abolished slavery and passed salutary laws to protect the native races. The wise legislation of Charles V. secured the Indians in their rights as free subjects of the Spanish crown; and later on this legislation was supplemented by the action of the Ministry, under Count Galvez, in establishing the system of "intendancies," which put an end to many abuses which had crept in under the older system of "encomiendas" and the worse one of "corregidores"—a system very much akin to that in vogue at the mines here, where the miners buy from agents at an exorbitant price and are driven to borrow money at an exorbitant rate of interest to usurers and blood-suckers.

The readers of those early histories could hardly fail to rise from their perusal without a feeling of loathing toward Spain as a governing country and a still deeper one with regard to the Catholic Church, since every dishonest device is resorted to in order to produce such a sentiment. In this particular case much the same tactics were employed as in the case of the so-called selling of indulgences by Tetzal. Indulgences are understood to be licenses to commit sin, just like a license to sell liquor or gunpowder. Monks are represented as selling the "Bull de Cruzado"—probably the Bull "In Coena Domini," promulgated against the Turks; and the Bull is described as 'granting absolution' for past sins and granting certain dispensations in regard to Lent. Any ordinarily educated writer would not be found committing himself to such a puerility in statement, for the usual law of the Church renders any such interposition unnecessary. Absolution is pronounced by the individual priest on

the acknowledgment of sin, and there is no need of a Papal Bull to ratify it. So, too, with regard to dispensation in the matter of fasting and abstinence. The individual priest possesses the power to deal with all such matters. Yet under a misapprehension of the true nature of such questions, the anonymous writer of this "history" did not hesitate to set down as a statement of fact that by allowing such a practice as the "selling" of these Bulls the Spanish monarchy, which should have been the protector of the morals of the people, bartered them away for the sake of a paltry tax! Even the statement of the accusation proves it to be a stupid falsehood—for how can anything whose payment is optional be called a tax? Little wonder that the American mind, at an early age, became embittered against Spain and the Catholic faith when the process of systematic empoisoning was thus begun in the very infancy, so to speak, of the American Republic.

Historians who sit down to work out a theory conceived in racial prejudice may get along smoothly for some time, but as they proceed they lose hold of the thread which has led them into the labyrinth and presently find themselves floundering. They have proved too much; their vaulting ambition has overleaped itself. This particular chronicle bristles with such contradictions. The careful reader will frequently find that while he was having his mind prepared for some deplorable outcome of unfortunate or intolerable conditions an anti-climax is reached, by some remarkable oversight, and a result very creditable to the ruling power, just before held up to execration as a detestable tyranny, is presented to the reader's gaze, very much to his astonishment. No picture could be darker than that drawn of the condition of the Spanish Creoles, for instance, in the course of this narrative. They are represented as oppressed beyond the power of human endurance, degraded, kept in ignorance, ground down by "foreign" rule—in a word, on a plane with the Irish Catholic people during the penal laws—and yet as a class distinguished for their loyalty and attachment to *their* King and country—that is to the rule of those who had just been described as "foreign." This spirit of loyalty was strongly in evidence when an abortive insurrection was gotten up in Caraccas, at the instigation of British speculators by a man named Leon, not for political but commercial purposes. The Creoles remained steadfastly loyal, and so checkmated the British friends of liberty, as the conspirators pretended to be. Again their loyalty was put to a stronger test when another conspiracy, headed by Tupac Amru, a descendant of the Incas, broke out in Peru. This was a formidable attempt to restore the power of the Incas, and the struggle lasted for three years. But at length it collapsed, and mainly because of the fidelity of the same



class—the Spanish Creoles. This was in 1781. Yet this same super-faithful race is found, in the same pages, a few years later—namely, in 1797—eagerly joining in another conspiracy, originating also in Caraccas, but fomented from outside. Why such a surprising change in sentiment in so very short a period? What had happened to a people who were so fond of hugging their chains to make them now eager to rend them? Had a new Caractacus, a modern Spartacus, arisen to inflame their sodden spirits and rouse them from the slough of despond? The answer to this inquiry is one of absorbing interest, because it embraces a chapter of history which furnishes the explanation of many events in modern affairs which on the surface look like the incipient struggling of a new-born spirit of freedom, the travail of liberty, but when investigated further indicate the beginnings of a much less noble impulse—the spirit of commercial aggression and filibustering piracy.

Mr. William Pitt, the great statesman who destroyed the liberty of Ireland, was for a considerable time much perturbed in his mind about the political status of the South American people, and the desire to bring about their emancipation had taken strong possession of him. There happened to be in London just at this period an ex-Jesuit named Guzman, a Peruvian, and with him the British Prime Minister had several conferences, the outcome of which was the publication by Guzman of an appeal to the Peruvians to arise and throw off the Spanish yoke. More than this, funds were sent out by Pitt to General Miranda to enable him to get up a filibustering expedition against Venezuela. Pitt went farther than this. He got the British Minister to make a serious proposal to the United States Government, Mr. Adams then being President, to have a joint intervention over the Spanish colonies and sunder their connection with Spain. Miranda's attempt was made, but with disastrous results, not for himself, but for the dupes whom he had persuaded to embark in it. A number of young men from the United States enlisted in the service, and these were soon overpowered by the Venezuelan forces. They were thrown into prison, while Miranda himself got away in safety.

The real object of Mr. Pitt's emancipation ardor was made apparent by the text of a proclamation published by the Governor of Trinidad, Sir Thomas Picton, throwing open the ports of that island to the trade of the South American colonies and directing the attention of the people to the facilities thus afforded for storing up arms and preparing a *point d'appui* for a descent upon the South American colonies. The proclamation in short was an undisguised attempt to stir up insurrection all over the Spanish colonies in South America, and it made no secret of the motives which inspired the call to free-

dom. It was "to liberate the colonies from the oppressive and tyrannical system which supports with so much rigor the monopoly of commerce" and "to draw the greatest advantages possible which the local situation of the islands presents, by opening a direct communication with the other parts of the world, *without prejudice to the commerce of the British nation.*" It was hardly necessary to italicize this proviso to have its significance comprehended, but it is proper to give it all the emphasis possible, because it reveals the awful hypocrisy which sought under a pretext of love of liberty to destroy the rule of Spain and the commerce of Spain, for the base purpose of securing it for Britain and her own colonies. This is certainly the most flagitious transaction that ever disgraced the foreign policy of any British Minister. Its nefarious character is all the darker because of the record of the Minister who inspired it—the heartless destroyer of Ireland's Parliamentary rights and the cold-blooded author of the sanguinary uprising of 1798—a rebellion which, as the State papers have since proved, was gotten up deliberately by his contrivance in order that he might have the country deprived of the means of resistance while he proceeded to execute the design of destroying her public liberties.

Such was the character of the Minister who desired to be lauded in history as the liberator of the Spanish colonists. We have seen that he had made overtures to Mr. Adams, the President of the United States at that period, with a view to joint action against Spain, but met with no encouragement in that direction. The idea of territorial expansion had not as yet inflamed the minds of statesmen bent more on securing what they had won from despotic power than on reaching out for empire.

A fresh attempt on the Spanish colonies was made in the year 1806. A British expedition, under Sir Henry Popham, entered the river La Plata and made a movement against Buenos Ayres, but after a little while was forced to surrender. Soon afterward Popham, having received reinforcements, was enabled to storm Monte Video. Two other expeditions, under Generals Whitlock and Crawford, were respectively directed against Buenos Ayres and Valparaiso. Both armies joined in the attack on Buenos Ayres, but they were soon put to flight by the brave inhabitants, after having lost fully one-third of their number in the fighting, and the British commanders were very glad to sign an agreement to leave the country within two months. The object of these various attacks was no longer dissembled. It was not to emancipate the colonists, as before pretended, but to subjugate the country and annex it to the British crown, as a state of war then existed between Britain and Spain, as an ally of France, as she at that time was, although destined to

be in a very short time in a life and death struggle with her for national existence.

As long as Spain maintained her sovereignty intact, her South American colonies continued loyal. There were many and grave abuses in their government, but none greater than in the government of other powers in their various colonial systems in other parts of the globe, but the people were, for the most part, prosperous and contented with their condition. But the soil was being prepared for a change. The introduction of Freemasonry was the most active agency. This element recognized its natural enemy in the Church, and to the overthrow of its influence the members of the craft, throughout many of the colonies, directed their efforts and instituted a vigorous propaganda which is carried on unflaggingly still. But the great factor in the separation of the colonies from the mother country was the seizure of the crown of Spain by Bonaparte and the bestowal of it on one of his brothers. This flagitious usurpation shook the colonial system from end to end. The affairs of the various colonies were thrown into the utmost disorder, and the people, led by able and restless spirits, began to devise means whereby their interests might be better safeguarded. One by one they broke away from the connection and, inspired by the example of the United States, they each, in turn, adopted the Republican idea and fashioned their form of commonwealth rule on the famous formula adopted by Jefferson and the other great Republican leaders. The change was not easily effected. The struggle was prolonged and bitter, but in the end the colonies triumphed. Such a result ought naturally, one might think, have won for them the sympathy of the Northern Republic, to which they had paid the delicate flattery of imitating its Constitution, and for a little while it did. But gradually the feeling changed. There were vast territories lying close to the Northern Republic's frontiers—Florida, Louisiana, Texas, New Mexico, California—and on these the eyes of ambition and greed soon became fastened. They were thinly populated, and all but defenseless. Soon excuses for aggression arose, through the disorders inevitable from border laxity and Indian depredations.

Alexander Von Humboldt is an authority not open to the usual objection. A scientific explorer rather than a political observer, his great mind was capable of storing up a multitude of facts and deducing from them their essential meaning and their bearing on the varied phenomena which challenged his attention as he laboriously pursued his scientific investigations. He traveled extensively in South America—more so, perhaps, than any other traveler, save, perhaps, Audubon—and he noted carefully the social and political conditions which resulted from Spain's great colonizing undertak-

ings there. In his book on "New Spain" (Mexico now) he gives a deeply interesting account of the people and their condition. This passage is particularly valuable as an offset to the rancorous mis-statements of American historians:

"The Indian cultivator is poor, but he is free. His state is even greatly preferable to that of the peasantry in a great part of Northern Europe. There are neither corvées nor villanage in New Spain, and the number of slaves is next to nothing. There the principal objects of agriculture are not the productions to which European luxury has assigned a variable and arbitrary value, but cereal gramina, nutritive roots and the agave, the vine of the Indians. The appearance of the country proclaims to the traveler that the soil nourishes him who cultivates it, and that the true prosperity of the Mexican people neither depends on the accidents of foreign commerce nor on the unruly politics of Europe."

It is not necessary here to enter into any review of the circumstances which brought about the absorption of these vast territories under successive Administrations. It is enough to say that the policy and the equity of the war with Mexico, which brought about the greater portion of the respective cessions, were seriously questioned by the better conscience of the nation, just as the war with Spain which brought us the *damnosa haereditas* (as some political leaders regard it) of the Philippines, was questioned by Sherman, Reed and other high-minded statesmen. But it is interesting to observe the similarity of the preliminary tactics in both cases. There was precisely the same process of stirring up animosity between the respective peoples by means of the press and the pen of the historian. The case of the conquest of California may be cited as a typical instance of a process graphically described in a homely formula about giving a dog a bad name. In the history of the United States by John Frost, LL. D. (1857) we find this reliable old process illustrated. California was discovered by Cortez in 1534, it is recorded, but not brought under the rule of Spain until 1769. Then Admiral Otondo, accompanied by a number of Jesuits under Father Eusebius Francisco Kino, set forth to open up a new and splendid territory to civilization. The historian finds little material for a narrative of how the undertaking fared, he says, but it was in the result successful, and he declares that its success was as much owing to the efforts of the ecclesiastics as those of the soldiers. This was the story of the Philippines over again. But the historian goes on to summarize the subsequent stage in a characteristic way. It is worth while quoting a passage or two:

"The Jesuits settled in the most fertile provinces and . . . entered ardently upon the trying task of proselyting the Indians. Per-

suasion and presents were the means commonly used; when these failed, force was resorted to."

No authority is cited by the historian for this statement. Why? Because, of course, he had none to offer. He was simply anticipating the advent of the "yellow journalist." To resume:

"After conversion each native was required to give ten years' faithful service to the mission, after which he was set at liberty," etc.

This is directly at variance with the prohibition of slavery by the Spanish crown as well as the whole procedure of the Jesuits and other religious orders with regard to the Indians. It is evidently a fabrication. Again: "During the revolts in 1836 the Indians were mostly cast off from their missions and deprived of the fruits of their labor. The country was visited, in 1841, by Captain Wilkes, at the head of the United States Exploring Expedition, who found it to be destitute of all government."

The Indians, he went on to say, were desperate because of the way they had been treated—of course by the Jesuits, it was understood, though not stated. For a country that was so destitute of government as described it put up a pretty stiff fight when our troops, under Fremont and Kearney and Stockton, invaded it to conquer it for a rule which is not particularly distinguished for consideration for Indians' rights, however much better it may be than that of either Spain or Mexico for the white settlers.

A volume might very easily be filled with the evidences of prejudice and passion which were always relied upon by cunning and ambitious statesmen and adventurers, at times of friction on the borders, to back up their schemes of aggrandizement when they came to the verge of war. Recent events in American development have not tended to allay the suspicions of the "Latin Republics" with regard to the dreams of their formidable Northern neighbor, and they exhibit their distrust by looking to other parts of the world for their needs in the way of commerce and manufactures. This is why Mr. Root has been despatched on an embassy of inquiry and conciliation. There will be a congress of nearly all the States next June, in Rio de Janeiro, and some good result may be hoped for from that important gathering. It is necessary for the world's peace that the distrust—the very natural distrust—of our intentions be removed from the minds of those people, so different from our own in many important respects. It is essential to our own commercial prosperity that they should have their suspicions disarmed. A great stumbling block in the way of peace will always be present so long as the enterprise of the professional missionary to the Catholic territories is sustained by commercial interest or mistaken religious zeal.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

## SOME ASPECTS OF FREE WILL.

THE doctrine of a universal monism strongly appeals to the scientific mind. That the universe we see about us to-day, with its manifold beauties of sunlit earth and starlit sky, its wonders of life in all its forms, from the tiny plant even to the highest aspirations of the human intellect, was once latent in the simplicity of one primeval nebula, from whose womb it was gradually evolved without any new creation of matter or energy, is a thought that captivates the mind, yet tends to exalt rather than depreciate the wisdom and omnipotence of the Creator. Yet as the phenomena of nature are subjected, one by one, to examination, certain facts obtrude themselves upon our view, and the would-be Monist must not blind himself to their significance. Where do we find such facts? At the entrance to the vegetative world, at the threshold of animal life and sensation? At both these points the battle is still being waged; some philosophers still contend that life, even in its most humble form, betrays new energies that mere matter and motion can never explain, while their opponents as strongly profess to see nothing, even in the complexity of sensation, that may not have been fully latent in the "fiery cloud." But to pass these points by, we come to man, and at the threshold of human freedom the issue becomes more vital still and the contest more closely knit. If man's will is free, monism falls to the ground, for only the introduction of a new creative act can explain that freedom. The nebula which evolves under stress of necessary law cannot explain the new energy of man's will, which sets necessity itself at defiance. Hence the strenuous efforts of modern determinism to bring at all costs the human will within the domain of necessary law; hence the importance of outlining and defending the position that has ever appealed to reasonable men both inside and outside Christianity, that man's will is free and does not follow the impulse of motive as necessarily and surely as the rising and falling of the tides obey the influence of sun and moon.

Looked at from the moral standpoint, it would be difficult to overrate the importance of this doctrine of human freedom, lying as it does at the very root of all man's dealings with his fellow-men and God Himself. Tell man he is not free, and in the eyes of the average man punishment and reward, the sense of duty, the feeling of responsibility and remorse—all these, in their true significance, go by the board. Curious it is, then, to watch the positions taken up by determinists on this point. Many of them cannot but accept these consequences that the denial of free will entails; some of these,

startled at the gloomy outlook, would hide the truth—surely a becoming idea for those who boast themselves, par excellence, the friends of truth! Can you conceal the truth, or why should you ever do so? Is not *magna est veritas et praevaleret* the crystallized sense of mankind? Others, less scrupulous retailers of their chiefs, are not loath to accept the consequences. “No free will, no God” is their dogma; “let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.” Quite a different position is adopted by others who boldly deny that any such evil effects must follow the loss of human liberty. “Remove this phantom of free will,” they say, “and mankind will get along pretty much the same as before; man will still be amenable to motive; by punishing his misdeeds we shall make him regret that he ever committed them and take good care to avoid them in the future; by rewarding his good deeds we shall make him feel proud of duty well done, and inspire him with good intentions for the time to come.” So speak some determinists, with what truth we shall see later on.

Our contention is briefly stated. We are convinced and feel that we deserve sometimes reward, sometimes blame, and this just because when we did act we really could have abstained from so doing. We are free, then, in many of our actions, and these the most vital and serious. Give a man clear deliberation when passion is not too strong, and he may act freely. It is only when the storm of passion, as it were, sweeps us off our feet or our intellects are blinded in its sudden outburst that true freedom is no longer ours. In the first moments of strong anger a man's hands close like a vice and his whole appearance betrays him as surely as the sky is overcast as the storm approaches. There is no freedom there. No, it is only when I deliberately consider the motive before me and give it a fair chance that I may bring into use my sacred prerogative of freedom and decide freely and as I choose.

The mention of motive brings us at once into our subject; to study how a motive works will facilitate our treatment. Man is by nature composite; he has both a body and a soul, each endowed with its own proper and distinct set of faculties for perceiving good and embracing it. Though profoundly distinct in character, these two sets of powers are so intimately connected that it is a received truth of psychology that there is no movement of sense-perception or appetite that has not a concomitant and corresponding motion in intellect or will; the one follows the other necessarily and inevitably. A motive, then, is presented to the intellect and appeals to the will through the senses, so that the first act of will necessarily embraces that good. So far the act of will is necessary. The intellect now adverts to what the will is doing. Can the will now cease to act?

If there are two motives there, can it choose between them, remembering that in this theory of motives they all drag the will necessarily at first?

It is clear, then, that we can have no act of will without a motive. So far we all go, but the Determinist goes farther still, and his contention may be briefly stated thus: The nature and strength of our motives are beyond our control; neither can we resist a sole motive or choose the weaker. As the needle seeks the magnet when one alone is present, and inclines inevitably to the stronger when more than one are in the vicinity, so we must will in accordance with a sole motive or with the stronger if more than one are present.

That we cannot control our motives in the sense that our hereditary dispositions and the circumstances of our training and existence largely account for their peculiar nature and strength, we do not doubt. My circumstances of the moment are often beyond me; my physical texture was woven for me long before I was born; my peculiar brain structure, on which the strength of my motives especially depend, was moulded for me by the long since recognized law of heredity. That law, in the passing of which their votes were not taken, truly accounts for a large number of the unhappy inmates of our lunatic asylums, jails and reformatories. In the peculiar bent of the child's character even in its early years you can trace the hand of its ancestors, just as the geologist may read in their furrowed markings on mountain and in valley the majestic march of the glaciers long ere the dawn of history.

That is true, and undoubtedly also those motives—not of our own choosing—very strongly influence our wills for good or evil. But are we completely at their mercy? Are we as much the sport of our circumstances and propensities as the rudderless ship on the open sea, tossed about by wind and wave? The Determinist would have it so. Given one motive only, the will cannot resist its influence; let more be present, victory must fall to the side of the stronger.

As to the first of these statements, that we necessarily follow the stronger motive, we are forced to deny it as a gratuitous assertion. The very opposite is borne out by the strong testimony of our own consciousness. Curiously enough, some determinists are wont to make the same appeal, showing thereby how important they deem it to have consciousness on their side if they can. Man's time-honored feeling that he is free has evidently proved a serious obstacle to their cherished dreams of a universal monism; they cannot overlook it and brush it aside, so they set about examining their consciousness anew—this time under the light of their own scientific theories—and, lo! they succeed in finding therein a new testimony



that man never found there before, for they now proclaim to the world, triumphantly and in all seriousness, that they feel they are not free!

They feel they are not free! Yes, it is all very well on paper, but like universal skepticism we may take it that, except in the case of a color-blind few, it can rarely boast of a more than paper-existence. And we need not enlarge upon a plain fact—that the average man thinks in his heart that he is free and regards his deliberate acts accordingly, feels an honest pride after duty performed in the face of strong opposing temptation and, inwardly at least, hangs his head with shame and suffers a keen remorse when the full malice of his deliberate evil action comes home to his mind.

Claiming, then, in all fairness the testimony of consciousness on our side, let us get somewhat closer to our subject by examining into the precise reason of this human liberty. How comes it, then, that we are free, and instead of being the plaything of inherited propensities we can, if we so will it, fight the good fight and live them down? A satisfactory answer can only be found in a peculiar power of the human intellect, which being denied the brute creation, they are thereby deprived of freedom also. Elsewhere we prove that man has a soul that is spiritual, a faculty of cognition also whose object is the universal, which can picture to itself good which is without limit and unalloyed. Possessing such a peculiar power, man may be free. If you put before him such a good, which is all good and in which he can see no limitation after advertence, he must embrace it. So it is, theologians teach, with the saints in heaven. In the pure goodness of the Infinite Divine Essence, which they appreciate as much as God allows and as far as finite intellect may, there is no limitation, no alloy, so that they must of necessity love and enjoy.

Different it is, however, with the goods of this world; none of them are without limit and deficiency, and when the intellect adverts to the fact that the will is tending to any one of them, being able to conceive for itself the abstract good, it at once sees the blemish, and this is the mental situation for which liberty is claimed.

What, then, of the first contention of the determinist that a single motive necessitates the will? Here many advocates of freedom seem to hold with our opponents, yet such a position seems a dangerous one to take up.

It is a physical law as necessary as the falling of a stone or the revolution of the spheres, that a single motive is irresistible before advertence, such is our physical constitution. Does the law hold after advertence before any second motive enters? If you say it does, where does the magic power of freedom come from when the

second motive appears on the scene? It must either arise from the spiritual power of the intellect or the brute has it also. Yet as the spiritual nature of the faculty gave no help in the first case, how does it aid in the second? Again, if there is no such possibility of mere non-action, mere refusal to accept a single particular motive, and if I can only avoid one act by taking refuge in the performance of some other quite different act, what becomes of that liberty of contradiction which has been a traditional prerogative of man in the eyes of Catholic philosophers?

Furthermore, if you allow a sole motive to conquer the will, even after advertence, it is difficult to argue against the conclusion of our opponents that when two or more are present it is the strongest which must gain the assent of the will.

"Thou canst, for thou oughtest." This trite saying of Kant is often used to crystallize one of the usual arguments for free will. To rightly estimate its value we must search carefully into the full significance of this "ought," as men have been wont to use it. If in reality men were not free agents at all, so that when they committed murder or avoided it they were in neither case full masters of their actions, it would still remain true, in a sense, that they *ought* to avoid such a crime; and as they would still remain amenable to motive, though not free under its influence, legislators and moralists would still punish and exhort, probably with even more energy than ever, to supply motives strong enough to prevent the slaying of innocent men. But is it in that limited sense that men generally understand the feeling of obligation, and is the good of society the true and only justification for punishment? Would a man feel remorseful and ashamed to have violated such an obligation, or deem himself entitled to a reward for its observance when he is convinced that in either case he could not have done otherwise? And does not true punishment presuppose responsibility? Men would surely cry shame on the government which would hang a lunatic for his mad act of murder or the sportsman who, having taken all due precautions, is yet unfortunate enough to shoot the man behind the fence while aiming at the bird flying over it. Yet if the public security were the only point to be considered, why should they not die? It would certainly render marksmen more careful of human life and property, and murder would be still more studiously avoided when even a plea of insanity found no hearing in a court of justice. No, we do not inflict punishment in such cases, because in the eyes of reasonable men the state of mind of the offenders plead strongly in their favor. They were not free at the time nor responsible, so they are not held accountable for their deeds. We inflict pain upon a horse to train him, or on a dog, for motive weighs with them also;

but we do not call that strict punishment, since we do not hold a horse responsible when he runs away or a dog when he bites our neighbor. It is needless to labor this point further. The ways of men are but modeled on those of God. As men of common sense, then, who are not wont to punish the madman and who inflict death only for deliberate and premeditated crime, we are not going to believe that an all-just and all-wise God has treasured up an eternity of wrath for him who walks in evil ways and an Eden of endless delights for him who loves the good and does it, whilst both alike are not more masters of their actions or act less necessarily than the bullet that speeds to the target under stress of necessary natural law. Obligation, therefore, as men have ever understood it, presupposes responsibility and human freedom. You command me to do the good and avoid the evil. Why not order the winds to blow and the tides to rise and fall, if all were equally latent in the nebula of old?

Yet it is not every "ought" that proves free will, but only that sense of absolute obligation coming from a being outside myself who commands me to observe the order he has constituted and will punish me for its violation only in so far as I am a responsible agent. We can conceive man before his reason has convinced him of the existence of a personal Creator; he feels at once, by an intuition of his reasoning faculty, that the world as he sees it and mankind as he understands them cannot subsist in anything like proper order if the slaying of innocent men were at all tolerated. He is as yet conscious of no obligation coming from without to avoid murder, yet he truly feels that he "ought" not to commit such a crime, seeing, as he does, that nature itself cries out against it as subversive of all order. Does this "ought" prove his freedom? He may feel that he is free to violate or observe; if so, you can appeal to that consciousness of personal liberty. But if the sense of freedom were not there, would the conviction of "ought" disappear also? Why should it? And if it should not, surely you cannot infer freedom therefrom.

However, as we have before remarked, it is not this slender sense of obligation that men possess as they contemplate the world around them. It is a far stricter sense of obligation, an absolute command coming from a Being outside this world, a Being who intends to safeguard the order He has constituted by first making man free and responsible for every deliberate action, and then rewarding or punishing him according to his works; a personal Lord and Creator whose existence men very soon come to realize when, clearing their minds of the obscuring mists of prejudice, they "look the facts of the universe straight in the face."

We have appealed to facts to support our contention, to the inner

testimony of our own consciousness, to the feeling of responsibility that every man vividly realizes when he is face to face with strong temptation, to the punishments even of this world, whose severity is clearly regulated according to the state of mind of the offender. Let us now turn to the determinists who assail even the possibility of human freedom and can see no room for such a reality in a universe of iron law.

You, they say, give a power to the will which the facts do not warrant, though you do not allow it to anticipate the impulses of the organism by preventing them; you make it direct them as it chooses; you allow it to reject the strong and follow as the lesser impulse may lead. Yet do not facts seem to teach the very reverse; that it is not the will that directs organic impulse, but organic impulse which rules the will? Look now at that man strongly rooted by long exercise in habits of honesty; a simple accident to his brain changes him into a helpless kleptomaniac—his will, hitherto seemingly strong, now at the mercy of organic impulse, his hand in everybody's pocket. See that other man buoyant with religious hope, for he knows that his God is a just God, who holds forth a strong arm to aid the soldier that fights His battles. A similar accident befalls him, and he is now a paralyzed creature, the springs of action all dried up, plunged into the depths of religious despair. So it has happened over and over again; disease or accident has turned honest men into thieves, strong-minded into helpless idiots, and has even robbed chaste souls of that queenly virtue, giving them even in advancing age the unholy desires of the profligate.

Now what do such facts prove, for that they are facts is quite beyond doubt? Surely they may be placed on the same footing as the recognized results of heredity with which, though they may differ in degree, they are one in kind. Some come into the world lunatics, most men with strong propensities of one kind or another, others become insane or have their habits changed by accident or disease. Is this strange? Is it not rather to be expected when we bear in mind that the soul and body are so intimately united that the first movements of intellect and will, when a good is presented to the mind, must exactly vary in nature and in intensity with the motions of the organism that precede them? Do we need psychology to teach us this? Rather do we not learn it from daily personal experience?

Since, then, the strength of organic impulse naturally depends on the physical state of the material organ, and since we may take it that the brain has its functions organized to a greater or less extent, is it not quite natural to expect that if an honest man has his brain damaged in the proper place he may now find it very difficult or well nigh impossible to will the deed of honesty that was an easy

work before? We say well nigh impossible, for as an injury to the brain may prevent a man thinking rationally at all, may it not be at times less sweeping but more selective in its effect, rendering him incapable of thinking and willing along certain special lines, whilst leaving him both energetic and free upon all others? The facts narrated of such peculiar accidents seem to point in that direction, hinting, too, that the secret of our facilities is to be sought for in peculiarity of organic structure, so that, as the structure is changed by disease or accident, propensities may change and facilities disappear, certain special impulses may become altogether impossible, and what is more important still, the will power in such directions seems to share the same fate.

As throwing light, then, on the intimate dependence of the soul of man and the organized frame which it vivifies, such facts are very interesting reading, but so far from militating against man's freedom, they leave the question quite untouched. Men come into the world and grow to manhood with marked propensities for which their ancestors and not they are responsible. Are their wills enslaved by such vicious inclinations? Can they put forth no effort to choose a better part? The common sense of mankind, the testimony of their inner consciousness, knows no determinism here, for it tells man that he is free and the maker of his own destiny. He may find the way rougher and more difficult to tread if he be handicapped with inherited propensities to evil, but they are by no means insuperable if he but struggle manfully on. Again, when accident has robbed your hitherto honest man of his sense of justice, are you quite sure there is no vestige of freedom remaining because you find his hand so often in the pocket of his neighbor? There is no room for freedom in the wild disorder of a lunatic's brain; so it may well be that in extreme cases the kleptomaniac has no longer power to keep his hands to himself, and our notion of the mind's intimate connection with matter can freely admit such a possibility; but surely until such an acute stage is reached we are not warranted in asserting that alongside the vicious habit which ensues on some unhappy accident there is no longer place for human liberty. If the propensities that were latent in him at birth and which forced themselves into view as years passed by left a man still free to battle against them, as his own consciousness clearly points out, why should a like propensity, the result of injury or disease, now make the hitherto honest man thief like a machine that knows no freedom, or make the hitherto chaste now tread the opposite paths of vice whether he wills it or not? As my propensities, so will be my motives in nature and in strength, strongly influencing me for good or ill; but the determinist has not yet proved beyond mere assertion—

and that in face of unvarying inner testimony to the contrary—that the varying strength of my motives sway my will with the necessity of iron law.

The doctrine of the conservation of energy has supplied another weapon which determinists frequently make use of in their battle against human freedom. As far as the instruments of the skilled scientist can probe the secrets of nature, energy—material energy—is never added to, never subtracted from or destroyed. You may transform it in various ways; you can never increase or diminish its ever constant sum. The total amount of material energies in the complex universe of to-day is neither more nor less than that of the simple nebula of old. If this be a fact in the material world, will you extend it to the vital action of living things, to the free acts of man? And if you do so, as many have done and as our opponents are only too glad to do, how explain the free act of will which apparently—seeing that its peculiar duty is to direct the impulses of a material organism—must in its essential exercise add to or subtract from the energies of the material system which it modifies?

Determinism is very confident here. Does not this all-embracing formula lay once and for all this ghost of human freedom, which has so long haunted the pathway to their cherished monism? Let us face the difficulty.

To begin with, some apologists do not favor a rigid application of this principle all along the line. They would hold that the exercise of liberty, in its direction of organic impulse, does really change to a slight extent the amount of energy in the material system. They deny the facts and thus solve the difficulty. Yet, seeing that the curious and keen eyes of science have been long on the lookout for these minute changes in the amount of physical energy, but without success, most scientists and Catholic philosophers alike have come to apply the law all round and are seeking a reply to the difficulty from other sources.

It is, I think, the tradition of the schools that the true vital act is immanent; its term does not extend beyond the material organ within which it spontaneously arises; it modifies, as it were, the collocation of matter there, thus letting loose the material energies stored therein by the food we eat and the air we breathe, and which now do the work we will to do. We need not here discuss the obvious difficulty as to how the physical vital act could modify even the location of material particles without communicating some of its energy at least to the ether with which every organ is permeated through and through. We wish merely to notice the tradition on the point. Clearer still is the tradition when we come to the higher faculties. The analogous motions of intellect and will are certainly

immanent. Their own proper acts are termed within the spiritual powers themselves. Now that the will can modify organic impulse, directing it into channels in which it might not otherwise flow, is the very meaning of freedom. How precisely is this directive power exercised? Is the causality employed physical or moral? The Divine act is formally immanent, really identified with the Divine essence, yet its physical virtue goes out beyond, keeping the spheres revolving in their majestic orbits and conserving with a continual creation the lives and actions of the wondrous world of animated nature. Some would treat the human will likewise, giving it an action at once immanent and virtually transient, thus going outside itself to direct with a physical efficacy the impulses of a material organ. In this, a common view, what of the principle of the conservation of energy?

It seems rather incomprehensible, at first sight at least, that you can interfere at all physically with a system of material energy to produce there even a small modification without changing, slightly but really, the amount of energy contained therein. How is your physical work done if you expend no energy in doing it? The thing seems queer, yet some explanations are forthcoming.

Here is one, suggested briefly thus: "No power, no energy is required to deflect a bullet from its path, provided the deflecting force acts at right angles to that path." Put forward as a mathematical truth, we are not going to criticize it as such, but we doubt if its application here is above suspicion. Such a principle, if true, may apply here and there in nature, as in the circling of a planet about its parent sun or when the experimentalist tries to illustrate it in his laboratory; but the usual interaction of physical forces, from the close inspection of which this very law of conservation has been surmised, is not conducted at so precise an angle, nor may we judge it very probable that the deflecting force due to an action of the human will is ever to be found acting in a perpendicular direction to the path of the organic movement it is at the moment modifying.

Other apologists seek a solution by insisting on the doctrine of the Schoolmen that the soul and body constitute *one* complete substantial living being. Fr. Maher in his "Psychology" adopts this key to the difficulty, and as far as free will is concerned sums up his conclusions thus: "The material energy manifested in movement was previously stored in the living organic tissues; feelings and volitions merely determine the *form* it shall assume. Mental acts thus modify not the *quantity*, but the *quality* of the energy contained in the system." By the *quality* as distinct from the quantity, as he mentions just afterwards, the *direction* of the energy is to be understood.

Confining ourselves to the case of free volitions, let us see exactly what power we claim for the will in its dealing with organic impulse. It cannot anticipate or prevent them. Our own teaching, based naturally on personal experience, tells us that the will is no despot in this matter; a ripe and delicious fruit appeals to my sense appetite whether I will or no. Yet that we in some real way hold the reins in our own hands and can control our desires, is a truth also borne out by personal feeling and felicitously expressed by the Schoolmen when they say that the will, though not a tyrant, yet has a "politic" power over those wayward impulses. Does not this mean that though I cannot forestall its appearance or stifle it in its birth, yet I can really direct the impulse as I choose when already begun? And if so, does not the old difficulty crop up once more? No doubt a bullet must take a definite path in space if it is to move at all, yet it has an indefinite number of such paths lying open to it, the quantity of its energy—the mass and velocity—remaining unchanged; having once begun to move, however, with a certain velocity in a given direction, it is very difficult to conceive how that direction can be changed by any force which will not do real work and expend real energy in the process. Whatever about the ordinary vital acts, an appeal to the intimate union of soul and body does not seem to enlighten us as to the manner in which my free act of will can modify an organic impulse already begun and leave intact the principle of the conservation of material energy.

There is another alternative, however, which, if we may accept it, at once clears the difficulty from our path. Human acts of intellect and will are of such a nature that in their production the spiritual soul alone is concerned; the material organism is no "comprincipium" where they are in question; it merely supplies the matter whereon they work. They are, therefore, of their nature immanent. It is, moreover, difficult for reason to accept the notion of an act at once immanent and physically transient. It would be a perplexing consideration, even in the case of God, to hold that an act perfectly identified with the Divine essence can have for its term this world of beings outside that essence, just as it would be difficult to conceive how a Being, utterly unchangeable in Himself, can be ever conserving this ever-changing universe of His creation, were it not that this limited reason of ours finds a safe refuge, when face to face with such thoughts as these, in the limitless infinity of the Divine perfection. Are we going to give the creature also an act at once immanent and physically transient? Does not the difficulty increase so as to be almost insurmountable, since you have here no infinity of essence or act to fall back upon?

Perhaps, then, after all, my will does not physically interfere with



the organic impulse of my brain. It would not then be a physical cause of the modification that ensues. But are such causes the only true causes in the world? Are there not moral causes, too, and are they not real true causes? Are not the signed check and the deed, with the seal of the law upon it, real causes of the transfer of money and property? Does not the bribe really bring in the vote it so shamelessly purchased? Did not the word of command, though a blundering one, really send the Light Brigade madly but gloriously into the jaws of death? And must you hold that the sacraments of the New Law produce grace physically in the soul under pain of attributing to them no true efficacy at all? Surely the world is filled with such moral causes whose efficacy, though not physical, is yet true and real in a sense that men have never dreamt of attributing to mere occasions and conditions. Conceive, then, this transient efficacy of the spiritual act to be a moral one, so that given a motion of a certain strength and intensity in the will, God will infallibly modify the impulse of the organism accordingly. Is this a mere occasion? Has the mere occasion a "right" that the effect must follow? Yet it is in the action of such "rights" that a most important species of moral causality consists. Witness the check and deed, on the nature of whose efficacy we have a common theory of sacramental causality built up in modern times. May we not conceive that the intimate and close relation of the two sets of faculties we human beings are endowed with by our Creator includes a "right" of this nature, so that when I will to modify an impulse the intended effect follows as surely and infallibly as the bullet leaves my pistol's mouth when I press the trigger and my powder is dry? And if you still object that my own consciousness testifies that my act of will, not only morally but in some way physically, causes the external act or ensuing modification, I can fairly urge that, in the hypothesis I contemplate, the same inner testimony that I did it because I willed it would not be a whit less striking or less vivid than your contention supposes.

As I have hinted, this way of looking at the matter would seem to dispose of the *difficulty* proposed. If it is God Himself who modifies a system of energy, is it not quite possible to conceive that He who is the Prime Mover of all motion, holding all things in the hollow of His hand, conserving at each moment both the matter and energy of each minutest material atom, can give that energy in any direction He pleases without the slightest interference with that ever-constant sum which this formula of conservation seems to have vindicated for the energies of the material universe?

Thus briefly and in an imperfect manner we have touched some of the chief aspects of human liberty.

Monists may theorize, but we have no fear. There is no other truth that comes within its range on whose behalf personal consciousness pleads more unmistakably or with a clearer voice. Throughout the ages it has persevered. The men and women of to-day live and act up to the undoubting conviction that their destinies are in their own hands to make or mar. Look at the upright man who, scorning a life of ease and dissipation, acts a man's part and lives up to the high ideals of his nature. Give your honor to the army of holy souls, inspired by heavenly counsels, who desert home and kindred and the delights of a worldly life, choosing to walk unto the end in the blood-stained footsteps of their Saviour and Great Exemplar. Ask these honest souls are they free? You can easily anticipate their answer.

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Kilrain, Wexford, Ireland.

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#### CATHOLIC PROGRESS IN IRELAND.

WITHIN the last few years there has taken place in Ireland what may be described as a marvelous revival of zeal and energy in all the various departments of Catholic life and thought. The Catholic religion has, indeed, never ceased to flourish in Irish soil, like a strong and beautiful tree, ever growing apace, sending forth fresh shoots and never failing in blossom and fruit. But, on the other hand, it must be admitted that owing to want of combined organized effort there has been in the past what one might term a regrettable waste of Catholic zeal and energy. Through the long bead roll of the years all over the land, individual Catholics have lived lives of holiness, filled with self-denial and every Christian virtue. Burning zeal for God and His Church, fiery energy to do battle for the right; no one can say that there has ever been a time when these things were not to be found in Irish Catholic hearts. A strong, pure flame in some, in others it may be latent; but, active or latent, always there. And yet, on looking on the record of past years, we are struck with what seems a paradox; the co-existence with this intense fervor of Irish Catholicity of a strange torpor and apathy for want of united religious philanthropic endeavor.

But a great change, we are glad to notice, is passing over the land. Catholics are beginning to recognize that they have social and religious responsibilities which hitherto remained undischarged. We have begun to recognize, each and every one of us, that we have

responsibilities not alone with regard to our own souls and bodies, but also with regard to those of our neighbors. These responsibilities are neither to be shirked nor ignored. We cannot cry, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The Christian who will carry out the precepts of his religion cannot, like the priest and Levite in the Gospel, pass on the other side and leave his stricken brother to perish by the wayside. He must stoop to raise the fallen and pour into his wounds the oil of charity, let those wounds be of soul or body.

When the question of doing good merely involved the giving of money, then Irish Catholics have always been prodigal in their contributions. No appeal for charity, no matter what the object, ever failed to reach Irish hearts and purses. But that they should coöperate in charitable works by their own active exertions, this was a matter which did not command their sympathy or their understanding. Money they would give, freely, generously; but time, self-sacrifice, earnest, active efforts—well, these things did not commend themselves to most people. We are all very apt to say, when asked to work in any cause: "Oh, what good can I do? One person can do so little." We forget or do not realize the enormous force of united individual action. The magnitude of this want may be easily traced back to the misunderstanding previously existing between the masses and the classes—the masses robbed by the classes of their lands, their many educational facilities, social amenities, and left to live or die by those for whom at least gratitude for plunder should have suggested help to the despoiled. There were laws framed to set man against man in religious strife; to object was to raise every man's hand against his brother if he differed from him in religion, etc., etc., with the inevitable result of absence of all combination of heads to guide, hearts to sympathize and hands to work. Only too often any united effort at amelioration, social, educational or religious, was looked on with suspicion, and laws of suppression were enacted and police told off to execute them. Anything was good enough for the wretched Papist. But now a change!

In nothing is this change so strikingly exemplified as in the efforts being made to promote the cause of temperance. Since the days of Father Mathew this cause has never ceased to lie next the hearts of all true lovers of Ireland.

Drink has always been regarded as the deep-seated cancer which was gnawing into the very vitals of Ireland's life, destroying alike the souls and bodies of her children. Yet how ineffectual have been all the attempts hitherto made to cope with the disease. This failure did not result from any ignorance of the evil or from faint-heartedness in doing battle with it. The error lay in the remedies applied. The administration of the pledge to drunkards, inducing them to

become teetotalers; of course, such methods are good in their way. But when there is question of making a nation sober, stronger measures are required. The axe must be laid at the very root of the evil. We are told that "Prevention is better than cure," and all of us admit that "to lock the stable when the steed is stolen" is but poor wisdom. The truth contained in these homely axioms has been the fundamental idea of the founder of the "Pioneer Total Abstinence Society of the Sacred Heart," established in Ireland a few years since. The aim of this association is best described in the words of the explanatory leaflet:

"1. The Pioneer Association of Total Abstinence, founded in December, 1898, does not aim at the reclamation of the victims of excessive drinking, and hence receives only to membership those who have been temperate in the past and desire to practice total abstinence in voluntary self-sacrifice, and thus influence others to follow their example. They rely chiefly on prayer and the sacraments to help them in their heroic enterprise.

"2. The members are styled Pioneers, because they help to lead the way in the vanguard of temperance reform by word, example and prayer; because they resolve to brave and overcome every difficulty that hinders their undertaking, and, lastly, because they are determined with God's grace to persevere in their resolution unto death. Their life pledge is called the 'Heroic Offering,' and its outward, visible emblem (which must be always worn publicly) is a pendant, pin or brooch bearing on it the device of the Sacred Heart. At their reception into the association each receive a card of membership, together with the pioneer emblem.

"3. Should members be compelled by medical men to take any stimulants as a medicine, during the period of their taking them they shall not wear the pendant, pin or brooch, nor shall they resume it until they have resumed the practice of entire total abstinence from every kind of alcoholic stimulant."

Although so recently established, the association has already accomplished a gigantic work. It numbers more than 80,000 members, and every day its ranks are increasing. Nearly all the students of the various colleges, both lay and ecclesiastical, and all the children attending the convent schools throughout Ireland are Pioneers and wear the badge. In every town, village and hamlet, however remote, are to be found zealous promoters working might and main to further the sacred cause of total abstinence. The number to be met in Dublin and elsewhere wearing the pretty shield or brooch is remarkable and very consoling.

Such an association must inevitably become an enormous force in the cause of temperance. In the first place, the greater propor-

tion of its members are young people who have never known the taste of drink. Total abstinence is to them as a vesture, growing with their growth. Who can estimate the far-reaching influence of a generation trained from infancy in the ways of abstinence? In the next place this association affords to drunkards the striking example of members who not because they need reclamation or have ever yielded to temptation, voluntarily enroll themselves life members purely from a desire to help those who have fallen by their prayers and their example. Can we doubt the wonderful power of such an association?

Let us turn to another field in which Irish Catholics are also of late displaying much latent energy—the cause of pure, wholesome Catholic literature. What a field for Catholic workers lies here almost untilled. Drink and bad books. Who can doubt the souls lost to God by these terrible agents of evil? Shall we ever know until the judgment day the enduring, soul-destroying power of a bad book?

The power of a bad book is, so to speak, never-ending. From generation to generation its destructive forces continue, never diminished, never worn out. Year after year there pours into Ireland a vile, poisonous flood of English gutter literature, immoral, soul destroying. Yet this stuff is bought and read with avidity by thousands of our Catholic youth. It is useless to argue that they are the wrongdoers in buying it. The power to read begets a love of reading. The poor will read, and if they cannot have wholesome reading, then they will read what they can. This vile literature is exciting, sensational, cheap. And so it is bought and precious souls are ruined, innocence is destroyed and the devil gathers in a rich harvest.

In this, too, Irish Catholics have awakened to a more lively sense of their responsibilities. In November last very large and representative meetings of the Irish Catholic Truth Society were held in the Mansion House, Dublin. The sittings were presided over by Cardinal Logue, assisted by the Archbishop of Tuam. The question of the fearful evils of this abominable literature was fully discussed. Many eminent clergymen in burning words laid bare the plague spot and implored of Irish Catholics to spare neither money nor exertion to root it out from their midst. Schemes for the furtherance of this noble work were planned, and it was resolved that in the future more vigorous efforts would be made to spread amongst the people healthy, brightly written, entertaining books suitable to act as an antidote to the poisonous stuff which is killing faith and morals. The speakers advocated, and rightly, the publication by the society of works of fiction and romance. People require to be amused.

Good bread may be a very wholesome article of food, but a little jam is a very pleasant addition. To most of us, especially such of us as are toilers, the road of life is so dusty and monotonous that an occasional ramble in the flowery dells of fancy is a delightful diversion. At the same meeting a Reading Guild was formed to consist of ladies who would undertake to spread the publications of the Catholic Truth Society amongst their poor Catholic brethren.

We find Irish Catholics displaying similar activity in other departments, which though on a lower plane still affect their status in a considerable degree.

We allude to the movement becoming so universal for the restoration of the Irish language to its place as the living, every-day language of the people. This movement has evoked widespread enthusiasm.

The Irish language has been included to the curriculum of all, or nearly all, the colleges and schools, a class for Irish has been added to all the national schools and even night schools for the instruction of the poorest of the community include Irish in the subjects taught. Irish plays, Irish concerts, Irish dances are now the fashion of the hour. The national journals, daily and weekly, devote a certain amount of space to the publication of a story in Irish. Some patriotic traders have gone so far as to have their names and the nature of their business set forth in Irish characters over their shop doors. The question as to the feasibility of making the Irish language the ordinary work-a-day medium of communication is one on which there is much difference of opinion. Many wise and devoted friends of Ireland are at issue as to the utility of teaching it to those who must hereafter struggle for bread in the marketplace of the world. To enter into this controversy does not come within the scope of the present paper. But there is one point of view from which all must regard the movement as beneficial—the possession of a distinctive language fosters in a conquered nation a feeling of independence and self-respect which elevates the national character and creates a spirit of self-reliance. Self-respect in nations as in individuals is an excellent thing.

The same activity obtains with regard to Irish industries. Everywhere industries which had decayed are being revived and fresh ones are being daily established. Great efforts are being made by excellence of manufacture and reasonable price to compete with imported articles, so as to induce Irish people to patronize home manufactures.

The peasant girls in the Donegal Highlands are weaving carpets which in coloring and texture equal, if they do not surpass, the finest productions of Eastern looms. Irish lace the world over is a synonym for beauty. The same may be said of Irish linen.

Foxford tweed is patronized by royalty. The Foxford tweed industry was established some ten years since in the village from which it takes its name. In that time the nuns have transformed a plague spot of wretchedness and dirt into a clean, prosperous village, a hive of industry. They have banished hunger, sickness and dirt from the humble homes, and cleanliness, thrift and modest comfort now reign in their stead. Basket work of every description is made in remote Letterfrack by the children of the neighborhood.

The latest development of Irish industry is the manufacture of excellent brown wrapping paper from peat. In all the various arts and handicrafts—stained glass, silver and metal work, book binding, printing, etc.—we find the same revivification and awakening of latent activity.

The present outlook in matters spiritual and temporal augurs well for the future of Ireland. A great many Catholics fail to recognize that their social status has a reflex action upon their religion. They cannot understand how things temporal can affect the spiritual. Yet it is so. The more Catholics, by their industry, perseverance and rectitude raise themselves socially, so do they in a corresponding measure elevate their religion in the eyes of their fellow-men.

E. LEAHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

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## JOAN OF ARC.

IN THE picturesque little village of Domrémy, on the left bank of the River Meuse, was born Joan of Arc, the unique peasant girl of grand historic fame. Authors slightly differ as to the year of her birth, but whether born in 1410 or a year or two later makes little account in view of the magnificent achievement of her brief life, with its guerdon of a martyr's crown and the deep applause of posterity. And whether she was French born or a Lorrainer, concerning which some doubt has also been expressed, is likewise of slight import, comparatively.

Her parents, Jacques d'Arc and Elizabeth Romeé, or d'Arc, possessed little of the world's goods, but enough for their humble and unambitious needs. They had two sons and three daughters, Joan or Jeanne being the youngest. Whatever her early training may have been, it is certain she was very different from the spoilt idol of an over indulgent parent or the precocious child of modern notoriety. She was mentally and physically superiorly endowed. Simple and unlettered as she was, having never learned to read or

write, she possessed what was infinitely better than learning—the jewel of an innocent soul unspotted in its unsophisticated freshness. She knew the Pater, the Ave and the Credo, taught her at her mother's knee. It is said of her that she was a daily attendant at early Mass, and that besides making frequent visits to the near-by church she was often found on her knees before the altar of the more distant Church of Our Lady of Bermont, situated on a hill overlooking the Meuse. The poor and the sick found in her a most devoted friend.

It is delightfully interesting to linger near the pleasant scenes of Jeanne's home, to picture in imagination the peaceful meadows and quiet hills in which Domrémy nestled and learn the story of her childhood days, her early piety and modest sharing in the light-heartedness of the village children who were accustomed to playing under "The Laydy's Tree," which stood in isolated prominence on a hilltop by the riverside, separated from the groves near by that formed a picturesque background to the vales below. A legendary belief existed to the effect that the fairies sometimes gathered beneath this tall and shapely tree on moonlit nights and danced and frolicked in great revelry there. As if in imitation of the fairies, the village children celebrated a yearly festival beneath its pendant branches, wreathing its boughs with garlands of flowers and singing and dancing in the exuberance of childish freedom. Joan, who always accompanied the other children to this *fête*, occupied her time there in singing joyously whilst weaving garlands or in silent communing with thoughts solicited by her religious feelings.

She was only three years of age when the battle of Agincourt was fought, resulting in such a victory for the English King, Henry V., as soon left him master of all that portion of France north of the Loire. About five years later Henry VI. of England, while yet in his infancy, was acknowledged as next heir to the throne of France, to the exclusion of the Dauphin, by the Treaty of Troyes, concluded between the English King and Charles VI. and Isabella, his wife, whose daughter was also to be given in marriage to the royal conqueror, Henry's son. This treaty was consummated through the imbecility of the French King and the influence of his wife, who was the real power behind the throne. Her daughter Catherine was the wife of the English King. And thus one woman brought a bitter humiliation upon France, for which another was sacrificed for the nation's ransom.

It is no wonder that the Treaty of Troyes did not result in the peace which it was intended to secure. For years the war's ruthless spoil and devastation continued, resulting in great loss and suffering to the peasantry, whose goods and chattels were pillaged



and whose once peaceful homes went up in smoke and flame with but a moment's warning.

Domrémy did not escape from this general curse of a lingering warfare. Its people were among those who remained faithful to the rights of the Dauphin to the throne of France. The apparently resistless invaders, aided by the alliance of the Burgundians, eagerly followed up their successes until at last France seemed doomed to utter defeat, notwithstanding the determined resistance of those who fought for the Dauphin and fatherland. The Dauphin, afterwards Charles VII., a wise and peaceful King, was compelled at last to retreat to the Castle of Chinon.

In this grave crisis well might France pray for deliverance, for some strong arm that would, like that of the Bruce in his might at Bannockburn, chastise the pride of England. Strange as it would seem to any one, at the time when the English felt so assured of complete and lasting success and France was fast sinking into hopeless despair, that the humble virgin of Domrémy, ambitionless, illiterate, entirely untrained in the arts of peace or war, and living in peasant obscurity in the daily performance of her lowly duties, spinning or threading the needle or tending her father's sheep on the hillside, would be made the instrument of Divine Providence, in answer to such a prayer, no such wonder should arise on account of so regarding her after the performance of her marvelous deeds on the battlefield, when her mission ended in the rescue of France from the closing grasp of English domination. But it was reserved for a later time to reveal the truth about this singular child of destiny, whose fate reflects everlasting dishonor upon those who were responsible for it. At first when she could offer no proof of her mission except her own declaration as to its Divine origin, as evidenced by the "Voices," by whom she said she was guided, it was not surprising that men were slow to believe her or that they placed no confidence in what they regarded as foolish pretensions.

Time, the great avenger, has unmasked the rank injustice and ingratitude of her condemnation. Many eminent authors have written her life's story, so full of pathos and the sublimity of unselfish heroism and devotion. They have all, with one or two exceptions, concurred in vindicating her name as irreproachable.

When Joan was about twelve years of age she began to hear strange voices. Her pity had been keenly aroused at this tender age in behalf of suffering France, upon whose wrongs she often meditated with the deepest sympathy for the oppressed. It was in the summer of 1424 that she first heard a voice calling her while in her father's garden, as if it came from the village church. This mysterious voice which called her to the rescue of France was fol-

lowed by a revelation she believed from heaven. St. Michael, St. Catherine and St. Margaret, whose strange voices she thought she heard encouraging her, became names dear and familiar to her afterwards. The archangel spoke to her of the misfortunes of France. For about four years after this, before she decided upon any course of action, she heard mysterious voices which in time led her to believe that she was commissioned by God to deliver France from the English and their allies.

In January, 1429, she journeyed to the nearest military station, Voucouleurs, and stated to its governor, Robert de Baudricourt, her mission to save France. Baudricourt, not unreasonably, discredited her story or its meaning as interpreted by her.

The governor and his officers regarded her with mild surprise and ridicule when she persistently asked in her own simple and earnest way to be brought to the Dauphin. Baudricourt asked the parish priest to exorcise her, but this recourse did not dampen her ardor in the least. She was strangely determined to overcome all opposition.

As if to rid himself of her importunities, Baudricourt, when she had returned to him from Nancy, whither she had gone to ask in vain the aged Charles II., Duke of Lorraine, to help her to reach the Dauphin, consented at last to her going to the Castle of Chinon, where the latter had retreated, and charged his men, an armed escort numbering only six, to protect her well. It was her cherished conviction that the Dauphin should be crowned and anointed in the Cathedral at Rheims before assuming the title of King, and her exactly realized prophecy of that event explains her eagerness for its consummation, regardless of all dangers and discouragements.

After a journey of about three weeks she reached Chinon and saw the Dauphin for the first time on the 9th of March, 1429. His mind was then so occupied with the desperate affairs of France that he had little time or inclination for the reception of the strange visitor from distant Domrémy. But her words, uttered with the ardor of her great sincerity and singular enthusiasm, filled him with wonder, although he still remained unconvinced. Then followed, at his request, her interrogation by ecclesiastics, theologians, lawyers and university clerks. But she passed through this critical ordeal unscathed. They found in her nothing but "goodness, humility, devotion, honesty, simplicity." Their questions failed to disturb in the least her calm sincerity and unruffled demeanor, while the simplicity yet strange pertinency of her answers amazed their astuteness and learning.

The following month found her at Chinon with an enthusiastic following of 6,000, including some of the most distinguished knights

and soldiers of the French army. Clad in white armor and wearing man's dress, she rode a black charger bearing her standard, embroidered with white lilies, the *fleur-de-lis*, blessed, as she believed, by God. Her presence inspired the people with unbounded courage and enthusiasm. A demand in a letter sent to Bedford, the English regent, that he should give up the keys of all the cities taken by the English was first made by her, but the English, as might well have been expected, only treated her request with laughter and derision.

Not since the days of Peter the Hermit and Richard *Cœur de Lion* were men so stirred with the eager spirit of a holy crusade as were the army of Joan of Arc when, on April 28, 1429, she left Blois at their head for the relief of Orleans, sorely pressed by the besiegers. Within twenty-four hours afterwards victory descended upon the *fleur-de-lis*, the maid entered Orleans in triumph and from henceforth hers became a name to conjure with throughout *la belle France*. The people of Orleans acclaimed her as their heaven-sent deliverer. The brave Dunois, who had fought so hard in defense of the beleaguered city, hoping against hope for many weary days, was inspired with new courage and confidence under her most skillful and effective leadership. Her tireless energy and supreme self-confidence reflected themselves from the changed spirit of the people of Orleans. The English, harassed by the repeated sorties made by the defenders, became proportionately dispirited, and the bright sun of the 8th of May saw their hasty retreat.

The news of the relief of Orleans, followed by a series of victories, culminating in the battle of Patay, awakened a new spirit throughout France. The maid's divine mission was popularly acclaimed; men flocked from all parts of France to her consecrated standard, and far sundered provinces, the vales of Lorraine and hills of Toulouse, reëchoed her praises in songs attuned to a new-born patriotism.

Most wonderfully did Joan of Arc succeed in moulding the army to the pattern which her pure mind had sanctioned. Her discipline, which was perfect, was obeyed without a murmur, yea, even cheerfully. The pillage and coarseness, the blasphemy, intemperance and desecration which so often stain the records of other armies, were entirely absent from hers. The firm and unalterable disallowance by her of such immorality, the great improvement of the **standard** of morals in the army through the infectious influence of her pure life, bespeak her praise and vindicate her name more effectively than the victories of Orleans and Patay. It was but fitting that she who believed her mission was divine, that the army who fought under her sacred banner should earn this enviable notoriety.

The celerity of her movements, in disdain of many perils, had now ceased to cause surprise, because of their frequent repetition.

After the battle of Patay she hastened to Rheims for the coronation of the Dauphin as Charles VII. King of France, which took place on July 17, 1429, within about six months from the active commencement of her campaign.

And now it seemed her work was finished. France was saved. Her star was in the ascendant.

But already she lived in the shadow of war's reverse of fortune. It was suddenly revealed to her by a voice that she would be taken prisoner before St. John Baptist's day. Charles VII. failed to profit by the exalted spirit of ardent patriotism which had seized upon the nation through the splendid example of the Maid of Orleans. With wavering indecision he halted, and in such circumstances as he was placed to hesitate was to be lost. Paris remained in the hands of the enemy.

The fate of Compeigne was next threatened, and Jeanne hastened to its assistance with her accustomed promptness. In a mere skirmish with the enemy which followed she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians on May 23, 1430. And now her night of evil, her Gethsemane, had begun. But her great work was accomplished. France was delivered from English sway forever.

Jeanne's capture at Compeigne, her delivery by Jean de Luxembourg to the Duke of Bedford, the English King's lieutenant in France, for about the price of £16,000 in the following November, her imprisonment in the Castle of Rouen in December, her surrender to the Bishop of Beauvais in January as "suspect of heresy" by order of Henry VI. of England. Her trial, condemnation and death were fast crowding tragedies in the tableau of her misfortunes. Her story, mingling the simple with the sublime, is ever of thrilling inspiration. Some of the wonderful incidents recorded of her recall the era of the prophets of Israel and of the martyrs of the Coliseum. When her body was burned to ashes her heart remained whole and bleeding, according to the story of her executioner. Many stated that they saw the name of Jesus written in the flames by which she was consumed, and a third, who was foremost in his hatred of her, was converted by seeing, as he stated, her soul leave her body in the form of a white dove.

Brother Seguin in a sworn testimony said among other things: "And then she foretold to us—to me and to all the others who were with me—these four things which should happen and which did afterwards come to pass: First, that the English would be destroyed, the siege of Orleans raised and the town delivered from the English; secondly, that the King would be crowned at Rheims; thirdly, that Paris would be restored to his dominion, and fourthly, that the Duke d'Orleans should be brought back from England.

And I who speak, I have in truth seen these four things accomplished."

Bedford, the hope of the English army in France, died in 1435. The next year Paris was restored to the French, as foretold by Jeanne to the judges, and within about twenty years after her death Normandy was totally lost by the fall of Cherbourg in 1450. In 1453 the English lost their last foothold except Calais.

How like a Biblical story the following account, testified to by Brother Pasquerel: "On the third day we arrived at Orleans, where the English held their siege right up to the bank of the Loire. We approached so close to them that French and English could almost touch one another. The French had with them a convoy of supplies, but the water was so shallow that the boats could not move up stream, nor could they land where the English were. Suddenly the waters rose and the boats were then able to land on the shore where the French army was. Jeanne entered the boats with some of her followers and thus came to Orleans."

No wonder that the English in their war with France were eager to destroy such a valiant woman as this who had heaped disasters upon their heads and predicted more to come. And so at last they contrived to bring her to the stake to be burned as a witch and heretic, a fate often in later times reserved for the victims of religious hate and fanaticism, but not so in this case, for England and France held to the one religion when the tragedy occurred. And Jeanne d'Arc's execution as a condemned heretic was unique, among other things, in that on the morning of her execution she received absolution and Holy Communion at the hands of the Church and seemingly with the knowledge of the judge who read her sentence of excommunication.

The official report of the trial and condemnation as well as subsequent rehabilitation of Joan of Arc, written in the Latin text, was first published by Quicherat, who had discovered it about the middle of the last century buried in the archives of France. This rescued document was rendered into English for the first time by T. Douglas Murray in his "Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans," published in 1902.

The many sittings held by the judges who tried and sentenced Jeanne d'Arc first to imprisonment and subsequently handed her over to the secular power to be burned at the stake, gave a misleading appearance of impartiality to the proceedings. As a matter of fact, the proof adduced at these sittings of any of the allegations of grave import contained in the "Act of Accusation" is strikingly insufficient. And notwithstanding this lack of proof, the Bishop of Beauvais, who instituted the proceedings at the request of the King of England, asserted at the commencement that the maid's offenses

against religion and morality were even the subject of common public rumor. Briefly these were divination and sorcery, claiming to have had revelations through saints who spoke to her and whom she saw, consequent blasphemy, wearing a man's dress and disobedience to the Church, shedding human blood in war.

This assertion could only be justified on the assumption that the Maid of Orleans was a notoriously bad woman, wanting in all the virtues afterwards attributed to her on oath during the process of her rehabilitation by a great many who were very intimate with her.

A disregard of the other side of the question is manifest throughout all the examinations of the accused preceding the sentence of her condemnation. Was it that her judges were blinded by zeal for the extermination of heresy? Unhappily for their memory, there are many indications to point to the fact that this was not the cause of their seeming so persistently blind to the virtues of the Maid of Orleans. At the outset the Bishop of Beauvais found no use for the evidence of her character obtained, at his own request, at her birth-place, Domrémy, although it is evident that he would have gladly used it if it had in any way reflected unfavorably upon her instead of representing her as a paragon of virtue.

The inquiry as to the maid's life at Domrémy was ordered by the Bishop in January, 1431, the trial or process *ex-officio*, which included six public and nine private examinations of the accused, began on the 21st of February following and ended on the 26th of March, when the "Act of Accusation," multiplying each offense by its repetition, use of prolix terms like legal phraseology and otherwise, consisting of "Seventy Articles," was drawn up. On the next day, the 27th of March, the "Process in Ordinary" began with the reading of the "Seventy Articles," upon each of which the accused was examined. On the 24th of May, 1431, she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, her so-called act of abjuration having in the meantime saved her from excommunication and death. It may reasonably be surmised that the difficulty of obtaining proof against the accused, which would make the punishment inflicted appear as fair and just as possible, had thus lengthened the proceedings.

When, within a few days following the sentence of imprisonment, it came to the knowledge of the judges that Jeanne had resumed in prison her male attire and again expressed her belief in her visions, they allowed very little time indeed for deliberation before handing her over to the tender mercies of the English, whose vengeance impatiently awaited her. During that short interval she was exhorted and admonished by the Bishop and his assistants, but always on the assumption that she was an incorrigible sinner. Even on the morning before pronouncing the fatal words of the final sen-

tence, the Bishop of Beauvais renewed these counsels for the benefit of the Maid, who could not bring herself to believe that those who judged her so severely spoke the voice of God through the Church Militant as explained to her. On the 30th of May was read and carried into execution the final sentence, which, after reciting the many opportunities given the accused to repent, repeated a string of general and indefinite accusations to which she had become so accustomed to listen. These charges were always devoid of any mitigating qualification, such as Jeanne furnished by her answers in defense, which was utterly ignored. The sentence after declaring the Maid "excommunicate and heretic," and that she is abandoned to the "secular authority," ends thus: "Praying this same power that as concerns death and the mutilation of the limbs, it may be pleased to moderate judgment; and if true signs of penance should appear in thee that the Sacrament of Penance may be administered to thee." Jean Lemaitre, the associate judge, acted as such, it seems, contrary to his inclinations, and it is fair to assume that his judgment, therefore, was not entirely free.

The beautiful story of her real character is learned from the official inquiries made during the progress of the rehabilitation. The Bishop of Beauvais deemed it outside his duty as judge to order that a report of what took place at the burning of Jeanne should be included in the "process" or record of the trial. The story of the execution has, however, been sufficiently preserved by the sworn testimony of many witnesses who saw what happened and heard what was said at the burning of the Maid of Orleans.

As regards the trial itself, the opinion of many leading jurists is in effect that it was worthless for several reasons, and if so, the judgment which followed it was therefore valueless, irrespective of the evidence. Chief among these lawyers was Lohier, of whom Maitre Guillaume Manchon, the principal one of the three notaries who wrote down the questions put and answers given at the trial, said in his sworn testimony during the progress of the rehabilitation: "Maitre Jean Lohier, a grave Norman Clerk, came to this town of Rouen and communication was made to him of what the Bishop of Beauvais has written hereon; and the said Lohier asked for two or three days' delay to look into it. To which he received answer that he should give his opinion that afternoon; and this he was obliged to do, and Maitre Jean Lohier, when he had seen the process, said it was of no value for several reasons; first, because it had not the form of an ordinary process; then, it was carried on in an enclosed and shut-up place where those concerned were not in full and perfect honour of the King of France, whose side she (the Maid) supported, liberty to say their full will; then, that this matter dealt with the

and that he had not been called, nor any who were for him; then, neither legal document nor articles had been forthcoming, and so there was no guide for this simple girl to answer the Masters and Doctors on great matters, and especially those, as she said, which related to her revelations. For these things the process was, in his opinion, of no value. At which my Lord of Beauvais was very indignant against the said Lohier; and although my Lord of Beauvais told him that he might remain to see the carrying out of the trial, Lohier replied that he would not do so."

Manchon further on adds that he saw Lohier the next day after this opinion was made known to the Bishop, and he said to him in reference to the trial: "You see the way they are proceeding. They will take her, if they can, in her words—as in assertions where she says, '*I know for certain*' as regards the apparitions, but if she said '*I think*' instead of the words '*I know for certain*,' it is my opinion that no man could condemn her. It seems they act rather from hate than otherwise; and for that reason I will not stay here, for I have no desire to be in it." And in truth he thenceforward lived always at the Court of Rome, where he died Dean of Appeals.

Maitre Thomas de Courcelles, a canon of Paris, in his deposition said, among other things, that Lohier on seeing the evidence against Jeanne told him "that evidently they ought not to proceed against her in a matter of faith without previous information as to the charges of guilt and that the law required such information. Lohier's opinion that the trial was worthless is more clearly summarized as follows by Mr. Murray in an appendix: "(1) On account of its form. (2) That the assessors were not at liberty to hold their own views, the trial being in the Castle and therefore not in open court. (3) That no opportunity was given to the party of the French King to speak for themselves. (4) That Jeanne herself was allowed no counsel nor had proper documents been prepared to support the accusation."

According to the deposition of Jean Massien, Dean, on his second examination in connection with the rehabilitation, Jeanne had asked for counsel, but was refused. Brother Martin Ladvenu, a Dominican, on his second examination deposed as follows: "I knew well that Jeanne had no director, counsel nor defender up to the end of the process, and that no one would have dared to offer himself as her counsel, director or defender, for fear of the English. I have heard that those who went to the Castle to counsel and direct Jeanne by order of the judges were harshly repulsed and threatened." Manchon in his deposition said: "During the process and almost up to the close Jeanne had no counsel; I do not remember if she asked for one, but towards the end she had Maitre Pierre Maurice



and a Carmelite to direct and instruct her." As these were spiritual advisers appointed towards the close of the case, there is practically no conflict between this and the testimony of the other two witnesses.

It is stated by the Bishop of Beauvais himself near the beginning of the process that he offered her counsel from among one of his assessors, but that she refused. In view of the fact that these assessors, who were for the most part canonical lawyers and practically assistant judges, though not so named, were liable to be unduly influenced, her refusal was but another instance of the marvelous foresight and prudence displayed by one of her age and illiteracy during the whole of the trial. The body of these assessors were inclined to act justly, and several were very friendly to Jeanne on account of the unfairness of the examination, but they could exercise their friendship towards her only at their peril, as was proved by the sworn evidence of several witnesses in connection with the process for Jeanne's rehabilitation.

At the conclusion of the investigation made in 1450 at the instance of King Charles VII., who empowered Guillaume Bouille, rector of the University of Paris, to inquire concerning the circumstances of Jeanne's trial, etc., great lawyers gave their opinions and declared the trial void, being "bad in substance as well as in form," though this inquiry was not followed by any formal judgment as to Jeanne's condemnation.

It is commonly held also, as stated by Mr. Murray in his introduction, that the Bishop had no jurisdiction, Jeanne having been captured in one province and tried in another. Moreover, she had been tried previously at Poitiers, at the request of the Dauphin, Charles VII., who would not accept her aid before being assured that she was not unworthy. Inasmuch as the Archbishop of Rheims, the metropolitan of the Bishop of Beauvais, and his clergy at Poitiers found no fault in her, it was of very doubtful right that she should be placed on trial a second time before an inferior court. Mr. Murray seems to regard the first examination as conclusive against the legality of the second. But such a conclusion cannot be reached without assuming that Jeanne had not rendered herself liable for heresy or other offense against the laws of the Church since the examination at Poitiers, or in any event that an inferior court had no jurisdiction. However, the question of jurisdiction does not now concern much the merits of the case in view of the many stronger grounds for condemning the trial in its form and substance—grounds which made a later ecclesiastical court of inquiry denounce the proceedings in most unmeasured terms as "a pretended process."

The court that tried Jeanne at Rouen did not follow in form and composition the practice of the English courts of ecclesiastical inquiry

established by 2 Henry IV., chapter 15, which prescribed death as the penalty for heresy, although Rouen was at the time subject to English sovereignty. It was not a statutory court of inquiry at all, but it assumed the exercise of a power similar to that possessed by the aforesaid English courts, which empowered the diocesan to try persons accused of heresy and on conviction hand them over to the Sheriff without waiting for the King's writ.

The secular authority was indeed personally present, but conspicuously absent as far as the exercise of his functions was concerned, at the place of execution. The sentence of excommunication, which was read at the Old Market Place at Rouen on the morning of the day of Jeanne's execution, abandoned her to the civil authority, represented by the Bailly of Rouen and his deputy, who were present. But immediately after the reading of the sentence Jeanne was forced by two sergeants from the platform and delivered over to the executioner with the remark: "Do thy duty." Brother M. Ladvenu on examination said: "Directly Jeanne was abandoned by the Church, she was seized by the English soldiers, who were present in large numbers, without any sentence from the secular authority, although the Bailly of Rouen and the counsels of the secular court were present."

It was not the fault of the Bailly that this grave irregularity occurred, but the fact that he was allowed no time for the performance of his duty shows that brute force prevailed over law and order; that the military power represented there by about eight hundred English soldiers recognized no right but might in their eager haste to remove the cause of Bedford's frequent defeat and humiliation. That power made itself felt during the whole course of the trial of Jeanne, whose misfortune was to be judged by a court subject to its malign influence.

Her imprisonment at the outset in a lay prison in the Castle of Rouen while tried before an ecclesiastical court for an offense or offenses against the Church, from whose prisons she was excluded against her wishes, can be explained only as a shameful compromise with the secular power. How many innocent persons have been condemned to avert the wrath of Cæsar since the day the meek and lowly Nazarene was sacrificed for fear of the Roman power!

Brother M. Ladvenu, a Dominican of the Convent of St. Jacques at Rouen, on one of his examinations states that the Bishop of Beauvais, acting as judge, commanded Jeanne to be kept in the secular prison and in the hands of her enemies, and although he might easily have had her detained and guarded in an ecclesiastical prison, yet he allowed her from the beginning of the trial to the end to be tormented and cruelly treated in a secular prison. More-

over, at the first session or meeting the Bishop aforesaid asked and required the opinion of all present as to whether it was more suitable to detain her in the secular ward or in the prisons of the Church. It was decided as more correct that she be kept in ecclesiastical prisons rather than in the secular, but this the Bishop said he would not do for fear of displeasing the English.

The "Seventy Articles" composing "The Act of Accusation" were reduced to twelve articles, each of which singled out some alleged faults on Jeanne's part apparently magnified into a grave offense against the Church, the offenses named in one article being sometimes repeated in another, the whole being a tissue of statements torn from the contexts of the process of examinations of the accused, without any mention of her explanations or answers in defense, except where some of these might be made to appear in their unexplained separation as unfavorable to her. Before the judges found heart to condemn the accused they sent these twelve articles to the University of Paris in order to obtain the opinion of its professors upon them. This other body, judged from this distorted presentation of the case and without taking any evidence in the presence of the accused or her counsel, reported their decision against her.

This proceeding was severely condemned by the court which pronounced the sentence of the Maid's rehabilitation. Paris was in the occupation of the English at the time its university gave this extraordinary decision, and therefore the probability is that subserviency to military power had its baneful influence in this instance also.

On the first occasion when Jeanne's sentence of condemnation was being pronounced it was interrupted by her so-called act of abjuration, which on its face was a confession of guilt and resulted in her being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Subsequently, after she was deemed as having relapsed in prison, the sentence was pronounced against her in full, as above stated. In regard to her abjuration, several witnesses deposed at examinations held in connection with the process of her rehabilitation. Massieu said: "At the end of his sermon Maitre Gillaume Erard read a schedule containing the articles which he was inciting Jeanne to abjure and revoke. To which Jeanne replied that she did not understand what abjuring was, and that she asked advice about it. Then Erard told me to give her counsel about it. After excusing myself for doing this, I told her it meant that if she opposed any of the said articles she would be burned. I advised her to refer to the Church Universal as to whether she should abjure the said articles or not. And this she did, saying in a loud voice to Erard, 'I refer me to the Church Universal as to whether I shall abjure or not.' To this Erard replied: 'You shall abjure at once or you shall be burned.' And indeed before

she left the square she abjured and made a cross with a pen which I handed her." In a later examination Massieu repeats in effect this testimony and states that he "saw clearly that Jeanne did not understand the schedule nor the danger in which she stood, although he was constrained to warn her of the peril which threatened her if she signed it." It seems plain, therefore, that while in a state of doubt or hesitation arising from her being mystified as to the meaning of abjuring or the real effect of signing the paper, her will and judgment were influenced by Erard's threat.

Manchon in one of his examinations said, among other things: "What she had said in the abjuration she said she had not understood, and that what she had done was from fear of the 'fire.'" Two other witnesses refer to the abjuration. Maitre Gillaume de Lachambre, master in arts and medicine, said: "Erard decided her by saying that if she did what he advised her she would be delivered from prison. She abjured on this condition, and on no other." The inference is that this influenced her mind also in addition to the threat. Brother Pasquerel said that Jeanne on being handed a little written schedule and a pen, "by way of derision," made "some sort of round mark," and that then Laurence Calot, a secretary of the English King, who handed her the pen, "took her hand with the pen and caused her to make some sort of signature."

But of greater import is the fact that the long schedule embodied by the judges in the process as Jeanne's abjuration was never signed by her, according to the sworn testimony of several most reputable witnesses. The schedule contained in the process contains fifty-four lines. The one signed by Jeanne about eight!

Massieu, whose testimony on the subject of the abjuration has already been partly quoted, said: "Erard, holding the schedule of abjuration, said to Jeanne: 'Thou shalt abjure and sign this schedule,' and passed it to me to read, and I read it in her presence. I remember well that in this schedule it was said that in future she should not bear arms or wear male attire or short hair, and many other things which I do not remember. I know that this schedule contained about eight lines, and no more, and I know of a certainty that it was not that which is mentioned in the process, for this is quite different from what I read and what was signed by Jeanne."

De Lachambre deposed that he remembered "well the abjuration made by Jeanne," a small schedule containing six or seven lines on a piece of paper folded in two. Maitre Jean Monnet, S. T. P., canon of Paris, said: "I saw the schedule of abjuration which was then read; it was a short schedule, hardly six or seven lines in length." This well attested fact, never disproved, of itself greatly lessens the value of the whole process by placing its authenticity on

trial. And even admitting its genuineness, except in this instance, it nowhere discloses the fact that Jeanne expressed her disbelief in the Church or refused to submit to its authority as she understood it. The judges based their conclusions on inconsequent inferences from Jeanne's refusals to pliantly answer the subtle and confusing questions put to her throughout a trial that seemed like a persistent endeavor to entrap her in her undefended innocence. Apart from the spurious abjuration, there is no conclusive evidence submitted in the very lengthy and elaborate process to prove that she refused submission to the Church or held heretical opinions. In the absence of writings or of witnesses the judges were obliged to depend on her own answers for reaching a decision in her case. Her referring her words and actions in one instance, when sorely pressed, to the Church Triumphant in Heaven, from which she believed she had received so many revelations to guide her in all her words and deeds, furnished indeed, when considered apart from all her other answers and sayings and the faithful practice all her life of her religious duties, a semblance of proof that she disregarded the authority of the Church Militant on earth. It does not require a theologian to declare this noble burst of confidence on her part in the Church Triumphant utterly inconclusive as regards the question of heresy, in view of all the circumstances. A large number of witnesses testified as to her submission to the Church both before and after her capture. Brother Ysambard de la Pierre, a Dominican of the convent at Rouen, on examination said: "On one occasion I with many others admonished and besought Jeanne to submit to the Church. To which she replied she would willingly submit to the Holy Father, requesting to be taken before him and to be no more submitted to the judgment of her enemies. And when at this time I counselled her to submit to the Council of Bale, Jeanne asked what a general council was. I answered her that it was an assembly of the whole Church Universal and of Christendom, and that in this council there were some of her side as well as of the English side. Having heard and understood this, she began to cry: 'Oh! if in that place there are any of our side I am quite willing to give myself up and to submit to the Council of Bale.' And immediately in great rage and indignation the Bishop of Beauvais began to call out: 'Hold your tongue, in the devil's name,' and told the notary he was to be careful to make no note of the submission she had made to the Council of Bale. On account of these things and many others, the English and their officers threatened me terribly, so that, had I not kept silent, they would have thrown me into the Seine." Further on he says: "The Bishop of Avaranches summoned me before him and asked me what St. Thomas said touching submission to the

Church. I sent the decision of St. Thomas in writing to the Bishop: 'In doubtful things touching the faith recourse should always be had to the Pope or a general council.' The good Bishop was of this opinion, and seemed to be far from content with the deliberations that had been made on this subject. His deliberation was not put into writing; it was left out, with bad intent." This witness also says on a second examination: "When the Bishop of Beauvais asked if she would submit to the Church she inquired: 'What is the Church? So far as it is you I will not submit to your judgment, because you are my deadly enemy.' When she was asked whether she would submit to the judgment of the Pope she replied that if they would take her to him she would be content. During the greater part of the process, when she was asked to submit to the Church, she understood by that term the assembly of judges and assessors there present. It was then explained to her by Maitre Pierre Maurice, and after she knew she always declared that she wished to submit to the Pope and to be conducted to him."

Maitre Richard Woudiet testified as follows: "I saw and heard at the trial when Jeanne was asked if she would submit to the Bishop of Beauvais and others of the assessors then named, she replied that she would not, but she would submit to the Pope and the Catholic Church, praying that she might be conducted to the Pope."

Maitre Jean Beaupere, master in theology, canon of Rouen, testified that "on the scaffold she said 'she placed all her deeds and words in the ordering of Our Holy Mother Church, and especially of the ecclesiastical judges,' being thereto requested by Maitre Nicolas Midi."

Messire Pierre Leboudier testified that "after the preaching at Saint Ouen Jeanne, with her hands joined together, said in a loud voice that she submitted to the judgment of the Church and prayed to Saint Michael that he would direct and counsel her."

M. Chevallier, who has written an exhaustive treatise, published in 1902, on the abjuration, made these conclusions: "(1) The formula of abjuration inserted in the process is not that which was read to the Maid and which she signed. (2) The authentic formula did not constitute in the view of common law an abjuration in regard to the faith. (3) In making it Jeanne did contradict and abandon her voices, but her act lacked the essential conditions of knowledge and of will."

Jeanne's reluctance to answer some questions left her open to being accused by the hostile judges of condemning the authority of the Church, and therefore the Bishop of Beauvais and some of the assessors professed to regard her as a heretic on this account. Jeanne had learned to regard the Bishop of Beauvais and others of

the assembly who showed a bias against her as uncompromising enemies; she was wearied by their torrent of questions, many of which had been already answered by her, and it was only by her consummate legal skill that she was able to successfully parry their interrogations. Brother Ysambard on examination said: "Such difficult, subtle and crafty questions were asked of and proposed to poor Jeanne that the great clerics and learned people present would have found it hard to reply, and at the questions many of those present murmured."

The catechism of the Council of Trent defines a heretic as "one who, despising the authority of the Church which he has sufficient reason to believe is the true Church of Christ, contrary to its decision obstinately adheres to false and impious opinions."

Any fairly well instructed Catholic, reading all the answers and sayings of Jeanne as disclosed in the process, should have no serious difficulty in declaring her innocent of heresy within the meaning of this definition. A detached answer here and there torn from its context affords no fair grounds for judging her. If Jeanne's belief in her revelations had not been from the first a deep-rooted conviction, her wonderful exploits and unique experiences would have made it so. It was obedience, not impiety, that made her leave her parental roof to seek him whom she believed to be the rightful heir to the throne of France; that made her discard her female dress for the more fitting garb of an armed cavalier; that emboldened her to defy the might of Bedford's victorious hosts—obedience to what she believed was God's will. To denounce as impious the belief which had transformed Jeanne, the poor girl peasant, into the triumphant bearer of the *fleur-de-lis* seemed far less befitting the voice of the Church than the voice of the baffled enemies of France. Even apart from the circumstances which have given so much fame to Jeanne's revelations it would be hard to arrive at any infallible conclusion in regard to them. The sentence of rehabilitation pronounced in 1456 contains the following words in condemning the judgment given against Jeanne: "And because of the question of revelations it is most difficult to furnish a certain judgment, Blessed Paul having on the subject of his own revelations said that he knew not if they came to him in body or in spirit, and having on this point referred himself to God." It is true that ten witnesses are mentioned in the "Subsequent Examinations and Proceedings after the Relapse," which are not, however, included in the official text of the trial as having stated on oath before the judges that condemned Jeanne, that on the day she was put to death they heard her say in prison that the voices had deceived her, because they had promised she should be delivered from prison. One of these witnesses, Brother Martin Ladvenu, the

intrepid father who remained closest to her at the stake, the most fearless to speak to her there as a friend, deposed afterward in connection with the rehabilitation that "up to the end of her life she maintained and assented that her voices came from God, and that what she had done had been by God's command. She did not believe that her voices had deceived her, but that the revelations that she had received had come from God." It will be noticed that he uses the words "up to the end of her life," which may not be inclusive of the day on which Jeanne is said to have referred to the voices as having deceived her. The evidence of the ten witnesses is not signed by the three official registers, and it is unfortunate that it was not taken in Jeanne's presence instead of being taken after her death, as it concerned her materially. Manchon testifies that the Bishop of Beauvais "wanted to compel him to sign this evidence," but that he would not do so. He also testifies elsewhere on examination "that Jeanne never revoked her revelations, but maintained them to the end." It is rather singular also that M. Ladvenu in his later evidence regarding Jeanne's belief in her revelations did not qualify it by referring to the former evidence as to her saying in prison on the day of her death that the voices had deceived her in promising to deliver her from prison.

One of the ten witnesses who testified as to what she said on the last day in prison said he heard her declare, in addition to what is above stated to have been then said by her, that to know whether her voices "were good or evil spirits she referred to the clergy." Another said Jeanne, being on that occasion asked if her voices and apparitions proceeded from good or evil spirits, did reply: "I know not; I wait on my Mother the Church, or I wait on you who are the Church." In view of all the circumstances, the unofficial testimony of the ten witnesses as to what the prisoner said when not on guard as on her trial, and which seems indirectly contradictory by one of them, cannot be considered as decisive of the question as to whether she at last disbelieved in the voices, much less of the question as to whether the voices were good or evil. A fair inference from all these facts is that she reiterated her belief in her revelations at the time of her execution.

On the subject of Jeanne's relapse, which occasioned a second process, the text after reciting that the judges repaired to the prison, reads: "And because Jeanne was dressed in the dress of a man, that is to say, a short mantle, a hood, a doublet and other effects used by men, although by our orders she had several days before consented to give up these garments, we asked her when and for what reason she had resumed this dress." Jeanne answered: "I have but now resumed the dress of a man and put off the woman's dress."



After being pressed to give the reason for resuming her man's dress after having recanted her alleged errors, which included the wearing of the male attire, according to the authentic act of abjuration, she answered: "Because it is more lawful and suitable for me to resume it and to wear man's dress, being with men, than to have a woman's dress. I have resumed it because the promise made to me has not been kept; that is to say, that I should go to Mass and receive my Saviour, and that I should be taken out of irons." "One of her answers then was that she took the dress of a man of her own free will and with no constraint; that she preferred a man's dress to a woman's dress." The Dominican Brothers Ysambard and Martin Ladvenu testified that she informed them that she was obliged to take a man's dress because she found it necessary to do so as for protection against violence and insult.

The two processes, the first and the second, are also designated in the text of the trial as the "Lapse and Relapse," but the two are conveniently referred to as the process. The sentence of rehabilitation condemns and annuls both processes in the strongest terms, such as follows: "We say, pronounce, decree and declare the said processes and sentences full of cozenage, iniquity, inconsequence and manifest errors, in fact as well as in law."

There is abundance of evidence of bias on the part of the judges at the trial. Suppression of evidence and admission of improper evidence abounded. Violence and intimidation also more or less prevailed. Manchon testified on examination as follows: "At the beginning of the trial, because I was putting in writing for five or six days the answers and excuses of the said Maid, the judges several times wished to compel me, speaking in Latin, to put them in other terms by changing the sense of her words or in other ways such as I had not heard. By command of the Bishop of Beauvais two men were placed at the window near where the judges sat, with a curtain across the window so that they could not be seen. These two men wrote and reported what there was in the charge against Jeanne, keeping silence as to her excuses, and in my opinion one of these was Loyseleur. After the sitting was over in the afternoon, while comparing notes of what had been written, the two others reported differently from me and had put in none of the excuses, at which my Lord of Beauvais was greatly angry with me. Where nota is written in the process there was disagreement and questions had to be made upon it, and it was found that what I had written was true. In writing the said process I was often opposed by my Lord of Beauvais and the masters, who wanted to compel me to write according to their fancy and against what I had myself heard. And when there was something which did not please them they forbade it to

be written, saying that it did not serve the process; but I nevertheless wrote only according to my hearing and knowledge.

"This witness also testifies that through the confidence reposed in Maitre Nicolas Loyseleur by Jeanne, whom he was in the habit of visiting in prison as a pretended friend, her familiar conversations were reported, as Manchon thought, to the notaries. And from this were made memoranda for questions in the trial to find some way of catching her unawares."

Maitre Gillaume de Lachambre, master in arts and medicine, testified partly as follows: "I gave no opinion during the trial, but allowed myself to affix my signature under compulsion from the Bishop of Beauvais. I made excuses to him that in these matters it did not belong to my profession to give any opinion. However, finally the Bishop forced me to subscribe as others had done, saying that otherwise some ill would befall me for having come to Rouen. I say, too, that threats were also used against Master Jean Lohier and Maitre Nicolas de Houpeville, who, not wishing to take part in the trial, were threatened with the penalty of drowning."

The Dominicans also testified to the beautiful death of Jeanne, who used many pious ejaculations and died "like Saint Ignatius and many other martyrs," uttering the name of Jesus.

The first movement towards Jeanne's rehabilitation was made by the French King Charles VII., at whose request the University of Paris inquired in 1450 into the questions and circumstances pertaining to her trial and execution. But no final judgment was pronounced by the court that sat on the inquiry owing, it is stated, to political expediency, which shrank at offending England by a proceeding originated by the King of France.

In 1452 Pope Nicholas V., appealed to by Jeanne's mother, ordered an inquiry, which, however, like the former, was not completed. In 1455 Pope Nicholas died, and the d'Arc family looked to his successor, Calixtus III., for the furtherance of the inquiry, and their wishes were graciously acceded to. On the 7th of November, 1455, the proceedings for Jeanne's rehabilitation opened at Paris in obedience to the Papal rescript. But the case lingered on by reason of various adjournments of sittings, such delays being deemed necessary in order to give an ample opportunity for any of the representatives of the deceased Bishop Beauvais and associate judges at the trial of Jeanne, and as well the promoter d'Estivet to present themselves. The petition, however, remained unopposed and the case was finally proceeded with on February 16, 1456. The preliminary objections taken at the first meeting at Paris to the proceedings at the trial of Jeanne were formulated, according to Mr. Murray, as follows:

(1) The intervention of the hidden registrars and the alterations, additions and omissions made in the twelve articles. (2) The suppression of the preliminary inquiry, that is the Domrémy evidence taken, and the obvious predisposition of the judges. (3) The incompetence of the court and the unfairness received throughout by the accused, culminating in an illegal sentence and an irregular execution. It is further stated by Mr. Murray that the inquiry of 1456 extended over several months. Twenty-four witnesses were heard in January and February at Domrémy and Vacouleurs; forty-one in February and in March at Orleans; twenty at Paris in April and May; nineteen at Rouen in December and May.

By the evidence of so many witnesses the character of Jeanne d'Arc is photographed more plainly to the world than if she was a very familiar, living acquaintance. We see her exemplary life from her childhood up to the time of her capture at Compeigne; her marvellous prowess and success in raising the siege of Orleans; her influence for good over the French army that followed her as their ideal of a leader in war; her incarceration in the enemy's prisons, the gloom of her trial, condemnation and death silver-lined by her saintly patience and fortitude to the end. The charges of divination and sorcery, based upon alleged dealings with the fairies near the "Fairy Tree," vanish into the air before the extolling testimony of the simple peasant folk of Domrémy. The formidable fabric of dark accusation built up by her enemies topples to the ground as writer after writer tells the beautiful story of how and where she lived after leaving Domrémy.

The sentence of rehabilitation utterly annulling the judgment against Jeanne was pronounced by the judges on the 7th of June, 1456. In reference to the twelve articles drawn up against Jeanne and submitted to the University of Paris they say: "In the first place, we say, and because justice requires it we declare, that the articles beginning with the words 'a woman,' which are found inserted in the pretended process and instrument of the pretended sentences lodged against the said deceased, ought to have been, have been and are extracted from the said pretended process and the said pretended confessions of the said deceased with corruption, cozenage, calumny, fraud and malice. We declare that on certain points the truth of her confessions has been passed over in silence; that on other points her confessions have been falsely translated, etc., etc.

"We declare that in those articles there have been added without right many aggravating circumstances which are not in the aforesaid confessions, and many circumstances both relevant and justifying have been passed over in silence. We declare that even the

form of certain words has been altered in such a manner as to change the substance."

In like manner they condemn the process or "lapse" and "relapse." Thus was the Maid of Orleans vindicated within about a quarter of a century after her death.

Who can do full justice to the subject, a story whose sublime pathos has never been exceeded even in the annals of France, replete with national tragedies, over which the world had mourned? When all that was mortal of the Maid of Orleans had disappeared forever from human vision, when the relentless flames kindled by the vindictiveness of the secular power, to whose unsparing vengeance she had been ruthlessly consigned, had done their work and her spirit was seen soaring away from France in the form of a white dove, the hostile spectators of this final scene in the old Market Place of Rouen became their own self-accusers. In their heart of hearts they acknowledged their crime. Too late. Only time in its undeviating onward march could right the wrong. And it was not slow to do so. How consoling it is to remember that the Church shows the care of a mother for the good name of her children while ever solicitous for their eternal welfare!

A greater, a sublimer vindication of Joan's life is the process of her beatification, which began in January, 1904. The process necessarily implies a belief in her exalted virtues and concedes the truth of her praises by a host of writers.

Some of the present day infidels of France profess to see nothing higher in the wonderful career of Joan of Arc than her patriotism, to which they attribute all her military enthusiasm at Orleans and Patay, accompanied by her extraordinary success. They sneer with Voltaire at her "voices," although compelled to honor her for the brilliancy of her deeds on the battlefield, which enthused all France. How strange that the patriotism which had redeemed France in the hour of her extremest peril should have found lodgment alone in the breast of a girl but entering her teens, absolutely illiterate, and whose world should ordinarily have been the isolated hamlet of Domrémy! Was there not another in all France or Lorraine more fitted for the noise of battle and the flash of arms? Was there no other on whose brow could as well be wreathed the laurels of a nation's victory? None so blind as those who will not see. Truth to tell, "the cold abstraction of patriotism she never discovered for herself," as one of her admirers, Thomas Davidson, aptly wrote. She was moved by far different influences than those of patriotism or ambition—by her tender pity for the oppressed, her fresh young sympathy with the Dauphin and, above all, by her firm belief in her divine commission as she conceived it. To act for the future, to

read its secrets with the keenest vision of a prophet as if unveiled from the present, is not the mere patriot's attribute. Without chart or compass, book or pen, perfectly heedless of military glory for its own sake and supported at first by a mere remnant of soldiers regarding her with distrust if not scorn, she displayed an ardor and self-confidence hitherto unknown to the greatest generals of England or France. And as to her military skill, notwithstanding her utter lack of training or experience in the art of war, there is abundance of unimpeachable testimony. Such, for instance, as that of the Duke d'Alençon and that of Thibauld d'Armagnac.

The relief of Orleans and the crowning of the King at Rheims was her express mission, according to the records of history. To unite the discordant interests of a nation, to arouse a spirit of exalted patriotism, for the want of which France was perishing, to turn back the tide of English invasion, to reprove the corruptions and immoralities of court and camp, to bear witness to the might of the God of Arms—this was the larger mission of the noble, the immortal peasant girl of Domrémy.

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## THE WITNESS OF CONSCIENCE TO THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

THE fact that the main argument which is urged at least in modern times by non-Catholic theists to prove the existence of God is that from the moral order renders an examination of the argument a matter of some importance.

This is the more necessary, for Catholic apologists on the other hand fight shy of the argument as a rule, and rest their case entirely on one or other of the five cosmological proofs of St. Thomas. In the first place, then, we shall define the precise phase of the argument that will engage our attention. We shall then endeavor to show that the argument, far from being a modern one made in Germany by Kant, is in reality bound up with and essential to the truth of certain universally received views in Catholic theology; and finally we shall endeavor to show that the argument cannot be explained away on Utilitarian lines.

### I.

The argument from the moral order is presented in two ways: First, in contending that many of the precepts of that order are

absolutely necessary; that their existence is inconceivable in any hypothesis, and hence that they cannot rest in any way on the fleeting things of time, but must have as their ultimate basis some necessary immutable being "with whom there is no change nor shadow of alteration." Viewed in this way, the argument from the moral order merges in and is identical with that derived from the existence of necessary truths in general.

The other form of the argument is that alone with which we shall concern ourselves—namely, that the notion of obligation which arises in the mind when the performance of certain actions and the omission of certain others occur to us, and the correlative sense of self-esteem or reproof, according as we have been faithful to the obligation or the reverse, prove the existence of some extra mundane being who imposes and sanctions the obligation. This intellectual perception of a duty and of self-complacency or fear, according as we have performed or neglected it, is conscience, at once the norm and sanction of morality.

Our opponents are two-fold: First, those who hold (and many Catholics are numbered amongst them) that the idea of obligation comes to us from without; in a word, that it is traditional. It is our thesis against them that obligation is a primary perception and arises in our minds spontaneously without previous knowledge of God or the moral order. Our argument is impugned in the second place by those who, while admitting these feelings of obligation and consequent retribution, attempt to explain them on Utilitarian principles and without any reference to an extra mundane legislator who has impressed his law on our minds.

## II.

Against the first class of opponents we admit that this conception of obligation is immature, and that without the aid of others men generally could not explain the genesis of obligation nor even formally recognize it as such. But we contend that on the bare contemplation of certain acts, the conscience of one who has attained the use of reason revolts from them without the previous apprehension of God or the application of any general principle of morality, the recognition of which is not a spontaneous process, but is subsequent and reflexive. As an easy deduction from this shrinking of conscience and from the subsequent remorse and fear, if he has outraged his conscience, the average man in our opinion first reaches the knowledge of God as some superior outside himself whom he has offended. For the presence of a negative obligation or one that has been transgressed is, considering the bent of mind of men generally, much more likely to awaken this knowledge than a posi-

tive one or one that has been performed. "Stern daughter of the voice of God" is not all a metaphor, and the man who has experienced the imperious dictate of conscience has been apprised of the presence of the divinity in his inner nature—"that God is not far from every one of us."

Of course it is true that before any pronouncement of conscience a child of good Christian parents is likely to have heard of God, but that he will have any true conception of Him—any realization of what God is—till conscience reveals Him as sanctioning certain acts is, we contend, very improbable. Similarly such a child will have been told that certain actions are evil and that he must not do them, as God would punish him; but it is almost impossible that a child of tender years and of average precocity could assimilate the ideas of morality and of obligation unless they were first united in some way and the admonition of the external mentor enforced by the imperative dictate of conscience.

Those who endeavor to overthrow our argument on this first line of attack, viz.: That our first ideas of God and of obligation are, as it were, echoes of what we have heard from others—are, I think, principally Catholics, for Protestants as a rule admit the validity of the argument from conscience. And one of the principal dogmas of unbelievers is that morality and obligation are quite separable from a belief in God and, in fact, are found separate in the lower strata of civilization. Hence they bend all their energies to explain the problem of conscience on Utilitarian lines, and we shall see what is to be said for this view later on. Our opponents here, then, being Catholics, we are justified in repelling the attack by an appeal to Catholic principles. But first it might be well to give in a summary way an argument that applies generally.

In ancient paganism the objects of worship, such as Bacchus, Neptune, Mercury, Pluto, were often immoral as well as false—demons and nothing else—and yet dishonesty was banned, purity was honored if not generally practised, and ascetics were admired if not imitated. Manifestly, then, the popular and traditional cult of the gods was in no way responsible for this involuntary homage to virtue. Nothing can account for it but the guiding light of conscience, which, in spite of external authority, led those that were docile to its behests away unsmirched through the quagmires of paganism to the throne of One All Holy God.

To come now to arguments that are distinctively Catholic, I would urge in the first place the almost universally accepted view<sup>1</sup> in our theology that no adult can be ignorant of the existence of God except through his own fault. The question then we have to face

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<sup>1</sup> See Mazzella de Deo (College Class-Book).

at once is: Whence is this knowledge derived? In a great many cases, of course, it can be and is derived from tradition—the oral teaching of parents, clergymen and those intrusted with our education. In these cases we reasonably assent to the existence of God on their authority. But in some cases such reasonable assent is precluded. Take, for instance, the children of agnostics<sup>2</sup> educated in an unbelieving atmosphere. They cannot derive the knowledge of God that they are supposed by us to have in this way; on the contrary, a very powerful proof is necessary in their case to overcome authority backed up by prejudice and inherited tendencies. Where is such proof to be sought? Not, we believe, in the five great proofs elaborated by St. Thomas, for no one would say that such persons are incapable of serious moral delinquency until they have had sufficient training to weigh and appreciate the force of these arguments. Even granting them mental capacity sufficiently evolved for this task, if we try to create for ourselves their mental atmosphere we shall realize that such speculative proofs would be quite inadequate to overcome the efforts of early training, for Suarez admits that even for specialists some of these proofs are slippery and uncertain.

Besides, it was St. Thomas' own opinion that a person entirely sequestered from society would nevertheless attain to a knowledge of God. And great probability is lent to this view by the action of the Fathers of the Vatican Council in rejecting from their canon about the knowledge of the existence of God the limitation that some proposed, viz.: That it applied only to those in normal circumstances—"in societate adulta." And we make bold to say that the argument from contingency or the impossibility of an infinite series would never suggest itself to a person thus isolated. And the same would probably be true of the argument from design—having no previous knowledge of an extra mundane being, the Romulus in question would probably take things as he found them without inquiry as to their origin. Of course, the case would be quite different if he had a previous knowledge of God; then the aspect of external nature would be to him all that is claimed for it in the Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Wisdom.

Another point in this theory about unbelievers that makes for our view is the fact that sin is considered to be effective in destroying the knowledge of God, so that all admit that there are many speculative atheists consequent on the commission of habitual sin at least. There is an explanation of this fact on the theory that knowledge of God is dependent on conscience, for conscience is a delicate flower that easily loses its bloom; it is singularly liable to be choked by

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<sup>2</sup> "Principles of Moral Science."



cockle, and has no congenial soil in the hard hearts of the unregenerate. It is a small, weak voice, and if its admonitions are constantly set at nought it will eventually become still in moral death. The sinner, then, has ignored the law, and with it vanishes all knowledge of the legislator. The atheistic whisper in the fool's heart that the Psalmist speaks of is the price of moral rather than of intellectual folly. For if the knowledge of God is not derived from conscience there is no reason why the sinner should be in a worse plight than the just man, because God does not deprive man of his natural powers as a result of sin. And as for grace, no one would say that it is necessary for a man who had already attained the knowledge of God to preserve that knowledge, and if he already did not know God he could not be punished by the deprivation of medicinal grace, for his sin was *ex-hypothesi* purely philosophic, in no way directed against God.

Nor is this opinion—that no adult can be an atheist prior to the commission of sin—though not perhaps a matter of strict obligation in our theology, to be lightly set aside. Witness the emphatic words of St. Paul in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where he seems to allude to our argument. Besides, this possibility of the universal diffusion of the knowledge of God seems alone in harmony with His salvific will; indeed, it is almost demanded by our sense of what is becoming and in consonance with the divine beneficence that God would implant in the heart of each one the light of His holy countenance and the first principles of His sacred law, so that entirely irrespective of circumstances the individual adult could have access to the temple of mercy and grace.

Another point in our theology that supposes the validity of the argument from conscience to God is the reiterated assertion of the Fathers that a knowledge of God is innate (*insita*<sup>3</sup>) in all men. This tenet can be maintained only by an appeal to conscience or on the theory of innate ideas. For it is absurd to say (having the ordinary faithful in mind) that the cosmological arguments for the existence of God are so tangible and so much a matter of course that we may be said to have an innate idea of His existence. Nor do the Fathers allude to magisterial knowledge, as will appear to any one giving a cursory glance—say through Franzelin,<sup>4</sup> where he gives excerpts from their works dealing with the matter.

Again, our contention seems to be borne out in all our theologies, sermons and popular addresses where we invariably assume that the function of conscience is dictatorial and not merely directive, a

<sup>3</sup> "Haec est vis verae divinitatis, ut creaturae rationali jam ratione utenti non omnino possit abscondi."—St. Augustine, in *Joan Tract*, 106.

<sup>4</sup> *De Deo Uno*, p. 64.

law and hence connoting a legislator, and not a mere statement of fact. Suarez brings this out very clearly—de Legibus, B. II., C. V.

Finally the validity of our argument, in my opinion, follows irresistibly on Catholic principles from the thesis condemned by Alexander VIII. in reference to philosophic sin, all the special pleading to the contrary notwithstanding. To vindicate the theory of philosophic sin from this condemnation, it is sought to show that the Pope might have condemned the proposition because the terms of it were of sufficient latitude to include the assertion that a person not *actually* advertent to the existence of God or ignorant of Him through *his own fault* would be guilty only of philosophic sin. But did any one ever advance either of these two assertions? Popes in their utterances are not beating the air any more than other men, and a condemnation always supposes some question that was mooted at the moment. And the question at issue when this famous proposition was condemned was undoubtedly not the reality of philosophic sin when there was no *actual* advertence, but the possibility of philosophic sin in any case.<sup>5</sup> Besides, if the Pope meant to condemn these illegitimate extensions of the theory and them merely, the first part of the proposition would be entirely irrelevant.

### III.

We now come to the proof of our thesis against the Utilitarian philosophy of which we will take Mr. Spencer as the chief exponent. Bentham questioned the legitimacy of the facts of conscience and obligation; but his disciples, wiser in their generation, admit them and work them for all they are worth; but at the same time they deny the validity of the theistic argument based on them. It is very hard indeed to see how any one could, without jeopardy to all his knowledge, deny the existence of this great "beacon light" (as Browning calls conscience)—at once the subjective rule of morality and one of its highest sanctions. For it confessedly exists,<sup>6</sup> even among the most degraded and uncultured, and in matters, too, in which one would think that the allurements of sense would be most likely to hush its promptings.

For the purpose of our present argument it matters not at all that its monitions differ in the case of different individuals; our only concern is to show that conscience and a sense of expediency are not now and could not have been in the remote past convertible terms.

Mr. Spencer, then, admits that "ought" represents a fact of moral consciousness as man is here and now constituted, though when the millennium comes he expects that it will be dispensed with. It is

<sup>5</sup> "Principles of Moral Science," p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Tylor, II., 360.

none of our business now to blur in any way his roseate forecast as to the future of the race. In his view duty consists mainly of two elements—the element of authoritativeness and the element of coerciveness, which would correspond, I suppose, to its judicial and executive functions in the ordinary view. The element of authoritativeness has arisen from the fact “that the accumulated experiences of the race have produced the consciousness that guidance by feelings which refer to remote and general results is usually more conducive to welfare than guidance by feelings to be immediately gratified.”<sup>7</sup> But why this should generate the authority implied in the idea of obligation is not apparent. To have regard to remote and general results does not imply morality. One may restrain himself from gratifying immediate feelings in order to gratify them more effectually in the future. Nay, he may sacrifice them for the moment, and yet all the time in the present and in the future may transgress every rule of morality. A robber may scorn pleasure and live laborious days, may spend money in buying the implements of his craft in order that in due time he may the more easily rob a bank or break into a house. Is it anything less than ridiculous, in face of such facts, to say that the having regard to future consequences rather than immediate ones accounts for the element of authority in conscience? But Mr. Spencer will rejoin that the remote consequences he has in mind as generating the element of authority are the consequences not to the individual himself, but to the race. But perish the race, why should I be bound to provide for its well-being? What claim has it on me? This will appear more clearly when we have considered the other element in duty.

The element of coerciveness in conscience was at first derived from the fear of punishment according to Spencer. The fear of punishment, he says, is the permanent motive of the savage. If we ask how this becomes the coercive element of duty among civilized people in the Utilitarian theory, we happen on the great weak point of their system—the attempt to bridge the chasm between the individual and the race. The savage, according to Spencer, refrains from scalping his enemy because he is afraid of the anger of the chief. This restraint, however, arising from the “extrinsic” effects of an action, is not, we are told, yet moral. The moral restraint arises when we refrain from slaying because of the intrinsic effects of the action.

These intrinsic effects are of the following kind: “The infliction of death agony on the victim, the destruction of all his possibilities of happiness, the entailed sufferings to his belongings.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> “Data of Ethics,” I., 126.

<sup>8</sup> “Data of Ethics,” I., 120.

The ground of restraint in the case of the savage is the fear of future pain to himself. With the evolutionist it is concern for the pleasures and pains of others. How is the transition made? Has the restraint which makes a man honest from fear of the gallows any mode of transforming itself into the disinterested restraint which guides his action by regard to the well-being of other people? What is the unifying principle between him and the race? That a consciousness of universal kinship among the members of the human race is not such a principle any one in the least acquainted with the world will admit. Whether or not such a happy state of universal brotherhood will obtain in the future does not matter in the least, for a future contingency cannot account for the existing facts of the moral order.

Perhaps law, as Bain holds, is the benign influence smoothing the rugged path from egoism to altruism.

According to Bain society, by means of government or otherwise, inflicts punishment upon such actions as interfere with the pleasures or increase the pains of men, and then association being established in the mind between punishable actions and punishment, men come to dread and avoid such actions. In this view conscience would be simply a miniature police court.

The inadequacy of this means of effecting the transition is evident from this fact alone that human law can reach only external and overt acts, and I think it is fair to assume that if there was no direct check on internal desires they would issue forth in a wild torrent that would utterly demolish the tiny dam of the mere human legislator.

This contention gains strength from the consideration that human law is often uncertain in its operations, and that its penalties are often trivial, though the gain, *e. g.*, of harassing one's neighbors, be very considerable. And what we have said about law applies *totidem verbis* to public opinion, which Spencer calls the social element in thecoerciveness of conscience. Besides, it is quite evident that Bain's theory makes no pretence to account for a great part of morality, especially its positive precepts and many obligations under the virtue of chastity.

Nor will the religious factor—the fear of God—that Spencer recognizes as helping to make us altruistic serve his turn any better unless on the hypothesis we are contending for, *viz.*: That the facts of conscience are a valid argument for God's existence. Because, as we have said in the beginning, the theology of paganism, for instance, was little calculated to have any restraining influence on the passions of men. And again in this matter Spencer is easily hoist with his own petard and that of his friends, for they are forever

proclaiming the concomitant existence of morality with the want of religious belief among the primitive races.

The chasm, then, between the individual and the race is impossible on Utilitarian principles, and evolutionists ought either to abandon their altruistic cant or give up their theory of the determination of the will to the most enticing object. Having shown, then, that on Utilitarian principles our fellow-members of the race have very little connection with our acts, it follows as a matter of course that Spencer's attempted explanation of the elements of authority and coerciveness breaks down.

There is another weak point in the Utilitarian theory that I think is not sufficiently insisted on. For in the view of Spencer, Darwin and evolutionists generally the principles of morality are nothing more than the concentrated and crystallized experiences of the race making for the survival of the fittest, of which our physical organism is the receptacle and which have been transmitted to us with it. In this way they claim that a man can and must in certain circumstances, owing to the bent of his character, reject some course of action that would otherwise be for him an irresistible attraction, thereby sacrificing the pleasure of the individual to the well-being of the race or in other words to morality.

But if such be the genesis of morality, how can the Utilitarians account for the fact that as children we do some things habitually that we afterwards refrain from as habitually and that are recognized as detrimental to the race? This undoubted fact shows, since the constitution of the child and the adult is the same, that the racial experiences of utility or the reverse have quite a subordinate place in regulating the conduct of men generally.

Besides, I think it is fair to urge that if morality is identical with the accumulated experiences of each one's progenitors there would not be such unanimity among us as to its precepts. For our antecedents were in many cases very different, and a policy that proved suicidal to one would doubtless often have been the making of another.

Again, there are certain acts which are universally recognized as being right and of obligation, and we much doubt if on the principles of natural selection or the survival of the fittest their utility to the race would entitle them to the high place they now hold in the estimation of men. Let us examine, for instance, whether it is possible to account for the generally recognized obligation to be truthful on the Utilitarian hypothesis.

If morality can be deduced from the laws of life and the conditions of existence, we have a right to expect that the biological conditions which spelled success in the lower sphere should also

obtain in the higher. We find, however, that with nearly all creatures up to man a premium is put on deception. It is the weapon which the weak use against the strong; indeed, often the only effective one they have. Any work on natural history will afford illustration of the truth of the statement that deception is almost universal and has on it the stamp of success and so of moral obligation on Utilitarian principles. The flatfish which escapes the jaws of the dogfish is the one which can imitate most closely the color of the sand bank on which it lies. Some of the most remarkable mimetic insects yet discovered are certain bugs which have a most striking resemblance to thorns. One species in particular, the *umbonia spinosa* in South Africa, is an exact imitation of a large thorn such as is found upon a wild rose stem. The counterfeit is so thorough that to discover the *umbonia* on a thorny stem seems a task of which no bird would be capable.

We need not multiply instances which will readily occur to every one. Imitation, mimicry, deception prevail everywhere in the animal kingdom from the least to the highest, from the insect to the mother bird, which moves as if her wings were broken to entice the pursuer from her nest.

This process of deception has the sanction of success. Those who have been best at it have escaped the danger before which their less skillful relatives went down, and organized deception becomes the fit rule of conduct for all who have survived. It is preposterous to think that out of this biological law of life there should have been evolved the supreme authority and obligation of truthfulness in the case of man; and remember that it does not make any difference to our position that the obligation of truthfulness is questioned by some evolutionists provided it be admitted (and what I think is unquestionable) that the generality of men recognize it.

Even when we turn to human life it cannot be shown on the hypothesis of evolution that the habit of telling the truth is beneficial, pleasurable or advantageous. The Utilitarian sanction for veracity is neither powerful nor universal. Few laws enforce it, nor is the social reprobation attaching to untruthfulness as such very severe. For though it is true that we profess indignation at deceit generally, as a matter of fact we are really angry only when the deceit is malicious or injurious to us. We resist calumny, cheating and hypocrisy because they harm us, not at all because they are untrue. Abstract the detraction and the mischief from the untruth, and we are at little pains to condemn it; let it take the direction of adulation, and people generally are pleased with it, and but for their modesty would applaud it.

We can find no basis, then, for the obligation of being truthful.

in biological conditions or in the experience of men, and hence Utilitarianism utterly fails to account for it. And the same is demonstrably true in the case of other obligations, for instance, our respect for the lives of the aged and helpless whose maintenance is a burden to us, not to mention at all the plague-stricken and others whose very existence is a positive menace to society.<sup>9</sup>

The truth is, of course, that Utilitarianism leaves out of sight the greater part of morality. That theory of morals and of obligation is by its apotheosis of the creature not only dwarfed, it is lop-sided. Our relation to our fellow-men is incidental and secondary in the true scheme of morality. We are under an obligation to avoid injuring our neighbors, but in our opinion, with all due deference to the great authorities on the other side,<sup>10</sup> the ratio formalis of such obligation is the Divine Will exclusively. The many Catholics that hold a different view seem to be admitting the thin end of the wedge of Utilitarianism. God was bound, seeing that He had made men independent of one another, to sanction with His will certain relations between them; but if we trespass on the independence of our neighbors, though no doubt we violate their right, still our moral culpability consists formally not at all in the injury we do them, but in our violation of the Divine law.

It is to be noted, too, that in expounding the principles of ethics we explain what kind of life we ought to live, what end to accomplish; we say not merely thou shalt not, but thou shalt. So that even if we were to reach the time and state when it would be no longer necessary to say thou shalt not, the notion of obligation would remain and would make itself felt so long as there was a further progress to be made, a higher ideal to reach and a further end to be accomplished.

And remember that according to the evolutionists at least the ideal of human conduct is continually growing and seeking a higher statement and embodiment of itself as knowledge widens. Neither, then, by the attempt to resolve it into its elements nor by the prediction that it will fade away have Spencer and his friends succeeded in divorcing the idea of a Supreme Personal Lawgiver from our sense of moral obligation.

In conclusion, we contend that we have proved against many Catholics that on our own principles the knowledge of obligation, and hence of God to some extent, is assumed as a primary fact of consciousness—is something arising spontaneously within the mind and independent of external instruction as to its existence, though not perhaps as to its perfection. We have refuted evolutionists

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<sup>9</sup> "Principles of Moral Science," 75.

<sup>10</sup> "Principles of Moral Science," 61.

who take up the same position by retorting on them their own theory as to the atheism of the lower races, and by showing that in paganism the traditional cult of the Gods had no beneficial influence at least on the morality of the people.

We may assume, I think (what seems a mere truism), that the sense of obligation does not arise from anything we owe our own individual natures, and we have tried to show against Utilitarians that it has no reference to the race in general and so has no *raison d'être* at all on empirical lines.

We are entitled, therefore, to assume that this better self within us represents and bears unmistakable evidence to the existence of the living God, who, though greater than conscience, speaks through conscience. Conscience, then, occupies the throne of the universe, and her voice is that of the eternal king to which all loyal subjects respond with rejoicing assent, and with the exulting hope that the right will triumph, they rejoice that God reigns forever in righteousness, and that the puny arguments of atheists will one day dissolve and melt away like the snowflake on a river.

Stern Lawgiver! yet thou dost wear  
The Godhead's most benignant grace;  
Nor knew we anything so fair  
As is the smile upon thy face.  
—Wordsworth's Ode "On Duty."

D. BARRY.

Ireland.

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## BASIL VALENTINE, A GREAT PRE-REFORMATION CHEMIST.

THE Protestant tradition which presumes *a priori* that no good can possibly have come out of the Nazareth of the times before the Reformation, and especially the immediately preceding century, has served to obscure to an unfortunate degree the history of several hundred years extremely important in every department of education. Strange as it may seem to those unfamiliar with the period, it is in that department which is supposed to be so typically modern—the physical sciences—that this neglect is most serious. Such a hold has this Protestant tradition on even educated minds that it is a source of great surprise to most people to be told that there were in many parts of Europe original observers in the physical sciences all during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who were doing ground-breaking work of the highest value that was destined to mean much for the development of modern



science. Speculations and experiments with regard to the philosopher's stone and the transmutation of metals are supposed to fill up all the interests of the alchemists of those days. As a matter of fact, however, men were making original observations of very profound significance, and these were considered so valuable by their contemporaries that though printing had not yet been invented, even the immense labor involved in copying large folio volumes by hand did not suffice to deter them from multiplying the writings of these men and thus preserving them for future generations until the printing press came to perpetuate them.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, with some of the supposed foundations of modern chemistry crumbling to pieces, under the influences of the peculiarly active light thrown upon older chemical theories by the discovery of radium and the radio active elements generally, there is a reawakening of interest in some of the old-time chemical observers whose work used to be laughed at as so unscientific and whose theory of the transmutation of elements into one another was considered so absurd. The idea that it would be impossible under any circumstances to convert one element into another belongs entirely to the nineteenth century. Even so distinguished a mind as that of Newton, in the preceding century, could not bring itself to acknowledge the modern supposition of the absurdity of metallic transformation, but, on the contrary, believed very firmly in this as a basic chemical principle and confessed that it might be expected to occur at any time. He had seen specimens of gold ores in connection with metallic copper, and had concluded that this was a manifestation of the natural transformation of one of these yellow metals into the other.

With the discovery that radium transforms itself into helium, and that indeed all the so-called radio activities of the very heavy metals are probably due to a natural transmutation process constantly at work, the ideas of the older chemists cease entirely to be a subject for amusement. The physical chemists of the present day are very ready to admit that the old teaching of the absolute independence of something over seventy elements is no longer tenable, except as a working hypothesis. The doctrine of matter and form taught for so many centuries by the scholastic philosophers that all matter is composed of two principles, an underlying material substratum and a dynamic or informing principle, has now more acknowledged verisimilitude or lies at least closer to the generally accepted ideas of the most progressive scientists than it has at any time for the last two or three centuries. Not only the great physicists, but the great chemists, are speculating along lines that suggest the existence of but one form of matter modified according to the energies that

it possesses under a varying physical and chemical environment. This is after all only a restatement in modern terms of the teaching of St. Thomas in the thirteenth century.

It is not surprising, then, that there should be a reawakening of interest in the lives of some of the men who, dominated by the earlier scholastic ideas and by the tradition of the possibility of finding the philosopher's stone, which would transmute the baser metals into the precious metals, devoted themselves with quite as much zeal as any modern chemist to the observation of chemical phenomena. One of the most interesting of these, indeed, he might well be said to be the greatest of the alchemists, is the man whose only name that we know is that which appears on a series of manuscripts written in the high German dialect of the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. That name is Basil Valentine, and the writer, according to the best historical traditions, was a Benedictine monk. The name Basil Valentine may only have been a pseudonym, for it has been impossible to trace it among the records of the monasteries of the time. That the writer was a monk there seems to be no doubt, for his writings in manuscript and printed form began to have their vogue at a time when there was little likelihood of their being attributed to a monk unless an indubitable tradition connected them with some monastery.

This Basil Valentine, to accept the only name we have, as we can judge very well from his writings, eminently deserves the designation of the last of the alchemists and the first of the chemists. There is practically a universal recognition of the fact now that he deserves in addition the title of Founder of Modern Chemistry, not only because of the value of the observations contained in his writings, but also because of the fact that they proved so suggestive to certain scientific geniuses during the century succeeding Valentine's life. Almost more than to have added to the precious heritage of knowledge for mankind is it a boon for a scientific observer to have awakened the spirit of observation in others and to be the founder of a new school of thought. This Basil Valentine undoubtedly did.

Besides his work furnishes evidence that the investigating spirit was abroad just when it is usually supposed not to have been, for the Thuringian monk surely did not do all his investigating alone, but must have received as well as given many a suggestion to his contemporaries.

In the history of education there are two commonplaces that are appealed to oftener than any other as the sources of material with regard to the influence of the Catholic Church on education during the centuries preceding the Reformation. These are the supposed

idleness of the monks and the foolish belief in the transmutation of metals and the search for the philosopher's stone which dominated the minds of so many of the educated men of the time. It is in Germany especially that these two features of the pre-Reformation period are supposed to be best illustrated, though in recent years there has come quite a revolution in the feelings even of those outside of the Church with regard to the proper appreciation of the work of the monastic scholars of these earlier centuries. Even though some of them did dream golden dreams over their alembics, the love of knowledge meant more to them as to the serious students of any age than anything that might be made on it. As for their scientific beliefs, if there can be a conversion of one element into another, as seems true of radium, then the possibility of the transmutation of metals is not so absurd, as for a century or more it has seemed, and it is not impossible that at some time even gold may be manufactured out of other metallic materials.

Of course a still worthier change of mind has come over the attitude of educators because of a growing sense of appreciation for the wonderful work of the monks of the Middle Ages, and even of those centuries that are supposed to show least of the influence of these groups of men who, forgetting material progress, devoted themselves to the preservation and the cultivation of the things of the spirit. Many exceptions doubtless there were to the general rule that sets these men far above the average of humanity of their time. But the impression that would consider the pre-Reformation monks in Germany as unworthy of their high calling in the great mass is almost entirely without foundation. Obscure though the lives of most of them were, many of them rose above their environment in such a way as to make their work landmarks in the history of progress for all time.

Because their discoveries are buried in the old Latin folios that are contained only in the best libraries not often consulted by the modern scientist, it is usually thought that the scientific investigators of these centuries before the Reformation did no work that would be worth while considering in our present day. It is only some one who goes into this matter as a labor of love who will consider it worth his while to take the trouble seriously to consult these musty old tomes. Many a scholar, however, has found his labor well rewarded by the discovery of many an anticipation of modern science in these volumes so much neglected and where such treasure troves are least expected. Professor Clifford Allbutt, the regius professor of physics at the University of Cambridge, in his address on "The Historical Relations of Medicine and Surgery Down to the End of the Sixteenth Century," which was delivered at the St.

Louis Congress of Arts and Sciences during the Exposition in 1904, has shown how much that is supposed to be distinctly modern in medicine, and above all in surgery, was the subject of discussion at the French and Italian universities of the thirteenth century. William Salicet, for instance, who taught at the University of Bologna, published a large series of case histories, substituted the knife for the Arabic use of the cautery, described the danger of wounds of the neck, investigated the causes of the failure of healing by first intention and sutured divided nerves. His pupil, Lanfranc, who taught later at the University of Paris, went farther than his master by distinguishing between venous and arterial hemorrhage, requiring digital compression for an hour to stop hemorrhage from the *venae pulsatiles*, the pulsating veins as they were called, and if this failed because of the size of the vessel, suggesting the application of a ligature. Lanfranc's chapter on injuries to the head still remains a noteworthy book in surgery that establishes beyond peradventure how thoughtfully practical were these teachers in the mediæval universities. It must be remembered that at this time all the teachers in universities, even those in the medical schools and even those occupied with surgery, were clerics. Professor Allbutt calls attention over and over again to this fact, because it emphasizes the thoroughness of educational methods in spite of the supposed difficulties that would lie in the way of an exclusively clerical teaching staff.

In chemistry the advances made during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were even more noteworthy than those in any other department of science. Albertus Magnus, who taught at Paris, wrote no less than sixteen treatises on chemical subjects, and in spite of the fact that he was a theologian as well as a scientist and that his printed works filled sixteen folio volumes, he somehow found the time to make many observations for himself and performed numberless experiments in order to clear up doubts. The larger histories of chemistry accord him his proper place and hail him as a great founder in chemistry and pioneer in original investigation.

Even St. Thomas Aquinas, much as he was occupied with theology and philosophy, found some time to devote to chemical questions. After all, this is only what might have been expected of the favorite pupil of Albertus Magnus. Three treatises on chemical subjects from Aquinas' pen have been preserved for us, and it is to him that we are said to owe the origin of the word amalgam, which he first used in describing various chemical methods of metallic combination that were discovered in the search for the genuine transmutation of metals.

Albertus Magnus' other great scientific pupil, Roger Bacon, the

English Franciscan friar, followed more closely in the physical scientific ways of his great master. Altogether he wrote some eighteen treatises on chemical subjects. For a long time it was considered that he was the inventor of gunpowder, though this is now known to have been introduced into Europe by the Arabs. Roger Bacon studied gunpowder and various other explosive combinations in considerable detail, and it is for this reason that he obtained the undeserved reputation of being an original discoverer in this line. How well he realized how much might be accomplished by means of the energy stored up in explosives can perhaps be best appreciated from the fact that he suggested that boats would go along the rivers and across the seas without either sails or oars and that carriages would go along the streets without horse or man power. He considered that man would eventually invent a method of harnessing these explosive mixtures and of utilizing their energies for his purposes without danger. It is curiously interesting to find as we begin the twentieth century and gasolene is so commonly used for the driving of automobiles and motor boats and is being introduced even on railroad cars in the West as the most available source of energy for suburban traffic, that this generation should only be fulfilling the idea of the old Franciscan friar of the thirteenth century who prophesied that in explosives there was the secret of eventually manageable energy for transportation purposes.

Succeeding centuries were not as fruitful in great scientists as the thirteenth, and yet at the beginning of the fourteenth there was a Pope, three of whose scientific treatises—one on the transmutation of metals, which he considers an impossibility, at least as far as the manufacture of gold and silver was concerned; a treatise on diseases of the eyes, of which Professor Allbutt<sup>1</sup> says that it was not without its distinctive practical value, though compiled so early in the history of eye surgery, and finally his treatise on the preservation of the health, written when he was himself over eighty years of age—are all considered by good authorities as worthy of the best scientific spirit of the time. This Pope was John XXII., of whom it has been said over and over again by Protestant historians that he issued a bull forbidding chemistry, though he was himself one of the enthusiastic students of chemistry in his younger years and always retained his interest in the science.<sup>2</sup>

During the fourteenth century Arnold of Villanova, the inventor of nitric acid, and the two Hollanduses kept up the tradition of

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<sup>1</sup> Address cited.

<sup>2</sup> For the refutation of this calumny with regard to John XXII., see Pope John XXII. and the supposed Bull forbidding chemistry, by James J. Walsh, Ph. D., M. D., in the *Medical Library and Historical Journal*, October, 1905.

original investigation in chemistry. Altogether there are some dozen treatises from these three men on chemical subjects. The Hollanduses particularly did their work in a spirit of thoroughly frank original investigation. They were more interested in minerals than in any other class of substances, but did not waste much time on the question of transmutation of metals. Professor Thompson, the professor of chemistry at Edinburgh, said in his history of chemistry many years ago that the Hollanduses have very clear descriptions of their processes of treating minerals in order to investigate their composition, which serve to show that their knowledge was by no means entirely theoretical or acquired only from books or by argumentation.

Before the end of this fourteenth century, according to the best authorities on this subject, Basil Valentine, the more particular subject of our essay, was born.

Valentine's career is a typical example of the personally obscure but intellectually brilliant lives which these old monks live. It seems probable, according to the best authorities, as we have said, that his work began shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century, though most of what was important in it was accomplished during the second half. It would not be so surprising as most people who have been brought up to consider the period just before the Reformation in Germany as wanting in progressive scholars might imagine for a supremely great original investigator to have existed in North Germany about this time. After all, before the end of the century, Copernicus, working in Northern Germany, had announced his theory that the earth was not the centre of the universe, and had set forth all that this announcement meant. To a Bishop friend who said to him, "But this means that you are giving up a new universe," he replied that the universe was already there, but his theory would lead men to recognize its existence. In Southern Germany Thomas à Kempis, who died in 1471, had traced for man the outlines of another universe, that of his own soul, from its mystically practical side. These great Germans were only the worthy contemporaries of many other German scholars only less distinguished than these supreme geniuses. The second half of the fifteenth century, the beginning of the Renaissance in Germany as well as Italy, is that wonderful time in history when somehow men's eyes were opened to see farther and their minds broadened to gather in more of the truth of man's relation to the universe than had ever before been the case in all the centuries of human existence, or than has ever been possible even in these more modern centuries, though supposedly we are the heirs of all the ages in the foremost files of time. Coming as he did before printing, when tradition was even more

dominating than now, it is almost needless to say that there are many curious traditions associated with the name of Basil Valentine. Two centuries before his time Roger Bacon, doing his work in England, had succeeded in attracting so much attention even from the common people, because of his wonderful scientific discoveries, that his name became a by-word in popular parlance and many strange magical feats were attributed to him. Friar Bacon was the great wizard even in the plays of the Elizabethan period. Something of the same sort of tradition sprang up with regard to the Benedictine monk of the fifteenth century. Even his manuscript, it was said, had not been published directly, but had been hidden in a pillar in the church attached to the monastery and had been discovered there after the splitting open of the pillar by a bolt of lightning from heaven. It is the extension of this tradition that has sometimes led to the assumption that Valentine lived in an earlier century, some even going so far as to say that he, too, like Roger Bacon, was a product of the thirteenth century. It seems reasonably possible, however, to separate the traditional from what is actual in his existence, and thus to obtain some idea at least of his work, if not of the details of his life. The internal evidence from his works enable the historian of science to place him within a half century of the discovery of America.

One of the stories told with regard to Basil Valentine, because it has become a commonplace in philology, has made him more generally known than any of his actual discoveries. In one of the most popular of the old-fashioned text-books of chemistry in use a quarter of a century ago in the chapter on Antimony there was a story that I suppose students never forgot. It was said that Basil Valentine, a monk of the Middle Ages, was the discoverer of this substance. After having experimented with it in a number of ways, he threw some of it out of his laboratory one day, where the swine of the monastery, finding it, proceeded to gobble it up in connection with some other refuse. He watched the effect upon the swine very carefully, and found that after a preliminary period of digestive disturbance these swine developed an enormous appetite and became fatter than any of the others. This seemed a rather desirable result, and Basil Valentine, ever on the search for the practical, thought that he might use the remedy to good purpose even on the members of the community.

Some of the monks in the monastery were rather of frail health and delicate constitution, and he thought that the putting on of a little fat in their case might be a good thing. Accordingly he administered some of the salts of antimony with which he was experimenting surreptitiously in the food served to these monks. The result,

however, was not so favorable as in the case of the hogs. Indeed, according to one, though less authentic, version of the story, some of the poor monks, the unconscious subjects of the experiment, even perished as the result of the ingestion of the antimonial compounds. According to the better version they suffered only the usual unpleasant consequences of taking antimony which are quite enough for a fitting climax to the story. Basil Valentine called the new substance which he had discovered antimony, that is, opposed to monks. It might be good for hogs, but it was a form of monks' bane as it were.\*

Unfortunately for most of the good stories of history modern criticism has nearly always failed to find any authentic basis for them and they have had to go the way of the legends of Washington's hatchet and Tell's hat. We are sorry to say that that seems to be true also for this special story. Antimony, the word, is very probably derived from certain dialectic forms of the Greek word, for the metal and the name is no more derived from anti and monachus than it is from anti and monos (opposed to single existence), another fictitious derivation that has been suggested, and whose etymological value is supposed to consist in the fact that antimony is practically never found alone in nature.

Notwithstanding the apparent cloud of unfounded traditions that are associated with his name, there can be no doubt at all of the fact that Valentinus, to give him the Latin name by which he is commonly designated in foreign literatures, was one of the great geniuses who, working in obscurity, make precious steps into the unknown that enable humanity after them to see things more clearly than ever before. There are definite historical grounds for placing Basil Valentine as the first of the series of careful observers who differentiated chemistry from the old alchemy and applied its precious treasures of information to the uses of medicine. It was because of the study of Basil Valentine's work that Paracelsus broke away from the Galenic traditions so supreme in medicine up to his time and began our modern pharmaceuticals. Following on the heels of Paracelsus came Van Helmont, the father of modern medical chemistry, and these three did more than any others to enlarge the scope

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\* It is curious to trace how old are the traditions on which some of these old stories that must now be rejected are founded. I have come upon the story with regard to Basil Valentine and the antimony and the monks in an old French medical encyclopedia of biography, published in the seventeenth century, and at that time there was no doubt at all expressed as to its truth. How much older than this it may be I do not know, though it is probable that it comes from the sixteenth century, when the *kakoethes scribendi* attacked many people because of the facility of printing, and when most of the good stories that have so worried the modern dry-as-dust historian in his researches for their correction became a part of the body of supposed historical tradition.



of medication and to make observation rather than authority the most important criterion of truth in medicine. Indeed, the work of these three men dominated medicine, or at least the department of pharmaceuticals, down almost to our own day, and their influence is still felt in drug giving.

While we do not know the absolute date of either the birth or the death of Basil Valentine and are not sure even of the exact period in which he lived and did his work, we are sure that a great original observer about the time of the invention of printing studied mercury and sulphur and various salts, and above all introduced antimony to the notice of the scientific world, and especially to the favor of practitioners of medicine. His book, "The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony," is full of conclusions not quite justified by his premises nor by his observations. There is no doubt, however, that the observational methods which he employed did give an immense amount of knowledge and formed the basis of the method of investigation by which the chemical side of medicine was to develop during the next two or three centuries. Great harm was done by the abuse of antimony, but then great harm is done by the abuse of anything, no matter how good it may be. For a time it came to be the most important drug in medicine and was only replaced by venesection. The fact of the matter is that doctors were looking for effects from their drugs, and antimony is above all things effective. Patients, too, wished to see the effect of the medicines they took. They do so even yet, and when antimony was administered there was no doubt about that.

Some five years ago when Sir Michael Foster, M. D., professor of physiology in the University of Cambridge, England, was invited to deliver the Lane lectures at the Cooper Medical College, in San Francisco, he took for his subject "The History of Physiology." In the course of his lecture on "The Rise of Chemical Physiology" he began with the name of Basil Valentine, who first attracted men's attention to the many chemical substances around them that might be used in the treatment of disease, and said of him:

"He was one of the alchemists, but in addition to his inquiries into the properties of metals and his search for the philosopher's stone, he busied himself with the nature of drugs, vegetable and mineral, and with their action as remedies for disease. He was no anatomist, no physiologist, but rather what nowadays we should call a pharmacologist. He did not care for the problems of the body, all he sought to understand was how the constituents of the soil and of plants might be treated so as to be available for healing the sick and how they produced their effects. We apparently owe to him the introduction of many chemical substances, for instance, of hydro-

chloric acid, which he prepared from oil of vitriol and salt, and of many vegetable drugs. And he was apparently the author of certain conceptions which, as we shall see, played an important part in the development of chemistry and of physiology. To him, it seems, we owe the idea of the three 'elements' as they were and have been called, replacing the old idea of the ancients of the four elements—earth, air, fire and water. It must be remembered, however, that both in the ancient and in the new idea the word 'element' was not intended to mean that which it means to us now, a fundamental unit of matter, but a general quality or property of matter. The three elements of Valentine were (1) sulphur, or that which is combustible, which is changed or destroyed, or which at all events disappears during burning or combustion; (2) mercury, that which temporarily disappears during burning or combustion, which is dissociated in the burning from the body burnt, but which may be recovered, that is to say, that which is volatile, and (3) salt, that which is fixed, the residue or ash which remains after burning."

The most interesting of Basil Valentine's books, and the one which has had the most enduring influence, is undoubtedly "The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony." It has been translated and has had a wide vogue in every language of modern Europe. Its recommendation of antimony had such an effect upon medical practice that it continued to be the most important drug in the pharmacopœia down almost to the middle of the nineteenth century. If any proof were needed that Basil Valentine or that the author of the books that go under that name was a monk, it would be found in the introduction to this volume, which not only states that fact very clearly, but also in doing so makes use of language that shows the writer to have been deeply imbued with the old monastic spirit. I quote the first paragraph of this introduction in order to make clear what I mean. The quotation is taken from the English translation of the work, as published in London in 1678. Curiously enough, seeing the obscurity surrounding Valentine himself, we do not know for sure who made the translation. The translator apologizes somewhat for the deeply religious spirit of the book, but considers that he was not justified in eliminating any of this. Of course, the translation is left in the quaint old-fashioned form so eminently suited to the thoughts of the old master, and the spelling and use of capitals is not changed:

"Basil Valentine: His Triumphant Chariot of Antimony.— Since I, Basil Valentine, by Religious Vows am bound to live according to the Order of St. Benedict, and that requires another manner of spirit of Holiness than the common state of Mortals exercised in the profane business of this World; I thought it my

duty before all things, in the beginning of this little book, to declare what is necessary to be known by the pious Spagyrist (old-time name for medical chemist), inflamed with an ardent desire of this Art, as what he ought to do, and whereunto to direct his aim, that he may lay such foundations of the whole matter as may be stable; lest his Building, shaken with the Winds, happen to fall, and the whole Edifice to be involved in shameful Ruine, which otherwise, being founded on more firm and solid principles, might have continued for a long series of time. Which Admonition I judged was, is and always will be a necessary part of my Religious Office; especially since we must all die, and no one of us which are now, whether high or low, shall long be seen among the number of men. For it concerns me to recommend these Meditations of Mortality to Posterity, leaving them behind me, not only that honor may be given to the Divine Majesty, but also that Men may obey him sincerely in all things.

"In this my Meditation I found that there were five principal heads, chiefly to be considered by the wise and prudent spectators of our Wisdom and Art. The first of which is, Invocation of God. The second, Contemplation of Nature. The third, True Preparation. The fourth, the Way of Using. The fifth, Utility and Fruit. For he who regards not these, shall never obtain place among true Chymists, or fill up the number of perfect Spagyrist. Therefore, touching these five heads, we shall here following treat and so far declare them, as that the general Work may be brought to light and perfected by an intent and studious Operator."

This book, though the title might seem to indicate it, is not devoted entirely to the study of antimony, but contains many important additions to the chemistry of the time. For instance, Basil Valentine explains in this work how what he calls the spirit of salt might be obtained. He succeeded in manufacturing this material by treating common salt with oil of vitriol and heat. From the description of the uses to which he put the end product of his chemical manipulation it is evident that under the name of spirit of salt he is describing what we now know as hydrochloric acid. This is the first definite mention of it in the history of science, and the method suggested for its preparation is not very different from that employed even at the present time. He also suggests in this volume how alcohol may be obtained in high strengths. He distilled the spirit obtained from wine over carbonate of potassium, and thus succeeded in depriving it of a great proportion of its water.

We have said that he was deeply interested in the philosopher's stone. Naturally this turned his attention to the study of metals, and so it is not surprising to find that he succeeded in formulating

a method by which metallic copper could be obtained. The substance used for the purpose was copper pyrites, which was changed to an impure sulphate of copper by the action of oil of vitriol and moist air. The sulphate of copper occurred in solution, and the copper could be precipitated from it by plunging an iron bar into it. Basil Valentine recognized the presence of this peculiar yellow metal and studied some of its qualities. He does not seem to have been quite sure, however, whether the phenomenon that he witnessed was not really a transmutation of the iron into copper as a consequence of the other chemicals present.

There are some observations on chemical physiology, and especially with regard to respiration, in the book on antimony that show their author to have anticipated the true explanation of the theory of respiration. He states that animals breathe because the air is needed to support their life, and that all the animals exhibit the phenomenon of respiration. He even insists that the fishes, though living in water, breathe air and adduces in support of this idea the fact that whenever a river is entirely frozen the fishes die. The reason for this being, according to this old-time physiologist, not that the fishes are frozen to death, but that they are not able to obtain air in the ice as they did in the water, and consequent perish.

There are many testimonies to the practical character of all his knowledge and his desire to apply it for the benefit of humanity. The old monk could not repress the expression of his impatience with physicians who gave to patients for diseases of which they knew little remedies of which they knew less. For him it was an unpardonable sin for a physician not to have faithfully studied the various mixtures that he prescribed for his patients, and not to know not only their appearance and taste and effect, but all the limits of their application. Considering that at the present time it is a frequent source of complaint that physicians often prescribe remedies with whose physical appearances they are not familiar, this complaint of the old-time chemist alchemist will be all the more interesting for the modern physician. It is evident that when Basil Valentine allows his ire to get the better of him it is because of his indignation over the quacks who were abusing medicine and patients in his time, as they have ever since. There is a curious bit of aspersion of mere book learning in the passage that has a distinctly modern ring, and one feels the truth of Russell Lowell's expression that to read a great genius, no matter how antique, is always to seem to be reading a commentary in the morning paper, so up-to-date does genius ever remain:

"And whensoever I shall have occasion to contend in the School with such a Doctor, who knows not how himself to prepare his own

medicines, but commits that business to another, I am sure I shall obtain the Palm from him; for indeed that good man knows not what medicines he prescribes to the sick; whether the color of them be white, black, grey or blew, he cannot tell; nor doth this wretched man know whether the medicine he gives be dry or hot, cold or humid; but he only knows that he found it so written in his Books, and thence pretends knowledge (or as it were, Possession) by Prescription of a very long time; yet he desires to further Information. Here again let it be lawful to exclaim, Good God, to what a state is the matter brought! what goodness of minde is in these men! what care do they take of the sick! Wo, wo to them! in the day of Judgment they will find the fruit of their ignorance and rashness, then they will see him whom they pierced, when they neglected their Neighbor, sought after money and nothing else; whereas were they cordial in their profession, they would spend Nights and Days in Labour that they might become more learned in their Art, whence more certain health would accrew to the sick with their Estimation and greater glory to themselves. But since Labour is tedious to them, they commit the matter to chance, and being secure of their Honour, and content with their Fame, they (like Brawlers) defend themselves with a certain garrulity, without any respect had to Confidence or Truth."

Perhaps one of the reasons why Valentine's book has been of such enduring interest is that it is written in an eminently human vein and out of a lively imagination. It is full of figures relating to many other things besides chemistry, which serve to show how deeply this investigating observer was attentive to all the problems of life around him. For instance, when he wants to describe the affinity that exists between many substances in chemistry, and which makes it impossible for them not to be attracted to one another, he takes a figure from the attractions that he sees exist among men and women. There are some paragraphs with regard to the influence of the passion of love that one might think rather a quotation from an old-time sermon than from a great ground-breaking book in the science of chemistry.

"Love leaves nothing entire or sound in man; it impedes his sleep, he cannot rest either day or night; it takes off his appetite that he hath no disposition either to meat or drink by reason of the continual torments of his heart and mind. It deprives him of all Providence, hence he neglects his affairs, vocation. and business. He minds neither study, labor nor prayer; casts away all thoughts of anything but the body beloved; this is his study, this his most vain occupation. If to lovers the success be not answerable to their wish, or so soon and prosperously as they desire, how many melancholies henceforth arise, with griefs and sadnesses, with which they

pine away and wax so lean as they have scarcely any flesh cleaving to the bones. Yea, at last they lose the life itself, as may be proved by many examples! for such men, (which is an horrible thing to think of) slight and neglect all perils and detriments, both of the body and life, and of the soul and eternal salvation."

It is evident that human nature is not different in our sophisticated twentieth century from that which this observant old monk saw around him in the fifteenth. He continues:

"How many testimonies of this violence which is in love, are daily found? for it not only inflames the younger sort, but it so far exaggerates some persons far gone in years as through the burning heat thereof, they are almost mad. Natural diseases are for the most part governed by the complexion of man and therefore invade some more firely, others more gently; but Love, without distinction of poor or rich, young or old, siezeth all, and having seized so blinds them as forgetting all rules of reason, they neither see nor hear any snare."

But then the old monk thinks that he has said enough with regard to this subject and apologized for his digression in another paragraph that should remove any lingering doubt there may be with regard to the genuineness of his monastic character. The personal element in his confession is so naïve and so simply straightforward that instead of seeming to be the result of conceit, and so repelling the reader it rather attracts his kindly feeling for its author. The paragraph would remind one in certain ways of that personal element that was to become more popular in literature after Montaigne had made such extensive use of it.

"But of these enough; for it becomes not a religious man to insist too long upon these cogitations, or to give place to such a flame in his heart. Hitherto (without boasting I speak it) I have throughout the whole course of my life kept myself safe and free from it, and I pray and invoke God to vouchsafe me his Grace that I may keep holy and inviolate the faith which I have sworn, and live contented with my spiritual spouse, the Holy Catholick Church. For no other reason have I alleaged these than that I might express the love with which all tinctures ought to be moved towards metals, if ever they be admitted by them into true friendship, and by love, which permeates the inmost parts, be converted into a better state."

The application of the figure at the end of his long digression is characteristic of the period in which he wrote and to a considerable extent also of the German literary methods of the time.

In this volume on the use of antimony there are in most of the editions certain biographical notes which have sometimes been accepted as authentic, but oftener rejected. According to these,

Basil Valentine was born in a town in Alsace, on the southern bank of the Rhine. As a consequence of this, there are several towns that have laid claim to being his birthplace. M. Jean Reynaud, the distinguished French philosophic writer of the first half of the nineteenth century, once said that Basil Valentine, like Ossian and Homer, had many towns claim him years after his death. He also suggested that like those old poets, it was possible that the writings sometimes attributed to Basil Valentine were really the work not of one man, but of several individuals. There are, however, many objections to this theory, the most forceful of which is the internal evidence of the books themselves and their style and method of treatment. Other biographic details contained in "The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony" are undoubtedly more correct. According to them, Basil Valentine traveled in England and Holland on missions for his order, and went through France and Spain on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella.

Besides his work "The Triumphal Chariot of Antimony" there are a number of other books of Basil Valentine's, printed during the first half of the sixteenth century, that are well known and copies of which may be found in most of the important libraries. The United States Surgeon General's Library at Washington contains several of the works on medical subjects, and the New York Academy of Medicine Library has some valuable editions of his works. Some of his other well-known books, each one of which is a good-sized octavo volume, bear the following descriptive titles (I give them in English, though as they are usually to be found they are in Latin, sixteenth century translations of the original German): "The World in Miniature; or, The Mystery of the World and of Human Medical Science," published at Marburg, 1609; "The Chemical Apocalypse; or, The Manifestation of Artificial Chemical Compounds," published at Erfurt in 1624; "A Chémico Philosophic Treatise Concerning Things Natural and Preternatural, Especially Relating to the Metals and the Minerals," published at Frankfurt in 1676; "Haliography; or, The Science of Salts: A Treatise on the Preparation, Use and Chemical Properties of All the Mineral, Animal and Vegetable Salts," published at Bologna in 1644; "The Twelve Keys of Philosophy," Leipsic, 1630.

The great interest manifested in Basil Valentine's work at the Renaissance period can be best realized from the number of manuscripts and the wide distribution. His books were not all printed at one place, but, on the contrary, in different portions of Europe. The original edition of "The Triumpthal Chariot of Antimony" was published at Leipsic in the early part of the sixteenth century. The first editions of the other books, however, appeared at places so

distant from Leipsic as Amsterdam and Bologna, while various cities of Germany, as Erfurt and Frankfort, claim the original editions of still other works. Many of the manuscript copies still exist in various libraries in Europe, and while there is no doubt that some unimportant additions to the supposed works of Basil Valentine have come from the attribution to him of scientific treatises of other German writers, the style and the method of the principal works mentioned is entirely too similar not to have been the fruit of a single mind and that possessed of a distinct investigating genius that sets it far above any of its contemporaries in scientific speculation and observation.

The most interesting feature of all of Basil Valentine's writings that are extant is the distinctive tendency to make his observations of special practical utility. His studies in antimony were made mainly with the idea of showing how that substance might be used in medicine. He did not neglect to point out other possible uses, however, and knew the secret of the employment of antimony in order to give sharpness and definition to the impression produced by metal types. It would seem as though he was the first scientist who discussed this subject, and there is even some question whether printers and type founders did not derive their ideas in this matter from Basil Valentine, rather than he from them. Interested as he was in the transmutation of metals, he never failed to try to find and suggest some medical use for all of the substances that he investigated. His was no greedy search for gold and no accumulation of investigations with the idea of benefiting only himself. Mankind was always in his mind, and perhaps there is no better demonstration of his fulfillment of the character of the monk than this constant solicitude to benefit others by every bit of investigation that he carried out. For him with mediæval nobleness of spirit the first part of every work must be the invocation of God, and the last, though no less important than the first, must be the utility and fruit for mankind that can be derived from it.

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New York.



## THE ANGELIC DOCTOR ON "THE ANGELS."

THE history of the human race, like the histories of the individuals that go to make it up, is crystallized round the development of human thought. The desires and the achievements, the projects and the attempts, no matter in what sphere of action, the manners and the civilization, the family and the social standards are only properly understood when they are considered in relation to the psychological atmosphere of which they are the natural and perhaps the necessary outcome. They find an explanation and are coherent only in proportion as they are systematically grouped around that striving—blind it may be or unconscious—towards a spiritual ideal that expresses itself, partially, fragmentarily, spasmodically, perhaps, but always characteristically, in the outward tokens of life.

We have the advantage of possessing the intimate history of the evolutions of individual thought in such writings as the Confessions of St. Augustine, the Apologia of Cardinal Newman or the Journal of Maine de Biran, autobiographic evolutions that fill the gulf between the youthful Manichæan and the Saint of Hippo, between the vivid imagination and morbid Calvinism of the boy and the calm confidence of the saintly prelate, between the ideology and materialism of the politician and the fullness of stature of the Christian faith.

More intimate still, if less clearly and definitely formulated, is the history of the personal development of each one of us as our natures unfold amid the innumerable circumstances that play their part in this characteristic evolution. It is difficult to realize the progress that we may have made; difficult to call a halt at any one definite point of our intellectual growth—save, possibly, at those great and profound crises, spiritual or mental, through which some of us have passed, and even then it is not easy—to sum up and set down in black and white the precise personal factors that combined to make us what we then were; difficult to gather up all the various threads that we have woven into the fabric of our personality and say for a certainty how as reasoning beings we now stand. But it is far more difficult than this to lay our finger upon the pulse of the thought-evolution of the race itself and gather from its throbbing the true meaning and import of the events, the crises and the commonplaces of external history. For to unlock the least problem is to hold in our hands the master key of the whole period.

There are bright lights and there are dark shadows alternating in the course of most, if not of all, human lives. Each one of us

has only to look back through a few checkered years to attest the fact. There are bright and dark pages in the history of the world; pages that bear the records of noble deeds and high aspirations side by side with those sodden with tears and blood, through whose dark stains we read other records of cruelty and oppression, of broken hopes and hopeless hearts, of that "nature red in tooth and claw," by a ghastly perversion of its appointed order, in an inhuman brute obsession, taking hold of human hearts and setting man at the throat of his fellow-man. So there are bright and dark intervals marking the line of thought-progress throughout the ages. It is as though the race, driven forward by the desire for natural truth, had pursued an unequal way—through plain and over mountain, here shrouded in the mists of the valley, there deviating from the straight path, and again coming back and catching the gleams of the sunlight as it stands upon the eminences that crown the road marking the way of its destiny.

To understand aright the events of history the motive power of thought must be understood, and thought upon the heights rather than in the valleys. For if the mountain peaks marking the true path of intellectual destiny be surveyed aright, the deviations, the misty valleys and the long detours can be gauged and valued at something approaching a true estimate. And of these mountain peaks—these heights of intellectual greatness in the thought-history of the human race—perhaps none is so interesting or so illuminating as that which was attained in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. This was the period that produced the greatest teachers and the most subtle thinkers, the century that saw the rise and development of the universities.

The period of growth, distinguished by the isolated individualism of the school establishments, gave place to the greater syntheses of the master minds; and as fresh bands of students flocked to the reconstituted centres of learning they found that two centuries and a half of tentative scholasticism had prepared the ground for Alexander of Hales, for St. Bonaventure, for Albert the Great, for Duns Scotus and for St. Thomas Aquinas.

Individualistic still in the dominating personality of these great men and in no small degree also in the peculiarities of their teaching, the golden age of the schools was distinguished from both the preceding and the subsequent period by the similarity of aim and of method running through it, by the newly introduced organon of Aristotelian philosophy and by the one underlying conviction that both divinely revealed and humanly discovered knowledge could be welded together into one complete system of thought.

And so from the rich storehouses of the past, from the Platonism

of Plato and the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus, from the writings of the fathers—and not least from the mystical speculations of Dionysius—and from the Sacred Scriptures, borrowing from whatever philosophical tradition had left of the good and the true, the leaders of thought in the thirteenth century created a new eclectic philosophy dominated by the Christianized spirit of the Stagyrite. This philosophy flourished in the new soil. It was essentially an assertion of the rights of human reason; yet, had it not been closely connected with divine faith, it would not have flourished at all. Its professors and its exponents, those who had made the syntheses that brought it into being, were above all things Christian men. They found their home in houses sheltering the spiritual children of St. Francis or of St. Dominic. Alexander was a Franciscan and the first teacher of the order in the University of Paris. St. Bonaventure, his pupil at Paris, and Duns Scotus, who studied at Oxford, where, as at Paris and afterwards at Cologne, he also taught, were both members of the same order. Albert the Great and St. Thomas were both of the company of the friars preachers. It was in the silence of the cloister, meditating of divine things and practising the mortified life of religious that the characters of these men were formed. With the exception of Albert, and possibly of Alexander, they had come young to the school of self-discipline and poverty, and were formed to the rule of their institute before their philosophical studies began. And the consequences of this preliminary disciplining and training of the character is manifest in their maturer synthesis of knowledge. They were practical Christians first, philosophers and theologians afterwards. With them the demands of a recognition of the rights of human reason issued, not in a slavish subjection of revelation to dialectical criticism nor in an usurpation by intellect of the sphere of divine truth, but in a temper of mind and an instrument of reasoning best calculated to defend the faith. Nor did the Christian spirit with which they were so thoroughly imbued hinder or frustrate in the slightest degree the full development of natural knowledge. On the contrary, it promoted it. The scholastic thesis that God was the author of all truth made a synthesis logically possible. There could be no possible contradictions in the contents of true knowledge, coming by no matter how divergent and disparate channels, since they all had their origin in a uniquely common source. And indeed in no few cases the incentive to further purely rational investigation was given by the dogmas of the faith where rational methods alone would have failed to raise the question.

The scholastics were accused by their contemporaries of rationalism. They have been accused by another generation of fideism. To the mystic they appear to exalt reason at the expense of a trust-

ing faith. To certain types of undisciplined mind they yoke the intelligence at all hazards to a subservient defense of orthodoxy. As a matter of fact, their best claim to greatness lies in the position they so unflinchingly took up. Reason and revelation are not and cannot be opposed. They can be made to fit together into one sublimer scheme. Philosophy is the *ancilla theologiae*, not the *serva*—for philosophy is freeborn as well as theology, and she acknowledges the same parentage.

When the greater scholastics had quitted the world of dialectic for that brighter world they always kept before their eyes, they left little, save in the possible sphere of scientific observation and actual investigation, to be done. Friar Bacon had pointed out the road that later on was to lead to reform in science and to exact scientific results. But few trod it. The once great schools, glorying in the breadth of mind and penetrative power of their masters, launched out in commentaries and in purely dialectical questions. The originality was lost, the synthetic spirit quenched. The Averroists sank, like the later Pythagoreans, to the level of invoking authority as their strongest argument. Ipsedixitism reigned supreme. The Scotists and the Thomists occupied their time in vain speculations and in fostering the differences that divided their rival schools. The fine old disputations gave place to wordy battles. The universals, and the plurality of forms, and the distinctions of essences and existences were lost in a maze of verbiage, rhetoric and inept definition. "*Quare facit opium dormire? quia in eo est virtus dormitiva,*" wrote Molière in ridicule of a similar pompous verbosity, and Erasmus could not resist the caustic taunt that he flung at the decadent philosophers of the later schools: "There are innumerable quibblings also much more subtle (than these), concerning instances and notions, and relations and formalitations, and quiddities and ecceties, which no one can follow out with eyes, except a lynx, which is said to be able in the thickest darkness to see things which exist nowhere." Scathing words, and those of the humanist ready to hold up to the ridicule of the newer learning the weakest point in a stagnating period of thought.

But the humanists did not altogether mend matters. They did not turn the organon of scientific investigation suggested by Albert the Great and Friar Bacon upon the vast field of nature lying before their eyes. That work was reserved for the scientific school of the sixteenth century. On the contrary, the classical spirit of the Renaissance, while it may certainly be credited with the revival of learning and letters, did little to advance the progress of knowledge. The humanists railed at the scholastics and at scholasticism, and their keen wit found out the vulnerable parts in a scholasticism that

was already moribund. But when they leveled their weapons of satire and ridicule at the solid work of the masters of the thirteenth century they went too far and showed a colossal ignorance of the scope and meaning alike of the endeavors of the schoolmen.

If they were able to find repetition, and comment, and logomachy, and subtle quibbling in the later representatives of the great mediæval doctors, they might also have taken the trouble to search beneath it for an attempt, at least, to perpetuate the ancient teaching. The fact that their criticism is surface work and that they never succeeded in grasping the principles that infused life into the dry bones of dialectic stamp their criticism as worthless and, as far at any rate as the makers of the system are concerned, as gratuitous and impertinent.

And what is the pith of the charge brought against scholasticism by the humanists of the Renaissance and, it may well be added, by the representatives of the so-called scientific spirit? The accusation of the mystics was that of rationalism. That it was unjust is as obvious in the light of immediately subsequent events as by reason of the service that the schools did to the faith. You may outshout the instinctive cry of reason, but you cannot stifle it; and if the truth of revelation can be lost in the clamor, then it is better that it should be lost. There is no contradiction, said the scholastics, between reason and faith. And they proved it to the hilt.

The accusation of the humanists was that the scholastics were too slavishly subservient to the divine truth of revelation, and this to the injury of human or natural truths, and that of the scientists was tantamount to the same reproach. But here again the principle of the scholastics, radically opposed to that of the Averroists—that what is true in human knowledge holds good also in regard to revelation, and what is true in theology cannot be false in philosophy—gives the keynote in accord with which the accusation must be judged. It stands or falls with the truth of that most radical of scholastic principles.

Have the humanists possession of a body of truth, absolutely and irrevocably certain, that is in conflict with the truths of revelation? Do the scientists find, with an invincible human necessity, that the candid interrogation of nature contradicts the faith? Then indeed the claim of revelation is an absurdity and faith is a rational impossibility.

But is it so? Is such a supposition possible? Can it be that faith is to be reconstructed upon a basis, personal, emotional, necessitarian, required by our human nature in its entirety, yet contradicted by that sovereign reason that makes our human nature what it is? If such is the case, if reason is untrustworthy in matters of sentiment and

principle, then indeed are the schoolmen wrong; but then also is the passing knell of science tolled and the yawning grave opened in which humanism will be interred. But if, on the other hand, the contrary is true, then scholasticism stands vindicated and unassailable.

We may well afford to pass over the deserved criticism of a scholasticism that is not scholasticism, so long as the true system is left untouched.

Still, for the cavil does not stop at a degenerate phase, even St. Thomas is guilty of hair-splitting and superfluous, niggling, trivial writing. Witness the "Quæstiones Disputatae," the "Quodlibeta," or, to strike at once at the works upon which his greatness and title to fame are principally based, the articles in the "Summa Theologica" and the "Contra Gentiles" that deal with the angels.

We may at once assign a reason for the treatment by St. Thomas of the questions set out in the "Quodlibeta." They were composed as off-hand answers to questions sent up to him by his pupils or others interested in and possibly keenly exercised over the subjects which are treated. In much the same way might a zealous and patient controversialist of to-day reply to letters or queries in themselves absolutely pointless or absurd received from those who felt the need of guidance and consolation from a reputable theologian.

Touching the "Quæstiones Disputatae," they were as it were asides in the curriculum of the university—questions arising out of the difficulties in the text studied or not bearing directly upon the synthetic scheme which St. Thomas ever bore in mind when composing the "Summa Theologica" or the "Contra Gentiles."

But as to the length to which the articles upon the angels in these two last mentioned works are drawn out, there is another and a more direct answer to be given.

The principal information that we possess as to the existence of the angels arises from revelation. It is true that St. Thomas, faithful to the spirit of the age, brings forward purely natural arguments to demonstrate the existence of such separated intelligences. Two, at least, of these reasons may be considered sufficient upon *a priori* grounds to provide a reasonable, as distinct from a revelational reason for holding their existence. But in the "Summa Theologica" alone there are one hundred and seventeen articles—seventy-two and forty-five consecutively—devoted definitely to the angels, and in the "Contra Gentiles" there is a proportionate and surprising number of chapters consecrated to the same considerations.

Surely it might be urged the subject is one too obscure, one upon which there are far too few data to be found, even in revelation, to

merit so prolonged a treatment at the hands of a grave theologian. Is it not a subject preëminently scholastic, one which provides ample scope for the wildest flights of the imagination, prolific of subtle questions, fruitful in contrary reasons and resting upon the slender support of a *priori* assumptions? Does not the angel of the schools set the lead in these articles and in that tantalizing unfinished treatise, "De Substantiis Separatis," for later and, if possible, even less profitable speculations? Does he not open the door to the gravest abuse of a system that already has the vice of an inherent tendency towards vain speculations and verbal cavils?

The main endeavor of the schoolmen must not be lost sight of in any attempt to find answers to such questions. If external history is to be read in the light of the history of thought, the externalized thought itself no less needs to be interpreted in the light of the method, and above all of the end that the thinkers had in view. That, as we have already seen, was preëminently the synthesis of natural and revealed truth. From revelation they borrowed, and from the almost evolutionistic natural view of the universe that the great schoolmen took—though they avoided the crude philosophical contradictions of a materialistic evolution in their doctrine of substantial forms—they inferred the existence of created intellectual beings higher than man (since they are not even united to matter) completing the scale of creation upwards from the mere inert forms of elemental bodies, through the vegetable and animal kingdoms, past the soul of man himself and on up to the cherubim and seraphim standing about the very throne of God. It was a noble conception of creation justified certainly by the one source of truth and, where it did not appeal to history for a record of angelic visitations and apparitions, putting forward "reasons" in the line of pure thought to justify its claim to be a conclusion of the other. It is a conception worthy of philosophy and of theology alike, and more than favorably comparable with most of the conceptions of the universe of things, based on far less solid considerations, that are put forward in these days.

Nor is there to be discovered in St. Thomas' treatment of the subject the scholastic quibbling, the hair-splitting subtlety or the juggling verbalism that some of our guides to knowledge, ancient or modern, would have us expect. He faces the questions as they arise frankly and squarely. He has regard to the pros and cons. He records dispassionately—and, curiously enough, the lack of passion is a distinguishing mark in the writings of the great scholastics in forcible contrast with those of most of their opponents—opinions contrary to the doctrine he defends; and he not seldom acknowledges the limitations under which he works in a happy ex-

pression indicating a natural probability and throwing the chief onus of the conclusion upon theological rather than purely philosophical considerations.

Writing and teaching in an age when the elements of what has now grown into the sciences were crude and jejune in the extreme, he not infrequently astonishes his modern readers by his penetrating foresight. Thus in another place<sup>1</sup> his extraordinarily interesting anticipation of quite recent biological theories with regard to the succession of forms, or evolutionary stages, in the embryo, though reached by quite another process than that of embryologists, is in itself sufficient to indicate his own genius as well as to bring out one of the strong points of his philosophical system.

When raising the question as to whether there are many angels,<sup>2</sup> he refers to the teaching of Plato, Aristotle and the Rabbi Moses. He gives their opinions simply and unaffectedly, showing his reverence for the Stagyrite by the careful way in which he introduces the reasons justifying his unwillingness to follow Plato. He gives the Jew Maimonides the full credit of his attempt to concord the doctrine of the philosopher with holy writ. He quotes Denis the Areopagite in support of his own conclusion, and at once proceeds to justify it. And lastly, despite his Aristotelian bias and temper of mind, he has no hesitation in discounting the argument of "the philosopher" and putting himself in advance of the popular belief and the somewhat crude notions of contemporary astronomy, when he subjoins, in answer to the third *videtur*: "The argument is Aristotle's. And it would conclude necessarily *if* separated substances did exist on account of corporeal ones."

The article is one typical of his style and spirit. But it is not only because he contrasts and balances one against the other the teaching of other philosophers and thinkers that his work, even upon the angels, is useful. The thought-spirit of the age, and certainly not the thought-spirit of this its foremost representative, was not one of mere comment, piecing together and writing text-books. It was creative, very profound, very methodical and extraordinarily representative. If any one took the trouble to look up the references given in the index of the "Summa Theologica" to "angels"—there are altogether three hundred and fifty-eight topics, many of them referring to four or five, some to eight and nine, different places in the work—he would discover how carefully the doctrines contained in St. Thomas' writings had been discussed and thought out, not only as separate and distinct subjects, but in relation to all the other parts of philosophy and theology with which they come in contact.

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<sup>1</sup> "Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 118, a. 2, ad 2um.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1a, Q. 4, a. 3.



It would be surprising if such a systematic treatment did not issue in a concordant, definite and satisfying doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, so wonderful is this interrelationship of topics and so necessary a grasp of each question in all its bearings as worked out by the scholastic masters, that it is practically impossible to understand aright the full force of a doctrine taught by them until it has been followed out in all its ramifications under their guidance. Anything less than that would savor of superficial acquaintance, and we can well understand how some of the detractors of scholasticism who confessed to finding it so heavy and dull as to be obliged to push the tomes away from them, were able to write the absurd trash they did.

It requires a certain amount of grind, a great deal of patience and resolute application to master, even to a moderate extent, the doctrines of the "Summa Theologica." Not all of us have the synthetic power of Aquinas. "*Sunt enim quidam,*" he tells us himself,<sup>4</sup> "*qui veritatem intelligibilem capere non possunt, nisi eis particulatim per singula explicatur; et hoc ex debilitate intellectus eorum contingit.*"

The questions in the "Summa Theologica" to which I have already referred—those from Question 50 to Question 64—treat of the existence, the nature, the understanding, the will, the beatitude of the good and the malice and punishment of the evil angels. Certain of these questions are obviously more theological in nature than others, but the rationalistic spirit, so often and so unjustly urged against those who rightly held that faith has nothing to fear and everything to gain from the right use of reason, is to be observed in all.

From the point of view of revelation there is not one of the articles that is in any sense trivial or useless. There are those who would forbid us the luxury of trying to understand the faith that we possess. They would apparently prefer us to remain in a blissful vagueness, trusting to the intuitions of our "personality," the range and play of our higher emotions<sup>5</sup> and affections and the rich variety of our religious experience. They warn us that reason, as, indeed, St. Thomas points out,<sup>6</sup> is at best a feeble instrument and inadequate for coping with the things of God, and do not stop to let us ask why, if we cannot understand it at all, a revelation was ever given to man. They paint the dangers of intellectual freedom and hold up

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<sup>3</sup> "If the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas could only be got rid of," the heretics "could easily give battle to other Catholic doctors and overcome them, and so scatter the Church."—Beza and Bucer, quoted in "Æterni Patris."

<sup>4</sup> "Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 55, a. 3.

<sup>5</sup> See "The Place of Emotion in Religion," by the present writer, in *The Month*, July, 1905.

<sup>6</sup> "Contra Gentes," Lib. I., Cap. 2.

the terrifying examples of those whose speculations have led them to renounce their faith, but they do not always put us upon our guard against the no less terrible pitfalls of exalted mysticism, personalism or emotionalism. If there was an Abelard, there was also an Eckhart and a Tauler. The tendency of Ritschilianism is more dangerous than the pronounced free thought of Clifford or Haeckel. They carefully point out to us that man is not a naked intellect, created for the sole purpose of judging of the true and the false, but a complex being, whose every faculty must be dominated by the religion to which each has its definite relation, forgetting that, if intellect is anything at all, it is the only faculty to which a revelation can be addressed, the only faculty by which it can be understood and the supreme judge and arbiter for man of the true nature and worth of every other faculty that he possesses.

Their attitude is not that of the scholastics, and consequently they cannot tolerate scholasticism. It is not that they are afraid of reason; they mistrust it. But reason will claim its rights, and, as I have said, its claim must be allowed; and if these good people are attempting to build a dam of emotion and intuition between the faith and the surge of natural right reason, they are by their action making a public confession of the irrationality of the faith. This was not the attitude of the schools nor was it the position taken up by St. Thomas Aquinas.<sup>7</sup>

From the point of view of pure reason, again, these articles are of the utmost use and excellence. If the complete view of the universe taken be a correct one, an enormous flood of light is thrown upon the whole of creation by these disquisitions upon the nature, faculties and operations of the angels. Even were the data of revelation and historical experience untrue and the rational arguments advanced unsound, in the hypothetic treatment of such questions as the composite nature<sup>8</sup> and individual specific difference<sup>9</sup> of the separated spirits, the mode in which they can be said to be *in place*<sup>10</sup> move locally,<sup>11</sup> pass through intervening space<sup>12</sup> or move in instants,<sup>13</sup> great insight is gained into the purely natural doctrines of hylomorphism, individuation, space, motion and time. And as to the practical utility of Questions 54-60, inclusively, there can be no doubt whatever. Here are included altogether thirty-two articles dealing *ex professo* with the understanding, will and love of the

<sup>7</sup> Cfr. "Contra Gentes," Lib. I., Cap. 7.

<sup>8</sup> "Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 4, aa. 1, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, a. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Q. 52, a. 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Q. 53, a. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, a. 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, a. 3.

angels. They have their parallel only in the scholastic psychology of man, and in this connection they are simply invaluable.

The contrast between the mode of understanding of a spirit in no way subject to the defects and limitations of a sensitive origin of knowledge is not only a study in itself, but helps to clear the extraordinarily encumbered ground of human epistemology. Thus the five articles discussed in Question 50—whether the act of understanding is the substance of the angel or the existence; whether the potentiality to understanding is the essence; whether the distinction between the active and potential intellect is to be allowed, and whether there is any other cognition in the angel than intellectual—and especially the fourth and fifth of these articles—are calculated to help forward to greater precision and accuracy our conceptions as to the nature and sense-origin of humanly acquired knowledge. Still more do Questions 55, 56 and 57 lend themselves to the fuller understanding of the working of the human mind. Do the angels understand by means of species, sense-images or ideas derived from material things? Do the higher spirits possess more universal species (ideas) than those of a lower rank? "I reply by observing," writes the Angelic Doctor in the text of this article, "that some beings are higher than others because they are nearer and more like to that one first Being who is God. Now in God the whole plenitude of intellectual understanding is contained in one act, namely, the divine essence in (per) which God understands all things. And this fullness of understanding is found in intellectual<sup>14</sup> creatures in an inferior manner and less simply. Hence those things that God understands by one act lower intellects know by many; and so much the more by many as the intellect is lower. Thus, therefore, in so far as an angel is higher (in the intellectual scale), so much the more can he apprehend the universality of understandable things by fewer species (ideas); and therefore it is necessary to hold that the concepts of the higher angels are more universal than those of the lower, in the sense that each one of them extends itself to more things. And an example of this can to some extent be seen in us. For there are some men who cannot grasp intellectual truth unless it is explained to them step by step and point by point, and this arises from the weakness of their faculty. Others who possess a stronger intellect can seize upon the many in the few (*ex paucis*)."<sup>15</sup>

Here a considerable amount of light is thrown upon the problem

<sup>14</sup> The word used is "intelligibilibus." The saint's use of this term may be explained in the light of his teaching ("Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 87, a. 3) on intelligibility. The exceedingly interesting question so admirably stated by the Spanish philosopher, Balmez ("Fundamental Philosophy," Chapter XII.), is touched on.

<sup>15</sup> A free translation of "Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 55,

of the universals around which so great and so prolonged a controversy was waged in the Middle Ages.<sup>16</sup> It is one of the most important points, if not *the* most important point, in the whole of philosophy, and to the solution of this cardinal problem the labors of some three hundred years were devoted. Even now from time to time echoes of that famous disputation are heard, and though the savants and litterati of the nineteenth century do not call each other nominalists, or conceptualists, or realists, the veil that covers the old doctrines is at times worn exceedingly thin. The gamut of possibility in these really great questions is not an extended one; and philosophers of the twentieth as well as of the twelfth century must sing, or croak, within a very limited range of notes. And so we are not altogether surprised to find our old troubadours turning up under an alias and singing the same old tunes to rhymes of their own making and mending.

"Different intellectual beings are differently constituted," writes St. Thomas. "There is an intellect, the divine, which is its own very act of understanding, and so in God it is the same thing for Him to understand that He understands and to understand His own essence, because His essence *is* His act of understanding.

"There is another intellect, that of the angel, that is not its act of understanding, as has been said (Q. liv., aa. 1, 2); still, the primary object of its understanding is its own essence. Hence, although for the angel it is one thing to understand that it understands and another thing to understand its own essence (for there is a distinction of reason between them), yet it simultaneously and in one act understands both; for to understand its own essence is the characteristic perfection of its nature. Simultaneously and in one act the thing is understood with its perfection.

"There is also another intellect, the human, which is not its own act of understanding; nor is the primary object of its understanding its own essence, but something extrinsic to itself, namely, material nature. And therefore that which is first of all known by the human intellect is an object of this kind; and secondarily it has a knowledge of its own act, by means of which the exterior object is known, and in understanding the act the intellect knows itself, for its perfection is the act of understanding."<sup>17</sup>

Neither the extract just given nor the previous one taken from the pages of St. Thomas has the true ring, though I trust they both convey the true sense of the original. As Cardinal Newman so well said: "Translation in itself is a problem how, two languages being

<sup>16</sup> See "Universals and the Illative Sense," by the present writer, in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1905.

<sup>17</sup> "Summa Theologica," Q. 87, a. 3.

given, the nearest approximation may be made in the second to the expression of ideas already conveyed through the medium of the first. The problem almost starts with the assumption that something must be sacrificed, and the chief question is what is the least sacrifice?<sup>18</sup> Sense or literary grace? Doctrine or language? Thought or grammar? As I have dealt with the subject elsewhere,<sup>19</sup> I need not do more than repeat here that scholastic Latin is a most admirable medium for expressing thought. The extraordinary difficulty that presents itself to a translator is to digest the thought in such wise that he may be able to express it in another language. Practically this can never be done without barbarism and solecism. The best translations of St. Thomas are barbarous. And it is probably more, if not altogether, for this reason that certain self-constituted critics of the scholastics have been so prodigal of condemnatory adjectives. They did not realize or take the pains to learn that any vehicle of thought must be proportioned to the thought that it attempts to convey from mind to mind; and, separated by an almost impassable intellectual gulf from the time-spirit of the schools, they judged, perforce, by what they had, reading little and understanding less<sup>20</sup> of the doctrines put forward, but superciliously anxious to prove their knowledge of classical, pagan, heathen, Latin by finding fault with the grammar of the philosophers. As well might they carp at the style of a Chrysostom or find fault with the language and poetry of a Chaucer or a Spenser!

One does not go to the "Summa Theologica" for either Ciceronian grammar or Horatian style. One goes for thomistic thought. The student of history does not read Cæsar's Commentaries or Herodotus' delightful pages to discover a treatise upon the *Ars Poetica*; nor does the poet waste his time upon the *Iliad* or the *Æneid* in order to discover the records of cosmic history there.

The two extracts that I have given from the "Summa" of St. Thomas are typical. The one throws light upon the other. So it is with all the surprisingly numerous questions and articles and chapters that he devotes to considerations bearing upon the angels. They are characteristically interesting not only on account of the trenchant and defined style of treatment, but also because of the nicety of order and systematic method that holds them together. Students of St. Thomas soon learn how much is hidden in his concise and straightforward sentences. It is only the superficial reader, not realizing the tacit cross-references nor grasping the fact that subsidiary considerations are indicated by a word rather than allowed

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<sup>18</sup> "The Church of the Fathers," preface.

<sup>19</sup> "The Language of the Schools," *Dublin Review*, January, 1904.

<sup>20</sup> Witness G. H. Lewes' confession.

to interfere with the main questions, nor, possibly, as familiar as he might be with the finer shades of scholastic meaning, who discovers that the "Summa Theologica" or the "Contra Gentiles" is dry, uninteresting, barbarous, a tissue of mere speculation and hair-splitting.

The method alone indicates greatness of mind. The isolation of the question to be treated, the leaving out of all those interesting yet not vital points connected with it that flash across consciousness as soon as it is dwelt upon, the deft, masterly touches sketching in the more important side lines and relationships, yet without marring the contour or detail of the main question, stamps the work as that of genius.

These questions are not only interesting in themselves, as I have said, but also of great value as side lights upon the psychology and epistemology of human beings. In this connection they should be studied with the questions from 75 onwards, dealing *ex professo* with these latter subjects. Especially interesting are the eight articles included in Question 89. As far back as Question 75, article 6, the incorruptibility of the human soul is proved. But what is incorruptibility or, what is consequent upon it, immortality? A permanence in being after bodily death? Obviously so; and a permanence of intelligence, since the life of the soul is its understanding. But what of the nature of that intelligence? Shall we know God? Shall we know and consort with the angelic spirits? Shall we know—the question is insistent upon every tongue—our own fellows? Of what use is a speculative immortality if all the interest in a continued existence is taken away and a monotonous and monstrous lethargy substituted for it? The piously minded may well be content to contemplate an endless existence filled with the vision of God. But even the most piously disposed mystic may well ask if he shall also know those whom he has loved upon earth. There are none of us whom this question leaves irresponsive. Is an immortality without our loved ones worth having? Would it be tolerable? Let no less a mystic and a saint than Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, answer:<sup>21</sup> "Weeping before the members of his community, the man, whom all thought absolutely without feeling, thus speaks of his own flesh and blood, recently borne to the grave. . . . He gives us the impression of a man who has striven to keep back his grief, as he assures us in this case he has done; and then, finding the effort useless, allows it to flow forth as it will, showing to the world what, had it in the beginning been permitted to take its natural course, might never have been suspected—long years of tenderness and deep love purposely concealed from the eyes of the curious.

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<sup>21</sup> I quote from an exceptionally interesting article in the *Dublin Review*, October, 1904, from the pen of the Rev. John Freeland.

"'I weep for thee, O dearest Gerard,' he says, 'not because thou needest my tears, but because thou art taken from me. And therefore, perhaps, I should rather weep for myself who drink this cup of bitterness alone. . . . O, would that I had not lost thee! *Oh, that we may meet again! Oh, that, though late, I may some time follow thee whithersoever thou goest!* . . . For O, my brother, the darkness of midnight hath already passed away for thee, and night hath burst into resplendent light over thy joyful soul!'"

Who is there of us who could not borrow the words of St. Bernard to voice our own grief at the loss of one dearly loved? Who is there who would not, in his heart of hearts, echo those intensely human words, "Oh, that we may meet again! Oh, that, though late, I may some time follow thee whithersoever thou goest?" When we have stood beside the open grave and heard the dull thud of the clods as they buried our loved one out of sight, can we contemplate an immortality without this question surging up and overwhelming our mind?

And if the spontaneous questioning of our own souls and the poetry of the saint's sorrowful longing, that poignant grief of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, seem to prompt a hope too natural to be rational, turn to the second article of Question 89 in the "Summa Theologica." There, uninfluenced by the sentiment of the mystic and seemingly devoid of natural "feeling," the Angelic Doctor demonstrates, in the driest of scholastic phrases, that soul knows soul, and this in a knowledge quite other than that which we now possess, since it is a perfect knowledge. The cross-reference is here obviously to Question 56, article 2, which treats of the angel's knowledge of his fellow angels. And the extraordinarily noticeable difference depends upon the doctrine, to which allusion has already been made, that, whereas all human souls are specifically identical, no two angels are in the same species. One soul naturally knows another because it is "conformed modally to others."<sup>22</sup> The angel knows his fellow by that likeness which he receives from God.<sup>23</sup>

The soul of one man may be more noble than that of another. It may, it is to be supposed, possess a higher degree of intelligence or a stronger will, and this as a soul and not merely because of the excellence of the lower faculties by whose instrumentality it first crossed the threshold of knowledge. Certainly one separated soul may enter upon the new life bearing with it a more profound or a more extended natural knowledge than another. But all human souls, whether in the body or freed from the cloying companionship of unspiritualized matter, since they are all human, are specifically

<sup>22</sup> "Summa Theologica," 1a, Q. 89, a. 2.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Q. 56, a. 2.

the same. While the angels stand in unequal ranks, angel separated from angel by the whole distance of a species, understanding each other by those *inditae rationes*, loving each other with a natural love<sup>24</sup> as far as they are naturally alike, communicating with each other in that angelic speech of which the doctors of the schools treat,<sup>25</sup> the souls of men know each other perfectly by reason of their specific identity, and knowing each other, they are drawn together in the bonds of love, and hold converse one with another<sup>26</sup> even with respect to events taking place in this world. Here, again, no little advantage to a thorough understanding of the psychology of the separated soul and of man accrues from a right grasp of angelic epistemology and a comparison of the two doctrines.

From what has already been said, though it is the merest outline of what proves upon further acquaintance to be a most fascinating study, it will be seen that the articles on the angels are not out of place in the writings of St. Thomas. It was not a wasted or a mis-directed energy on his part that led to their writing. Indeed, in view of the extraordinary chorus of approbation and praise of the Thomistic teaching coming from religious orders, university bodies, Popes and councils,<sup>27</sup> it would savor of impertinence and egotism even to suppose that any subject he treated was unworthy of the attention of serious men.

When the Archbishop of Rouen counselled his students to eschew as inquisitive subtleties<sup>28</sup> the questions we have been considering, he did not mean—he surely could not have meant—that they were obscure questions or subtle in the bad sense of the word or useless speculations. We can understand his point. In these days of “short courses” and epitomized knowledge the student must master the maximum of absolutely necessary learning in the minimum of time. The priest is better equipped for his work by being acquainted with dogmatic and moral—and especially moral—theology, even if he has not a very profound acquaintance with other sciences. Like that of modern science, the tendency of theological study is utilitarian; the one almost, though not altogether or always, by its nature, the other grudgingly and by the force of contrary circumstances. And one could hardly expect a profound knowledge of St. Thomas on the angels where he can hope to find, at best, but rudimentary conceptions of the nature and working of the human understanding.

But give the student time. His course of study has not ceased

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<sup>24</sup> There is a distinction made with regard to this natural love in the “*Summa*,” Q. 60, a. 4.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Q. CVII., aa. 1, 2, 4 and 5.

<sup>26</sup> “*Summa Theologica*,” Q. 89, a. 8, ad lum.

<sup>27</sup> See the encyclical, “*Æterni Patris*.”

<sup>28</sup> “*Dix Ans d'Épiscopat*.”



because the doors of the class room have closed behind him. Let him add to the thumbed class books upon his shelves that he has brought with him from the seminary the untainted source of Thomistic doctrine, the "Summa Theologica" of Thomas himself; and, as in the intervals of his parochial duties he refreshes his memory from the one, so let him proceed, day by day, to the mastery of the other. The "Contra Gentiles," the "Quæstiones Disputatae," the "Quodlibeta" will all be on his shelves ere long and will show the tell-tale marks of constant use. He will find there copious material for his sermons and lucid points for his instructions. His knowledge will grow, not in passing over what is best in modern thought—for modern books and reviews will find a place beside the ancient tomes—but by forming itself upon the inimitable method of the schools. And as the great underlying principles take possession of his mind he will find all the information that he has acquired from sources ancient and modern becoming fused together into one compact whole. He will discover that the knowledge that appeared fragmentary, the information that seemed ephemeral, the fact that was negligible, in reality all form-parts of a system; and as his thought crystallizes on the lines of the great thinkers of the Middle Ages, he will realize the relationships, the cross references, the solidarity that denotes a complete and a supremely rational philosophy. And if, as is probable, while he makes the subject more and more his own, his own intellectual grasp and synthetic power grow as well, he will understand how and why it is that St. Thomas is known as the Angelic Doctor.

We are familiar with the omission of the scholastic period from one of the histories of philosophy on the ground that the thought of the time was occupied upon theological rather than philosophical problems, and hence could hardly be of interest to the philosopher or furnish material for the historian of philosophy. I should be loath to think that the excuse was put forward to save Mr. Lewes from the accusation that, had he dealt with scholasticism, very possibly might have been made—of knowing nothing whatever about the subject. The few references and quotations made in this article are enough to show that the excuse is worthless. No history of philosophy that omits scholasticism can be justly put forward as a record of human thought, nor can it be claimed for it that it is in any sense a complete history of philosophy. Take, for example, the Greek philosophers. What is there of value in Greek thought that did not pass through the acute minds of Plato and Aristotle? And what thought of Plato or Aristotle that was not assimilated and reconstructed by the acuter thinkers of the golden age of philosophy? Or, again, what is there in the philosophies of more modern thinkers that was not in

some sense anticipated by those master minds? It might be said that "truth will out;" that in every system certain parallels will be found, because there must be some truth in all systems. But what is worthy of note is that in the philosophy of St. Thomas one does not find those *impasses* so familiar to students of other philosophies; and one does find all the truths, coördinated and linked together, that are to be discovered singly and scattered through other systems.

To say that the mediæval philosophers were theologians as well, is to state a fact; but that all philosophers are theologians is a truism. The scholastic doctors were theologians, and they were philosophers in order that they might be more capable theologians. They were philosophers, and philosophers who had reached the culminating point of philosophy in the rational recognition of the possibility of theology. But their philosophy never clashes with the truth that they accept as coming direct to them from the God of philosophy; and their theology, rightly or profoundly understood, is never in conflict with their philosophy, since it is in the crucible of philosophy, of reason, of understanding that revelation becomes humanly acceptable.

How, we may ask, and ask again, in company with St. Thomas, can a revelation be in the truest sense revealed if it is incomprehensible? And how can it be understood if our natural faculty is absolutely incapable of understanding it?

The possibility of a revelation depends upon four truths: the existence of God, the existence of man, the possibility of God speaking to man and the possibility of man understanding the communication of God. Deny any of these truths and revealed religion is incredible and impossible. And since understanding on the part of man must be the work of the natural faculty—illuminated by grace, if you will, in some of the truths which transcend the normal power of reason—the functions of that natural faculty must be admitted and its logical claims granted.

Here in the exposition by St. Thomas of the doctrine concerning the angels a fusion, as it is, of the human and the divine, is to be found the most ample refutation of the two false and thoroughly illogical positions. Revelation is useless and impossible without mind. Philosophy is true philosophy even when concerned principally with the data of revelation.

The treatment of the subject is characteristically in keeping with the position of the scholastic philosophers. Revelation is admirably safeguarded. The fullest claims of natural reason are allowed to the fullest extent. With what care does St. Thomas labor, not to collate texts of Scripture or phrases taken from patristic writings, but to throw the searchlight of reason upon the problems in all the

multiplicity of their detail. With what nicety does he refer the knowledge we have from revelation of the "ministering spirits" to the immutable underlying principles of pure human thought. How, in the strength of those principles, does his mental vision perceive the fallacies and discrepancies of other systems and avoid and even foresee similar pitfalls.

It is a liberal education to have read the works of St. Thomas and to have grasped, even if only partially, his method of dealing with the problems that he faces. It is little short of a revelation to make the acquaintance of the man, the philosopher and the saint in his writings. Such a knowledge as comes from their careful perusal lays bare his mind, the highest and noblest psychological product of the thirteenth century. And in that knowledge, for whoever cares to acquire it, lies the key to the history of the Middle Ages. Checkered and alien, as it seems to us, its course often turned aside, as that of any other period of history, by human passions, irrational and incalculable forces, it is in the movement and flow of thought alone that its meaning will be found. The events of those ages of groping and attempt at synthesis that led up to it are understood as much in its light as in their own; nay, even more in the light of what was their natural and logical complement. The decadence, the wave almost of barbarism that followed, could have been foretold in the decrepitude and decay of later scholasticism. From the stagnation and decay of thought new thought-systems and new thoughts without system were born, fragmentary, one-sided, conflicting among themselves and, almost necessarily, revolutionary in nature or tendency. The consequence was a breaking up of institutions, a babel of tongues and its end was sordid. Claiming as it did to free the minds of men from the tyranny of systems and their consequences, the new degraded thought did no more than pave the way to an intellectual chaos, from which only now, if indeed even now, the human mind seems to be emancipating itself.

It is all very well for the humanists or the scientists or the mystics to cavil at scholastic philosophy. Neither humanism, nor science, nor mysticism has as yet enriched the human race with an explanation of the world. When the true worth of scholasticism is adequately realized, their cavils will serve but to show the limitations of their own mental horizon. And while these broken and discarded thought-systems, fere arcs and segments that could never have been perfect circles, pass away into the limbo of forgotten lore, a fate from which not the wit, nor the ingenuity, nor the learning of their originators could save them; while they serve no better purpose than that of fallen landmarks for the curious investigator of the vagaries of thought, the complete thought-system of the schools, traced in a

finished curve by St. Thomas Aquinas, the Angel of the Schools, will still remain intangible and unassailable.

Rising above the dust and debris of centuries of philosophic thought, raising itself even from the necessarily crude science, inexact observation and faulty experiment that were in a sense incorporated into it, the philosophy of St. Thomas will endure, at once the standing monument to the greatness of a bygone age and the earnest of a reconstruction in future thought. And in the central philosophy that suffers nothing when a more exact takes the place of the crude attempts of contemporary science within it, the treatment of such problems as those of the separated spirits, the "Angels of God" of revelation, the "minds" or "intelligences" of natural thought, has its due and fitting place. It is safe to say that the human, together with what may by a misnomer be designated as the angelic psychology taught by St. Thomas, is the finger-post pointing the groping systems of to-day towards the truth. Without some such a teaching those systems will remain obscure, unsatisfying, inconclusive; with it they may reach the goal of all true philosophers—the highest truth attainable by human reason.

E. AVELING.

London, England.

## Scientific Chronicle

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### THE WORK OF THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION.

It is very probable that the majority of people know of the institution which Andrew Carnegie established in Washington four years ago with an endowment of \$10,000,000 and an annual income of \$500,000 merely as one of the many large benefactions of that noted philanthropist. The subsequent organization of the project and the work accomplished since the foundation are, however, of great scientific as well as popular interest. It cannot be said that either the organization or the work has satisfied everybody. This was, perhaps, the inevitable result of the dreams of many men of science who imagined that the institution would visit every scientist with a pet research and remove his financial embarrassment like a fairy godmother. The gratifying fact is that a large amount of valuable work in scientific research has already been carried out, and elaborate and ambitious plans laid out for the future. The report of the new president of the institution gives us an opportunity of giving the readers of the *QUARTERLY* an outline of its past and projected achievements.

At present there are four fields of endeavor in which the institution is rendering assistance. These are: 1. Large projects, involving continuous research, with special equipment and a corps of investigators. These now number ten. 2. Small projects by experts in particular departments. About three hundred allotments have already been made here. 3. Tentative investigations, carried on by young investigators who give promise of becoming or who, it is hoped, will develop into investigators of more than ordinary ability. 4. Aid in publishing valuable works, whether written by the institution's investigators or not. A limited number of grants have been made in the third field and about forty volumes published under grant number four. These two grants, with the second, cover a wide field of science, but as they do not reach the first division grants in importance, we think it better to confine our attention almost wholly to the ten larger projects, which are, it would seem, to be the chief care of the institution in future. These ten larger projects are: Experimental evolution in biology, marine biology, desert plant biology, horticulture, economics and sociology, history, geophysics, nutrition, solar physics, terrestrial magnetism.

The investigations in experimental evolution in biology are made

under the supervision of Charles B. Davenport, those in marine biology are looked after by Alfred G. Mayer, while Messrs. D. T. MacDougal and F. V. Coville are in charge of the desert laboratory for studying desert plant biology. Anticipations as to the results to be gained from these biological investigations are great. A marine laboratory has been built at Tortugas, Florida, and an elaborate station at Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y., for experimental evolution, which have already been visited and used by leading zoölogists and botanists. The desert botanical laboratory has for its object the investigation of the conditions in deserts affecting plant growth, in order to discover, if possible, some class of flora that will thrive in deserts and thus be an aid in rendering the arid parts of this and other countries fertile and habitable. The horticultural work of the institution is in close connection with the desert botanical work and is concerned with the interpretation and publication to the world of the remarkable achievements of Mr. Luther Burbank, who has received very substantial financial aid to enable him to carry on his experiments in plant breeding.

The next two departments, those of economics and sociology and of history, or historical research, are evidence of the comprehensive efforts of the institution, which is clearly not applying its resources solely to research in physical science. The former, under the direction of Dr. Carroll D. Wright, has, in the words of the report, "undertaken a comprehensive project which should bring, in a few years, extensive contributions to the social and economic history of the United States, and probably also equally important data for a forecast of American social and economic development." The latter, of which Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin has been the head, was one of the first to be organized. It has already taken a high place in the esteem of students of history, as is evidenced by the wide use made by them of the publications and discoveries made and by the constantly increasing demand for the documents issued. The announcement is made that Professor McLaughlin has resigned and been succeeded by Professor J. Franklin Jameson, formerly professor of history in the University of Chicago.

The department of geophysical research has an especial interest for students of geology. The application of the experimental method to the elucidation of problems connected with the mechanics of the earth's crust is bound to be very fruitful in results for the earth sciences. Under the able direction of Professor Frank D. Adams, of McGill University, Montreal, and of Dr. George F. Becker and Dr. Arthur L. Day, of the U. S. Geological Survey, researches are being made which aim to determine the modes of formation and the physical properties of the rocks of the earth's crust. The report

notes that "certain kinds of rocks have already been made artificially, and the making of others is only a question of time and the application of available resources." Incidentally our knowledge of the properties of matter under new conditions is being markedly increased. Every geologist must cherish the hope that this department will later turn its attention to other problems, such as the dynamics of rivers and glaciers and the accurate determination of the causes of land uplift and depression, problems vital alike to the geologist and physiographer.

Two of the remaining projects are partially known to the readers of the *Chronicle*, where some account has already been given of Professor Chittenden's work on nutrition and of the magnetic survey of the world undertaken by the Carnegie Institution. Professor Chittenden is to continue his investigations at Yale University, with Professor F. B. Mendel as an associate. They are studying the chemical and physiological processes and effects in man arising from the qualities and quantities of foods he consumes. In this same department Professor F. G. Benedict will study the mechanical efficiency of man by means of a specially devised apparatus at Wesleyan University, and Dr. T. B. Osborne, of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station, is engaged in an exhaustive determination of the chemical properties of that large group of foodstuffs known as the proteids.

The department of solar physics seems to be the favored child of the institution. For researches into the physical constitution of the sun and his rôle in the solar and stellar systems of the visible universe an observatory has been erected on Mount Wilson, in California, which it is hoped to have quite completed within a year. The site chosen is an admirable one, the condition of the atmosphere being unusually favorable, while the fact that the direction of the observatory is entrusted to the care of Professor George E. Hall is a guarantee that it will be efficiently administered. Already some valuable observations have been made during the past summer by a party under the direction of the late Secretary Langley, of the Smithsonian Institution, on the solar constant, and by Professor E. E. Barnard, of the University of Chicago, who by installing the Bruce telescope of the Yerkes Observatory on the site, has been extending his remarkable photographic charts of the Milky Way.

We give, in conclusion, a summary of the most important minor projects taken from President Woodward's report: 1. The archæological and geological researches of Professor Raphael Pumpelly in Turkestan. The first volume of a report on these researches has been issued during the year and a second is in preparation. 2. The preparation by Professor Lewis Boss of a fundamental catalogue

giving the precise positions of about six thousand stars, embracing all stars from the brightest down to the sixth magnitude. 3. The researches on the moon by Professor Simon Newcomb. 4. The precise quantitative investigations of Professor A. A. Noyes and T. W. Richards in chemistry. 5. The comprehensive researches in geology and cosmology by Professor T. C. Chamberlain. 6. The work of Professor Carl Barns on the nucleation of the dust-full atmosphere; of Professor E. W. Scripture on researches in phonetics; of Professor G. R. Wieland on American cycads, and the work of Mr. W. L. Tower on the evolution of beetles.

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### ARTIFICIAL SILK AND HORSEHAIR.

Somewhat over twenty-five years ago the artificial production of indigo was made commercially possible. Within the last few years artificial camphor has become a staple article of commerce, while only recently the announcement has been made that we shall soon have artificial albumen for our consumption. Some years ago it was discovered that cotton if placed in a solution of sodium hydroxide of suitable concentration underwent a remarkable change, the individual strands becoming circular in cross-section and straight instead of twisted along their length. If washed and dyed after this process it was capable of showing a lustre much resembling that of silk. The process was known as "mercerizing." The product has been called by a variety of names, "silkateen," for instance, and has been much used for needlework and the manufacture of dress fabrics. But this was still cotton. The nearness of its approach to silk, however, seems to have stimulated the endeavor of investigators to attempt the manufacture of something more closely resembling that product; if possible, to make silk itself. The story of the achievement that led to the success thus far attained is a beautiful example of patient endeavor in a difficult field of investigation, for the desired result was not attained until after thirteen years of work, from 1885 to 1898.

If we treat cellulose in the form of pure cotton wool with a cold mixture of equal molecular weights of the strongest sulphuric and nitric acids, and afterwards thoroughly wash it and dry it by exposure of air, it is converted into cellulose hexanitrate, known also as pyroxylin or gun-cotton, which is insoluble in ether, alcohol or a mixture of the two. If the mixture of sulphuric and nitric acids be slightly diluted with water, the product is soluble gun-cotton, which is a mixture of cellulose nitrates lower than the hexanitrate, *i. e.*, the



penta-, tetra-, tri- and di-nitrates. This will dissolve in a mixture of ether and alcohol and will be deposited as an extraordinarily thin film, if the solution is poured over a surface and the ether and alcohol allowed to evaporate. Such thin films on glass are used in the "wet-plate process" of photography. Now the silk-worm spins the silk to form its cocoon by exuding a fluid through its so-called spirmcults, which fluid hardens on exposure to the air. So a process was devised in imitation of this method of the silk-worm, by which the collodion, as the solution described above was called, was forced out under pressure through a number of minute orifices into water, when it hardened immediately and was then wound on bobbins and subsequently dried and dyed. The result was a fair imitation of silk not easily distinguished from genuine silk by the casual observer, although possessing only twenty per cent. of the strength of silk, each strand of which is as strong as a strand of steel of equal cross-section. It has the defect, and it is a serious one, of being very hygroscopic and of losing sixty per cent. of its strength when wet, but it is hoped to remedy this defect before long. Some other substances are used instead of collodion, and various fabrics have been made, among them an artificial straw.

The artificial horsehair mentioned is made in a manner analogous to the artificial silk from a mixture known as viscose. It is in all respects like the real article and has been used in the manufacture of "horsehair" hats and other articles of dress and ornament.

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### THE DIAMOND SHOALS LIGHTHOUSE.

The Diamond Shoals extend for eighteen miles out into the Atlantic off the point of Cape Hatteras on the North Carolina coast. The perils of these shoals have been long known to mariners, and yet there was no light near enough to be of service, the lighthouse on the outer bar being too far in and the lightship too far seaward. The difficulties to be overcome in locating a lighthouse on the outer shoal were exceedingly great, and a recent attempt failed. An enterprising firm of engineers, Harriman Brothers by name, have devised a plan that will doubtless result in the lighthouse being built in a few years. The essential details follow. A massive steel caisson is to be built in a shipyard and towed to the site of the proposed lighthouse. It will be made in the form of a truncated cone, 108 feet in diameter at the bottom, 50 feet in diameter at the top and 80 feet high, and is so constructed that the excavations necessary to imbed it in the sands to a depth of about 26 feet can be carried on

within. The sand in which it will be fixed can easily support eight or ten tons per square foot, but the finished light will nowhere exert a pressure of more than 3.6 tons per square foot. When the caisson has been sunk it will be filled with concrete and an apron of granite rip-rap extending out 75 feet will be spread in the direction of greatest exposure. Thereupon the superstructure, 150 feet high, which will be of steel and will carry a first-class light visible fifteen miles, will be erected. On it a life-saving as well as a lighthouse service will be maintained.

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### GENERAL NOTES.

OIL PRODUCTION IN 1905.—The *Scientific American* gives several graphic representations of the vast amount of oil, over 219,000,000 barrels of 42 gallons each, produced throughout the world during the past year. The barrels, it calculates, would, if placed end to end, encircle the earth five times about the equator, and would then lap over one thousand miles. The oil would fill a tank 1,500 feet long, 250 feet wide and over 3,300 feet high. The refined oil amounted to 3,025,000,000 gallons. If a student's lamp with a reservoir 1,200 feet high and 650 feet in diameter were constructed, it would contain this oil, which would burn night and day for one month and give a light of 3,628,260,000 standard candle power, equal to the light produced by three million ordinary arc lights.

THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT SURVEYS.—Last year the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey completed the line of precise levels connecting the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico with the Pacific Ocean, as we gather from the report of the Superintendent, Mr. O. H. Tittman. We quote further from this report in reference to this achievement: "The three principal connections with sea level are at Sandy Hook, New Jersey; at Biloxi, Mississippi, and at Seattle, Washington. The distance between Sandy Hook and Seattle along the shortest line of leveling of the highest degree of accuracy is 7,400 kilometers, and the similar distance between Biloxi and Seattle is 5,700 kilometers. This leveling is a portion of the precise leveling operations which will eventually furnish standard elevations in the United States, upon which the extensive operations of the Reclamation Service can be based, and for use of geographers, civil engineers and surveyors, and for physical investigations relating to the planet on which we live." Another portion of the report contains the following item of interest: "The year was notable by the large number of magnetic storms which sensibly

affected the compass direction, this being the period of maximum sun-spot activity. On the average there have occurred two such storms monthly, which deflected the compass by one-quarter of a degree or more. A comparatively large number of earthquake records were also obtained during the year, the most notable one being the Indian earthquake of last April."

Mr. Alfred H. Brooks, of the United States Geological Survey, gives us the following summary of what is known of Alaska in the *Popular Science Monthly* for January:

	Square Miles.
Explorations by United States Geological Survey.....	80,000
Geologic and topographic reconnoissance surveys.....	60,000
Explorations by other departments.....	50,000
Coastal province, shore line surveyed by Coast Survey and some geological surveys made by Geological Survey....	120,000
Unmapped and practically unexplored.....	310,000
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Total area of Alaska.....	620,000

SOME RECENT DISCOVERIES OF FOSSILS.—There is a fascination for student and layman alike in the discovery and restoration of extinct reptiles of past geological eras. The activity shown during the last few years in investigations along these lines has advanced the study of vertebrate paleontology to a point where a reclassification was necessary. This is notably shown when the skeleton of a reptile, which has been named *Tyrannosaurus Rex*, was unearthed by a party of explorers from the American Museum of Natural History in New York city. The monster mentioned was thirty-nine feet in length and stood nineteen feet in height. It is of special interest from the fact that it was a land animal. The remains of land animals are much less frequently preserved than the remains of amphibia or water animals, as decay on the surface of the land is complete. The only chance of the preservation of the skeleton of a land animal would be when the animal perished by drowning or when the body was washed into the water and was gradually covered by the accumulating sediments that were afterwards consolidated.

From Russia comes the news of the interesting discovery of skeletons of extinct reptiles in nodules that local road builders had been in the habit of extracting from the sandy cliffs of the river Dwina, near Archangel, in Northern Russia. The discovery was made by Professor Amalitzky, of Warsaw, a few years ago. He has since revealed several skeletons of the extinct *Pariasaurus*, a vegetarian reptile about as large as an ox, but not so high in the

legs, as well as the remains of a huge carnivorous reptile with a skull two feet long and enormous tiger-like teeth, which has been named *Inostransea*, a name as terrible as the monster it designates. This reptile probably preyed upon *Pariasaurus*.

SICILY'S NEW RIVAL IN SULPHUR PRODUCTION.—Most of the sulphur of commerce has come from the Island of Sicily. For a long time extensive deposits were known to exist in Louisiana beneath a layer of difficult quicksand, which could not be reached by freezing or by sinking metallic-lined shafts, except at a cost that appeared prohibitory. So pipes ten inches in diameter were sunk to a depth of about 450 feet. Sulphur melts at about 240 degrees F. Accordingly superheated water was forced down the pipes, and the liquid sulphur was drawn up through a second tube within the main pipe. About 350,000 tons of sulphur are thus being taken out per year.

A NEW PROCESS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF HYDROGEN.—Commercial hydrogen has usually been made by the action of sulphuric acid on iron or zinc. A new method is the use of the reaction of alkaline hydrates on metallic aluminum. The reaction is  $2Al + 3NaOH = 3H + AlO^3Na^3$ . The principal point in favor of the new process is that five kilogrammes of material per cubic meter of gas are needed, as against seven kilogrammes in the old process. This is probably what commended its use to the Russian aerostatic corps during the recent war. Its cost is much higher than the cost of the acid process.

M. J. AHERN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

## Book Reviews

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THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF ST. PATRICK, with appendices, etc. By the Most Rev. Dr. Healy, Archbishop of Tuam. Pp. 754. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Upper O'Connell street; Sealy, Bryers & Walker, Middle Abbey street. New York: Benziger Brothers.

A new life of St. Patrick is always in order and always welcome, but it has a special fitness at this time, when the intellectual, industrial and political revival in Ireland is assuming large and lasting proportions. The study of the life of their apostle and patron will fill Irishmen at such a time with the true spirit—the desire to advance their temporal interests in such a manner as to conserve their eternal welfare. They can do this only by holding fast to that sterling faith and morality which they have received from their ancestors, and which they learned from St. Patrick, and which they preserved at every sacrifice. But let the author speak:

“Our chief purpose in writing this new life of St. Patrick, when so many lives already exist, is to give a fuller, and we venture to hope, more exact account of the saint's missionary labors in Ireland than any that has appeared since the Tripartite Life was first written. For this purpose we have not only studied Colgan's great work and made ourselves familiar with the really valuable publications of our own times, but we have, when practicable, personally visited all the scenes of the saint's labors, both at home and abroad, so as to be able to give a local coloring to the dry record, and also to catch up, as far as possible, the echoes, daily growing fainter, of the once vivid traditions of the past.

“We have no new views to put forward. We shall seek to follow the authority of the ancient writers of the acts of St. Patrick, which we regard as in the main trustworthy. Those who do not like miracles can pass them over, but the ancient writers believed in them, and even when purely imaginary these miraculous stories have an historical and critical value of their own.

“We find it convenient to classify our authorities into three divisions. The *ancient* authorities are those that flourished before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, that is, before A. D. 1172. The *medieval* authorities will include all those who make reference to St. Patrick's acts down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *modern* authorities will comprehend the rest, including Colgan and Usher, who have written from that date (A. D. 1600) to the present time.

“We have resolved, however, to follow in the main the guidance

of the ancient authorities, who, if credulous in things supernatural, had no motive but to write the truth, so far as it was known to them, for the instruction and edification of posterity. There was then only one Church, and they could have had no motive in representing St. Patrick to be anything else than what he was known to them—a great and successful Christian missionary of the Catholic Church.

“Those ancient authorities are in substantial agreement on all the main points of our apostle’s history. Some shallow critics of our own time, by unduly indulging in what is mere speculation, have brought confusion into the acts of St. Patrick, but this confusion, like the morning mist on the mountain side, is rapidly passing away. We shall not follow their example; rather we shall adhere to the ancient authorities, and in so doing we follow the footsteps of the really great Irish scholars of modern times, like Colgan, Usher and O’Flaherty, who paid due regard to those ancient authorities, and under their guidance gave their own lives, with brilliant success, to the study of Irish history and antiquities.

“The writings of St. Patrick himself must naturally be made the basis of any reliable history of the saint. There is no doubt that the Confession and the Epistle to Coroticus were, as the Book of Armagh says of the former, originally written by his own hand. Every statement, therefore, in any life of St. Patrick, ancient or modern, clearly inconsistent with the tenor of these documents must be rejected without hesitation.

“Concerning the miracles related in most of the lives the reader will form his own judgment. Some of the stories are, in our opinion, of their own nature incredible; others are ridiculous, and several are clearly inconsistent with Patrick’s own statement in the Confession. But we cannot reject a story merely because it is miraculous. The Confession itself records several miracles; and we are by no means prepared to say that St. Patrick was either deceived or a deceiver. The most famous lives of the great saints of that age are full of narratives of the miraculous. St. Athanasius wrote a life of St. Anthony, Sulpicius Severus has left a beautiful life of St. Martin, Paulinus of Nola has given us an authentic life of St. Felix—these were great prelates and accomplished scholars who had an intimate knowledge of those of whom they wrote, yet we find miracles recorded as undoubted events in every page of their narratives. The absence of the miraculous in any Patrician document is, therefore, no proof of its earlier date or more authentic character, as some modern critics seem to think. The most authentic and eloquent writings of that age are filled with such narratives of the miraculous, and the miracles were attested by most trustworthy witnesses and are narrated as undoubted facts by contemporary writers. In this

work our purpose is not controversial; it is to show St. Patrick as he was known to his contemporaries and their immediate successors who had known the man or received the living stories of his disciples. Most people will think such a narrative is of far more value from every point of view than the speculations of some of our modern critics and philologists, who would rather do away with St. Patrick altogether than admit that he got his mission from Rome.

“The manifold variations in the spelling of Irish words, and especially of Irish proper names, present great difficulty to a writer on Irish subjects and render it almost impossible to adopt a uniform system. As we have, on the whole, followed the guidance of the Rolls Tripartite, both as to the Irish text and its English version, we have thought it desirable to adopt also its system of spelling the Irish proper names. No doubt many of its forms are now archaic; still they exhibit, we think, the language, especially in this matter of proper names, in simpler and purer forms than those which are at present in use; and, moreover, tend to preserve a uniformity of usage which is surely to be desired. Hence we have adopted as a rule the spelling of the Tripartite, especially in proper names, except in the case of certain well-known words, where a departure from the existing usage might be misleading.”

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THE KEY TO THE WORLD'S PROGRESS. Being an Essay on Historical Logic. By *Charles Stanton Devas, M. A. Oxon.*, sometime examiner in political economy at the Royal University of Ireland. 12mo., pp. 321. Longmans, Green & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London; New York and Bombay. 1906.

Those of our readers who know the “Manual of Political Economy,” written for the Stonyhurst Philosophical Series by Mr. Devas, will not need to be told that the present work is well done. The encomiums which the learned author merited on the appearance of that book will, no doubt, be repeated on this occasion. The purpose of the writer and his defense, if one be needed, are so well set forth in the first part of the book that we shall quote at length without any apology:

“Many writers have sought in recent years and many still seek a meaning in man’s history, an explanation of the course of society, a forecast of its future. Such names as the growth of civilization, the philosophy of history, the science of sociology, social dynamics or social evolution are some of those chosen to express a science as yet desired rather than attained, which is to solve the riddle of the universe. The keenness of the desire is shown by the eager welcome of one theory of evolution after another, though as yet

their apparent deficiency is their common failure to agree with the detailed facts of history. All the while the need of valid theory grows daily greater. The very progress in historical research during the last twenty-five years has rendered specialization a necessity both for teachers and students; only a few years within a restricted area can be effectively portrayed by any one man, and without some general theory to be our guiding star we must lose our way and cannot reach a fit estimate even of the narrow time and place which are the special object of our study. We must have first a framework into which our portion may be fitted, a totality of which it may be reckoned a part.

"But who will provide a guiding principle in harmony with history and statistics? Who can find order among materials so complicated and obscure? Who can hope to succeed where so many have failed, and to be borne safely through this rugged pass already white with the bones of a thousand theories?

"Perhaps, indeed, it may be asked what is the need after all of any historical theory? Cannot we suffer historians without pre-judgment to pursue their narrative in peace and the facts to speak for themselves? But facts themselves are dumb, and a historian is no purveyor of an indiscriminate collection of facts, is no unscientific chronicler, but precisely one whose narrative is the fruit of a process of reasoning. For out of the vast mass of recorded facts, a confused and unintelligible heap, he must select what is pertinent, relevant, important, characteristic. Even as a skilled lawyer extracts from a mass of evidence what is pertinent to the question at issue, so the historian must pass his materials through a series of sieves of increasing fineness before they are ready for history; he must know what special facts are to be searched for, must grasp what is worth remembering, discern amid a crowd of trifles the leading features of the society of which he writes, show order and drift amid the maze of facts, and among those that deserve any mention determine their proper place and relative importance.

"But to do this he must have something previous to his observation, some previously established general propositions, some theoretical anticipations, some criterion to judge what is relevant or irrelevant, what is characteristic or merely exceptional, what is of vital or little importance; and any simple inductive process is triply confused in the case of historical science by the multiplicity of causes, by their complicated interaction, by the frequent loss certain or suspected of many pertinent facts that have dropped from the historical record. And the example of serious historians shows that it is no mere accumulation of facts taken at random nor a blind induction which guides them and leads them to such contra-



dictory results, but rather for each historian his own implicit or explicit assumptions, tacit understandings, an impalpable notion of reasonableness, critical feeling, personal conceptions and historical tact, that determine his choice of facts and the issue of his argument.

"A theory therefore is needed beforehand; no gazing at facts will itself provide one. Before we enter the labyrinth we must have a clue and a lamp before we enter the forest of obscurity. Antecedent to any history we need a philosophy of history for the selection, the adjustment, the appreciation, the limitation of manifold material. Unity is before and above all number; the whole must precede the parts, and 'in order to have possession of truth at all we must have the whole truth,' and if we have not a true view we must make for ourselves a false one, as every day can be seen in the extravagances of undisciplined talent and the narrowness of complacent ignorance. As of knowledge in general, so of historical knowledge in particular, there must be some architectonic science that is the arbiter of the claims and place of the manifold specialists. If history is not to be aimless and unprofitable, we must in some way map out the universe, know the relative disposition of things and see in history a various and complicated drama with interacting parts and grand significance. 'You must be above your knowledge, not under it, or it will oppress you; and the more you have of it the greater will be the load.' Moreover, to history as to all knowledge applies the principle that nearly every statement may be in a sense true and yet may be perverted and made false because it is not the whole truth; and that what is true under one aspect only is therefore altogether insufficient. The political exhortation to think imperially can be transferred with greater precision and certainty to the scientific field. A high protecting power, a sovereign science maps out the territory of each subordinate science, 'acts as umpire between truth and truth and assigns all to their due order of precedence.' If, then, we are not to confess our failure and idly acquiesce in a barren skepticism, we need an imperial theory of history that shall serve as a fruitful hypothesis, and that the severest test of ascertained fact shall not be able to dissolve."

The author might have added that another very strong argument in favor of a true and standard philosophy of history to which all historians should conform is the necessity of preventing each historian, large and small, important and unimportant, competent and incompetent, from playing the philosopher. Of history it may with special truth be said: there are many chroniclers, but few philosophers. The author before us should not go astray, because he has chosen the master guide, John Henry Newman. In his preface he says:

"Let this preface serve me to make profession of following as my guide and teacher the great master of the nineteenth century, John Henry Newman, who, looking before and after, foresaw the intellectual problems of the future, and whose work, though part was concerned with transient controversies and peculiar opinions of his own time, was mainly concerned with lasting needs and chronic infirmities of our nature—Newman, who by some even now is not yet understood, and for many years in time past was covered by a cloud of misunderstanding, the inevitable penalty of intellectual pre-eminence.

"To be linked even in some slight way to so great a name is not an unworthy ambition; or to join, however imperfectly, in the task of sifting and sorting his work, leaving aside those portions that the fashions of controversy or the progress of historical study have rendered obsolete, making more accessible those portions that are for all time, and in this particular volume giving to the logic and history of Newman an economic sociological setting."

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GESCHICHTE DER PAEPSTE SEIT DEM AUSGANG DES MITTELALTERS. Von *Ludwig Pastor*. Vol IV., Part I. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, \$2.85 net.

The long-awaited fourth volume of "Pastor's History of the Popes" has finally made its appearance; or, to speak more accurately, has begun to appear. We have the first half of it, covering the reign of Leo X., probably the most disastrous in the history of the Papacy. Personally the tenth Leo had little influence upon the course of events and possibly less appreciation of their importance. His official name was a quaint misnomer; he was anything but a lion. Like Charles I. of England or Louis XVI. of France, he was amiable and mild in character at a time when these qualities spelt weakness. Pastor regrets that at so critical a period a Hildebrand was not seated in the Chair of St. Peter. It may be questioned if even a Hildebrand could have stemmed the rising tide of irreligion which was sweeping over Europe; but at least he would have made a strong and determined effort to do so. Leo and his nephew, Clement VII., were content with the maintenance of a passive attitude and incurred the censure of being more solicitous for the advancement of Medicean interests than for the defense of the cause of Christ. It cannot surprise us that Dr. Pastor, after his exhaustive study of Julius II., should feel scant enthusiasm in tracing the story of Leo X., who completely lacked the great qualities

of his predecessor. He draws attention to the fact that it was Julius rather than Leo who was the true protector, instigator and Maecenas of art and artists, and that for centuries Leo X. has been credited with undue importance in the field that has been considered Leonine by excellence. His incompetence and extravagance in matters of finance made it utterly impossible for him to carry out any of the gigantic plans originated by Julius II. His chief merit in the opinion of Dr. Pastor is the tenacity with which he defended Raphael against that immortal artist's rivals and maligners.

One-sixth of the present volume (or about one hundred pages) is occupied with the story of the rise and condemnation of Lutheranism. Although the learned author has little new to say on a subject worn threadbare, what he says is well said, and it would be difficult to find the painful topic treated so well elsewhere. What chiefly distinguishes Dr. Pastor's account from most others is that he views the scene from the standpoint of Rome and gives a clear and consistent narrative of the course and progress of the ecclesiastical trial of the heresiarch. During Leo's reign Lutheranism remained the theological heresy with which it began; it had not yet developed into a political revolution.

We have to admire the judiciousness of the author's perspective. Six hundred pages were quite sufficient for his purpose of presenting a full and impartial statement of the occurrences during a reign of eight years. It is annoying to have to follow the Pontiff in his petty intrigues of Italian politics or on his periodical hunting trips, at a time when so many vast interests were at stake, but the historian's duty is to narrate facts, not create them. Now that the last trace of a French Concordat has disappeared, it is interesting to study once more the details of the first of them, that which was concluded by Leo X. and Francis I. at Bologna. The Pontiff has been fiercely criticized for his generosity in handing over nearly all the rights of the French Church to the crown; but how few reflect that, had he acted otherwise, France might have been lost to the Church as well as England or Germany. In point of character, or lack of character, there was little to choose between Francis I. and Henry VIII. Francis failed to carry out his repeated threats of secession, mainly because, through the terms of the Concordat of Bologna, he was virtually head of the French Church. He could not hope to gain by seceding from the unity of Christendom.

The most notable ecclesiastical event in Leo's Pontificate was the Fifth Lateran Council, convened by Julius II. and brought to a close by Leo in the very opening year of the Lutheran Reformation. Many salutary decrees were enacted, but the sad condition of affairs impeded their effective execution.

Dr. Pastor's closing sentence is severe, but hard to gainsay: "Although in many points the last word concerning the Medici Pope has not yet been spoken, yet in the present state of research we are compelled to admit that his Pontificate, so extravagantly lauded by humanists and poets and illumined by the rays of Raphael's art, through an unlimited devotion to worldly tendencies and to new and dazzling forms of culture, as well as through the subordinate place allotted to spiritual interests, was disastrous to the Papal Chair." This is a severe verdict to pass upon a man whose countenance wore a perennial smile and who was equally loath to inflict or suffer pain.

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THE LIFE OF COUNT MOORE. Compiled from materials supplied by his family by *Albert Barry, C. S. S. R.* 8vo.+xiii., pp. 301. M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Dublin.

"So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works and glorify your Father who is in heaven." "Woe to that man by whom the scandal cometh."

In these two passages our Divine Lord teaches us the importance and necessity of good example. Hence the zeal of the Church at all times in placing before her children the lives of her saints. And hence the zeal of the world in holding up before men for their imitation the lives of sinners. Not in the guise of sinners—the world is too shrewd for that, but in the disguise of saints. To be convinced of this we need but glance at the novel and play of the day, or cast our eye over the list of popular biographies. The men and women who figure in fiction and the drama at the present time have not only not attained the Christian standard of perfection, but they do not even strive for it; in many instances they ignore it, and sometimes openly sneer at it and attack it.

We have indeed in the field of biography, the lives of statesmen, financiers, manufacturers, discoverers, inventors, but very few lives of Christian gentlemen. How seldom do we read of a man who is successful in business or politics, and who is noted for humility, purity and charity. How rarely do we meet a wealthy man who is poor in spirit and who is filled with the spirit of mortification. We find these virtues in canonized saints and in religious who devote their whole lives to God's service, but they are so rare outside of these two classes that we have ceased to look for them. And yet there are uncanonized saints and unvowed servants of God in the world—men and women who keep before their eyes the texts at the beginning of this notice.

Such a man was Count Moore, whose biography now lies before us. In the preface to the book Archbishop Healy, of Tuam, thus speaks of him:

"In the following pages the reader will find a most interesting and readable record of a noble and strenuous life. Count Arthur Moore was no ordinary man. The main purpose of his life was in all things to seek first the kingdom of God; it inspired all his efforts; it ennobled all his thoughts. Such men are plentifully found in religious brotherhoods, giving their whole lives to the service of God, but they are rarely met with in the world. There the pursuit of wealth, or pleasure, or power, or fame is all engrossing. Their votaries find it often impossible to raise their thoughts to the higher sphere of supernatural life. They live entirely for this world, forgetful of the enduring world beyond the grave, which they seek to ignore as far as possible. Not so Arthur Moore. He lived in the world an earnest laborious life, mixing with men in the Senate, on the platform, in the market place, always seeking the betterment of his tenants, his neighbors, his countrymen, careless of calumnies, heedless of dangers, patient of labor, persistent of purpose. There was no great question touching the spiritual or temporal well-being of his countrymen in which he did not take a keen interest and with helpful energy seek to bring about a better state of things. In all this he never thought of self, but rather spent himself—his time, his thought, his money—for God's glory and the welfare of his fellow men."

After reading these words and the passage which we are about to quote from the introduction, we think that it will be generally admitted that such a light should be made to shine before men that they may imitate it and glorify their Father who is in heaven:

"The pages have been written to illustrate the character and perpetuate the memory of a good man, not to chronicle the vicissitudes of a political career. Count Moore was not what we call a man of the world and did not look on life as a pleasant dream, but ever took for his motto the war-cry of the Crusaders, 'God wills it.' Throwing himself entirely into all social and political movements of his time, his mind was full of high ideals, and he never discussed any question without having regard first to its moral aspect. He fought for the regeneration of his country, and believed that the welfare of mankind does not so much depend on the State or on political progress as on belief in God and in the Gospel of Christianity. He, therefore, devoted himself heart and soul to all causes throughout the Christian world which were bound up with the religious prosperity of the people, and his whole life was a witness to the truth and beauty of religion."

ST. JOHN AND THE CLOSE OF THE APOSTOLIC AGE. By the *Abbe Constant Fouard*, member of the Biblical Commission. Authorized translation. 12mo., pp. 250. Longmans, Green & Co., 91 and 93 Fifth avenue, New York. London and Bombay.

The readers of "The Christ the Son of God" and "The Beginnings of the Church" will look upon this last work from his learned pen with more than usual interest when they are informed that he died on the eve of its appearance. They will first be glad that he was able to accomplish so much for Christ and His Church, and then sad that he was not spared to do more. We hear his voice as from the grave thus explaining his last work:

"Up to this stage in the series on 'The Beginning of the Church' I have confined myself to the purely historical narrative, not dwelling on controverted points. As was said in the first lines of 'The Christ the Son of God,' 'my only wish is to make the Saviour better known and loved.' With this end in view the several studies of the Apostolic Missions followed in natural sequence. The work now before us, born of the same spirit, is intended to furnish the reader with a picture of religious conditions toward the close of the first century, at the period when the Fourth Gospel was composed by Saint John, who had outlived all his brethren in the Apostolate and had attained a very advanced age. Men had even come to believe that death would spare that hallowed head, basing this opinion on a single saying of Jesus which seemed to imply that the dearly beloved disciple was to await the Master's coming here on earth. With charming candor the holy patriarch protested, 'The Lord did not say this; what He did say has no such meaning.' He was greatly exercised lest any one be misled; but who could doubt his word, since he alone was left of 'those who had seen Jesus?'

"This divine memory rested like an aureole over his snow locks and invested his person not merely with a venerableness well-nigh universally acknowledged, but with an authority unquestioned in the Church. Accordingly his name, as formerly the names of the great Apostles Peter and Paul, would seem appropriate to represent the period wherein his closing years were spent, a period over which by his deeds as well as by his writings, he exercised so profound an influence. Of the life of Saint John all we shall see is his great work, or rather it is in this work that we shall study the man himself, for therein he has depicted his whole character, at once ardent and tender-hearted; like the eagle, fitted to soar to the loftiest peaks, whence with undazzled gaze his eyes could contemplate the blinding glare of the heavens; anon, descending from those heights, he wearies his disciples with his ceaseless exhortations to love one another. Though like a veritable 'son of the thunderbolt,' he does at times fulminate against the unfaithful Bishops, yet how much oftener is he inspired

by the love with whose perfume his heart was penetrated as he leaned upon the breast of Jesus!"

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**THE UNSEEN WORLD.** An Exposition of Catholic Theology in its Relation to Modern Spiritism. By *Rev. Fr. Alexius M. Lepicier, O. S. M., S. Th. M.*, professor of divinity in the College of Propaganda, Rome; consultant of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, of the Bible Commission, etc. 12mo., pp. 284. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

There is need of a book like this on a subject so generally interesting and yet so little known. It is a subject which is very old because it dates back indefinitely and appeals to all nations, and yet always new, because its interest rather increases than decreases, and because it is constantly presenting new phases.

It calls attention to the universality of the practice and its continued interest in the following passage:

"The attempt to hold intercourse with the inhabitants of the unseen world is not, as some seem to imagine, a practice peculiar to these modern times. It was resorted to long before the Greeks inquired of Apollo in his temple at Delphi through the mouth of the Pythoness and before the Romans consulted the Sibylline oracles at Cumae and at Tibur. Nor is it a practice confined to civilized and cultivated races. The savage man, too, in his lonely hut on his desert island has at all times been in the habit of evoking the spirits of the other world, whether he believed these spirits to be genii, disposed to favor and benefit mankind, demons bent on working harm or mischief, or the souls of the dead seeking for rest amidst their former haunts and environments. History records how extensively spiritistic practices were carried on during the middle ages, and what severe laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, had to be enacted in order to check what was then held to be a dangerous and harmful superstition.

"It is only in the method which is employed in the evoking of these manifestations and in the circumstances under which they take place that any difference can be said to exist between the practice of ancient times and that of these modern days. There is absolute identity in the aim which underlies them—that aim being the obtaining of answers to various questions, the solution of difficult and perplexing problems and the exhibition of phenomena transcending the known powers of nature.

"There is, however, a difference between them which should not be left unnoticed here. While the phenomena obtained were in times past ascribed to beings of a purely spiritual nature, and in no wise connected with matter, they are now held to be due to the souls

of the dead—to departed human beings at one time inhabiting this earth and, like ourselves, incarnate in material bodies. And this modern belief would seem to find support not only in the oft-repeated assertion of the spirits themselves, but also in the result of experiments recently conducted by renowned and well-known English and foreign scientists.

“The object of this book is to set forth, as clearly and as concisely as possible, what the teachings of Catholic theology is on this difficult subject, and where the pathway of safety may be found, not only for Catholics, but for all believers in historic and dogmatic Christianity. For it is in the historic Christian faith alone that we have the true standard by which the momentous problems presented by modern spiritism can be fairly and adequately judged.”

The book is a splendid example of conciseness and clearness. One might expect that such a subject would hardly submit to brief and comprehensive treatment, but the author in this case has accomplished the very difficult task. We believe that the book will be found to be fully satisfying, and we recommend it without any hesitation.

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BEATI PETRI CANISII, S. J., EPISTULAE ET ACTA. Collegit et Adnotationibus Illustravit. *Otto Braunsberger, S. J.* Volumen Quartum. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, \$9.50 net.

The fourth volume of Father Braunsberger's edition of the “Letters of B. Peter Canisius” embraces a period of about two years, from January 1, 1563, to the death of Lainez, second general of the Jesuits, in January, 1565. At this time Canisius was in the prime of life and was looked upon as one of the very foremost champions of the Catholic religion. His correspondence includes letters to and from the Supreme Pontiff Pius IV., the Emperor Ferdinand, Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, Cardinals-Legate, Chancellors, and, in fact, nearly every one of prominent station in that generation. The present thick volume of about 1,500 pages contains 449 letters, the less important condensed, and 200 Canisian *monumenta*. Of the letters 340 now see the light for the first time and 140 of the *monumenta*. To obtain this result all the archives of Europe have been ransacked, from the Vatican to the British Museum. When so much has been accomplished in the case of a single personage we can argue how much still remains to be done before the entire material for passing judgment on the Reformation era shall lie before us.

During these two years we find the indefatigable missionary pursuing his accustomed labors as provincial of his order, director of



colleges, assiduous in the pulpit, reëditing his great catechism. But his chief merit at this time was that of holding the Emperor Ferdinand and the other Catholic princes of Germany true to the Catholic cause. Those were the last days of the Council of Trent, and among the faithful laborers to whom we owe the successful termination of the Council Canisius is seen more and more entitled to our gratitude. There is little doubt, as we see through the private letters which passed between him and his general, that had it not been for his influence Ferdinand would have yielded to the suggestions of bad advisers, many of them high ecclesiastics, and would have scattered the assembled Fathers. It was a happy inspiration for the Emperor to summon Canisius to Innsbruck, and it accrues to his honor and renown as a sensible statesman that he preferred the counsels of the great Jesuit to those of less saintly men.

For those who lack the time or patience to wade through the entire mass of letters, acts and sermons, the first forty pages, in which the editor gives a comprehensive digest of the whole, will be found extremely valuable. The typographical setting of the volume is worthy of the subject and of the reputation of Herder.

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ORGANUM COMITANS AD KYRIALE SEU ORDINARIUM MISSAE. Quod iuxta Editionem Vaticanam harmonice Ornavit. *Dr. Fr. X. Mathias*, Organista Ecclesiae Cathedralis Argentinensis. Neo Eboraci: Sumptibus Friderici Pustet.

The changes required by the Encyclical of the Holy Father on Church Music are so very radical as to call forth numberless questions as to details of practice, and these in turn are creating a literature on the subject which promises to be quite exhaustive. Several of these questions concern the organist and his part in the new order of things. Some of these questions have not been answered yet. For instance, may the organist be a woman? Others are being answered in books like the one before us, which contains the organ accompaniments for the Kyriale or Ordinary of the Mass according to the Vatican edition. The work is done by a well-known competent authority, and is from the Pustet Press, which is a guarantee of accuracy and elegance. The author thus sets forth his purpose and method:

“The chief object of this accompaniment, the fundamental principles of which have been fully set forth in my brochure “*Die Choralbegleitung*” (Plain Chant Accompaniment), published by the same firm, is to ensure a smooth and flowing method of rendering plain chant. It was therefore of paramount importance that the harmonies should flow naturally as faithful reflections of the flowing

melodies. At the same time care was taken to avoid anything that might tend to render the execution less easy.

"Those who may not like this accompaniment owing to its being *exclusively within the Gregorian scales* are free to make any alterations they may deem proper in passages which to them may sound somewhat crude. The main thing is to preserve the rhythm of the chant. Hence it is desirable that the accompaniment should not be taken in hand until the organist has thoroughly mastered the melody by singing or at least playing it on a stringed instrument, in accordance with the rhythmical form herein exhibited, so that the rhythm may be brought out clearly and distinctly when the chants are rendered with the accompaniment. Only thus can it be well blended with the voices.

"To suit the compass of all voices several numbers, particularly the responses to *Ite missa est* and *Benedicamus Domino*, are given in various transpositions.

"Easy cadences have also been placed at the organist's disposal, with the indication of the recitation note (R) for use when portions of the text are recited only."

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WHAT CATHOLICS HAVE DONE FOR SCIENCE, with Sketches of the Great Catholic Scientists. By *Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A. M.*, rector of the Church of St. Thomas of Aquin, St. Louis, Mo. Author of "Electricity and its Discoverers," etc. Third Edition. 12mo., pp. 220. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

We are glad to be able to record the appearance of the third edition of Father Brennan's brief but effective answer to the trite though persistent calumny that theology and science are contradictory, and that, therefore, the Church is the enemy of science. The philosopher's strongest proofs are facts, for against them no argument can prevail. But here are the facts.

We consider the book so important that we prefer to let the author introduce. Every man knows his own child best:

"The purpose of this little book is, by showing their utter falsity, to refute two widespread notions. One of these notions is that when a man devotes himself to science he must necessarily cease to be a Christian; and the other that the Catholic Church is hostile to scientific progress.

"Nothing, certainly, can be more unjust than the impression that the pursuit of science is prejudicial to a man's piety. A close intimacy with the grand designs of the Creator can only enhance our reverence for His divine beneficence. The more thoroughly we scrutinize the wise and beneficent laws governing the cosmos the

more deeply we will be impressed with the wisdom and goodness of the Almighty Lawgiver. The heart of the true Catholic scientist is instinctively sending up a constant orison to the great White Throne. Gassendi, Picard, Mersenne, De Vico, Piazzzi, Boscovich, Leverrier, Tulasne, Haüy, Chevreul and a host of others traveled as far along the path of Christian perfection as along the way of science.

"How the impression that the Church is hostile to science can live among reading people is truly an enigma. The merit of introducing into scientific study the inductive or true system belongs to the children of the Church. Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and Leonardo da Vinci, the first great masters of the inductive method, dealt its death-blow to the speculative school of Greece.

"The children of the Church were the pioneers in every branch of science. The greatest names in astronomy, mathematics, mechanics, electricity, galvanism, chemistry, optics, thermotics, mineralogy and botany are Catholic ones. Yes, every branch of modern science owes not only its origin, but the main part of its growth to Catholic scientists, so that it can be said with the sincerest truth that the sceptre of science belongs to the Church."

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LOURDES: Its Inhabitants, Its Pilgrims and Its Miracles. With an account of the apparitions at the Grotto and a sketch of Bernadette's subsequent history. By Rev. Richard F. Clark, S. J. 12mo., pp. 224. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

What better recommendation of Father Clark's book on Lourdes can we have than the following letter from the English confessor at the shrine:

"I have read your articles on Lourdes with the most lively interest, and beg you to accept my sincere and most hearty congratulations. *What struck me above all is the rigorous exactitude that prevails throughout your story.* You have succeeded in catching the true spirit of the place. Yours is not a description, it is rather a photograph of persons, places and things.

"I do not say anything of the masterly way in which you have treated the question of miracles. *But I have great pleasure in bearing witness to the correctness of all you narrate.* As I have been a member of the Bureau des Constations for several years, I have myself seen and spoken with all the persons whose cures you recount.

"I hope you will publish your articles together in a little book. It will be very useful to English-speaking visitors, and will be the harbinger of the devotion to Our Lady of Lourdes throughout the United States of America and the widespread lands of the British Empire.

"Father Superior desires me to express to you the sincere gratitude of the whole community, and to assure you that we will not forget to pray for you to Notre Dame de Lourdes."

And the author himself so beautifully sketches Lourdes in his preface, and shows its importance and charm, that a reviewer would be rash indeed who should attempt to do more than quote it:

"There are very few Americans who cross the Atlantic without paying a visit to France's beautiful capital. The strange admixture of virtue and vice, piety and irreligion which they encounter there gives them no true idea of the real state of religion in Catholic France. A large city is generally more prone to evil than less populous districts, and, moreover, in a large city vice seems to come to the surface and virtue to hide itself away in nooks and corners where it escapes the stranger's eye. The American or English tourist who goes no further is in danger of leaving Paris with a false or at least a one-sided view of the religious condition of the country.

"To any one who desires to see the true Catholic faith of France, I would strongly recommend a visit to Lourdes. It is without exception the most marvelous of shrines and places of pilgrimage that the world has witnessed in modern times.

"Lourdes is very easy of access from the French capital. It is a journey of some eighteen or twenty hours. The evening express from Paris will bring the traveler to the Grotto by the following afternoon. Nor will he be disappointed on his arrival there. Lourdes presents even to the casual visitor a sight unparalleled elsewhere. He will see countless crowds of pious pilgrims gathering around the Grotto with a strong and firm faith in the miraculous power to heal of the water that flows there. He will see the assemblage from every part of France and the neighboring countries, of thousands and tens of thousands who come to ask for some favor from the Mother of God, by reason of her there having manifested herself to a poor peasant girl. He will see the halt and the lame, the blind and the deaf, the victims of almost every incurable disease that afflicts humanity, brought thither that they may be healed. And what is far more wonderful, he will see not a few of these depart in health and strength, cured of those ills that the skilled physician pronounced absolutely incurable. He will see, moreover, thousands of sons and daughters of Catholic France joining in solemn procession to pray for blessings on their country and to intercede for those who have lost their faith. He will hear them shouting out in sonorous refrain the hymns of Catholic devotion and the heartfelt expressions of Catholic loyalty. Above all these he will see undeniable marks of an earnestness, a sincerity, a strong simplicity of faith, a deeply rooted attachment to religion which

declares France to be still sound at heart, in spite of the vice of her large towns and the Godlessness of so many, even those who still call themselves by the name of Catholics.

"To all Lourdes must have an intense interest, whether Catholic or non-Catholic, believer or skeptic. But above all to the faithful children of the Church it has an attraction which is something beyond the natural desire to satisfy religious curiosity. No Catholic who has studied carefully and thoroughly the record of the miracles wrought at Lourdes, and the account of the apparitions of Our Lady to Bernadette Soubirous, can fail to be convinced of the reality both of one and of the other. Such a conviction will carry with it a strong desire to see the spot where these wonders are wrought, to drink of the health-giving fount, to pray at the shrine where God has thus manifested His power and His love. Even those who have not this conviction will be drawn to Lourdes by a desire to study more closely a phenomenon so remarkable, and to form a judgment from their own personal experience of the causes that have given rise to it.

"This little book is written with the hope that it may induce many Americans, and especially many American Catholics, to visit Lourdes and investigate its wonders for themselves. The reader can rely on the accuracy of the facts narrated, since they have been submitted to the good fathers in charge of the Grotto, who have had the kindness to correct these pages. The courtesy which the writer himself met with at their hands will be experienced by every visitor. Several of the fathers are perfectly conversant with English. One of them has been for many years in America. Another has spent some time in England. All of them are ready to afford every facility to the visitor of thoroughly investigating for himself all the wonders that are wrought in Lourdes.

"In the various hotels excellent accommodation may be had, and the country around is marked by a picturesque beauty closely resembling that of certain portions of the Bernese Oberland. Lourdes is an excellent centre for excursions into the heart of the Pyrenees, and only a few hours are required to reach the Spanish frontier. Any one traveling from France to Spain will necessarily pass within a short distance of Lourdes and find it a most convenient halting place."

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ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, SOCIAL REFORMER. By *Leo L. Dubois, S. M.* 12mo., pp. 250. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

To one who has observed the frequency with which St. Francis of Assisi has been chosen by authors of both sexes and various beliefs

as the subject of their pens, it must seem surprising that another life should be announced, and still more surprising that it should be written from a new point of view. Yet such is the case. We have before us for the first time St. Francis of Assisi, the Social Reformer. The author makes his declaration in this way:

"The bibliograph of St. Francis reveals to us two facts equally striking: the wonderful abundance of literature on the saint and his work, and, at the same time, the absence of any study professedly treating St. Francis as a social reformer. In the following pages an attempt is made to present him in this light. Hence the sociological point of view is taken throughout. An effort is made to describe the steps by which he became a reformer, the work accomplished by him, the processes of his mind and the traits of his character as far as these affected his reform work, the social ideas and principles on which his reform work was grounded.

"The following conclusions seem to be justified by the facts brought to our knowledge by a study of the documents of St. Francis' time:

"Francis, born in an age of faith, feeling and enthusiasm, but also of social unrest, became a reformer as the natural outcome of his love for God and for everything which God has created. A strenuous saint, but none the less open to the tenderest human sentiments, a poet, a troubadour, a chevalier in character and aspirations, intensely in love with a poor, abandoned, but chaste maiden, 'La donna Poverta,' Francis felt that he had received from God a mission to convert the world and restore the peace and happiness which ought to reign among His children. He went to the people, to the poor and the rich, to the laymen and the clergy, to the great and the lowly, captivating all not only by his charming character, but also by his unstudied and unaffected, yet irresistible eloquence; thus he became the soul of a popular movement which spread all over Europe and made itself felt in all parts of the then known world.

"There was no philosophy, no method, no spirit of organization in Francis, nor were they necessary for the creation of a popular movement. When the preservation of Francis' work required thought, order, direction, he himself applied to the Church that 'like a loving mother' she might supply what was lacking in the child and bring his work to completion and success.

"Though the reform which Francis and the Church accomplished conjointly was above all religious, based on the Gospel and aimed at the conversion and salvation of man, it was nevertheless all comprehensive, including the natural as well as the supernatural, the material as well as the spiritual in man. It aimed not at the destruction of existing principles and institutions, but at the repression of abuses

committed by individuals and the triumph of charity and justice among men."

After an introduction which is excellently done and which gives a general view of affairs just prior to the coming of St. Francis and at the time of his arrival on the scene, the book is divided into three parts, which treat respectively of "The History of St. Francis," "His Character" and "His Ideas on Social Reform." In a conclusion occupying ten pages the reader is admirably helped to permanent results from his labors, and then he finds before him a full bibliography which will help him to pursue the subject further if he will. Altogether the book is very charming, being well written and avoiding the faults which one finds in books of the kind which are either too short or too long.

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**THE THRONE OF THE FISHERMAN:** The Root, the Bond and the Crown of Christendom. Being Vol. V. of "The Formation of Christendom," by *Thomas W. Allies, K. C. S. G.*, author of a "Life's Decision," "Per Crucem ad Lucem," "Journal in France and Letters From Italy." New edition. 12mo., pp. 483. Burns & Oates, Ltd., London. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago. 1906.

The appearance of Volume V. of "The Formation of Christendom" furnishes an apt occasion for saying a word again in favor of this splendid historical work. Every one who knows it must speak enthusiastically of it and must desire to bring it to the notice of his neighbor. It is sad that good books like good persons are soon forgotten except by a very few scholars who hold them more dear than the miser holds his gold. We need sadly a Catholic magazine of bibliography, or departments of bibliography in our already existing magazines. They should publish lists of books, with reviews and descriptions; on every phase of Catholicity and kindred subjects, and they should republish the same matter from time to time, because new classes of readers and students are formed very frequently. The necessity of repeating information of this kind cannot be dwelt upon too strongly. Inquiries are constantly being made for the best books on Catholic subjects, and they are hard to answer.

Here is a fine opportunity for Catholic Truth Societies. We feel that we cannot help our readers to know the book before us better than by reproducing Cardinal Vaughan's letter on it:

"Very Rev. Dear ———: Mr. Allies has just republished in a cheap and popular edition his volume entitled 'The Formation of Christendom.' It is one of the noblest historical works I have ever read. Now that its price has placed it within the reach of all, I earnestly pray that it may become widely known and appreciatively studied. We have nothing like it in the English language. It meets a need which becomes greater daily with the increase of mental

culture and the spread of education. No English work that I know exhibits the mission of the Church to the world, to the pagan world, to the civilized world, and I might add to the modern world (which is both pagan and civilized in marked degrees), in a more eloquent, a more fascinating or more convincing manner. If any man desires to ennoble his own estimate of the Catholic Church, let him read this book. If any man's soul is capable of rising to a lofty ideal of life, let him understand the part that Christ has taken (and is still taking) in the formation of Christendom, as is shown from trustworthy sources by the pen of Mr. Allies.

"If you desire to enlarge the mind of the youth committed to your care, to inspire noble thoughts, to kindle generous resolves, to lift up churchmen to the level of their Church, you cannot do better than commend a serious perusal of this volume. I used to urge, even while none but the expensive first edition was accessible, that it ought to be made a text-book for every ecclesiastical student, whether destined for home or foreign missions, for a religious house or for the world. I rejoice, therefore, that at least the difficulty of price has been removed.

"I strongly recommend you to press the perusal of this book upon your ecclesiastical students, and not only upon them, but as you have opportunity upon the attention of laymen and women also. In proportion as they take a serious view of life they will become braced and encouraged by this noble portraiture of the Church's life and action in the world, on the individual, on society and on philosophy.

"I am persuaded that nothing wiser could be done than to place this book in the hands of many educated men and women who are inquiring into the claims of the Church and are searching for an answer to the problems which stand out before their consciences. They need not controversy, but the light of history to illumine their souls. They will find it here. Wishing you every blessing, believe me, Very Rev. ———, your faithful and devoted servant,

"HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN."

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**THOUGHTS AND AFFECTIONS OF THE PASSION OF JESUS CHRIST.** For every day of the year. Taken from Holy Scripture and the writings of the Fathers of the Church. By *Fra Gaetano M. da Bergamo, Capuchin.* Translated from the Italian. 8vo., pp. 527. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The question is often asked when a new book on an old subject appears, what excuse can be offered for its appearance? It must be admitted that very often there is good reason for this question. Scholars generally agree that fewer books on important subjects are preferable to many, because concentration is a very necessary quality for the acquisition of knowledge, and the student who flits



from author to author, as the bee from flower to flower, may gather some sweetness and pleasure, but he will hardly acquire solid knowledge.

There is one subject, however, which is so inexhaustible and which furnishes such varied food for thought that it is never tiresome or unprofitable, and a new presentation is always welcome. Indeed, we may say that all knowledge is concentrated in this one subject, Jesus Christ crucified. For this reason a new book on the Passion of our Divine Lord is always welcome, but doubly so when it possesses such abundant merit as the one before us. We should add, however, that the book is not new in the strict sense of the word, but it is new to the present generation, and it is a recent translation of a valuable work in Italian, which had been almost forgotten because it was out of print for many years.

The author thus speaks of his plan:

"In this little work I have drawn out the reflections on the Passion of Jesus Christ for every day of the year, but I could find no title properly to express its character and object. At last I decided to use the word 'Thoughts and Affections,' which to me appear the most appropriate. I had a reason for not wishing to call it a book of meditations—namely, that it might the more readily be perused by certain persons who imagine that thinking is common to all, but that meditations belong only to a few, and who on this supposition throw aside as unfit for them any spiritual book offered under the name of meditations.

"There is no doubt that meditation, if rightly understood, means something more than thinking; for we say of our mind that it thinks even when it wanders and is distracted and apprehends objects present to it but superficially. Whilst it cannot be said to meditate, unless with mature deliberation it ruminates and penetrates things, so as to arrive, under the guidance of reason, at a knowledge of some truth. Nevertheless, though these thoughts are, in fact, real meditations, I do not call them by that name because meditation always requires labor and study; whereas, if any one desires to make use of this work, he will not be obliged to draw for himself from the holy mysteries contemplated the practical truths by which he should regulate his life, since he will find in it, well prepared, what his understanding would be forced to do by means of considerations, reflections and reasoning."

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JURISPRUDENTIA ECCLESIASTICA AD USUM ET COMMODITATEM UTRIUSQUE CLERI. Auctore P. Petro Mocchegiani, O. F. M. Complete in three volumes. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis. Price of the three volumes, \$6.50 net.

We learn with regret that the learned author of this valuable work

ended his laborious and much afflicted career at Camerino on the 14th of September of last year, while the last volume was passing through the press. In his death not only the Franciscan Order, but the entire Church has experienced a great loss. Owing to the frail condition of his health, Father Mocchegiani was incapacitated from taking a prominent share in public affairs; hence his name is unknown to the general public. All the more is it venerated by those who were acquainted with the brilliant gifts with which God had endowed him. He held for a time the important position of Definitor General of his order, was frequently employed on business of the highest moment and will ever be remembered by his brethren for his valuable services in the affair of the reunion of the Order of Friars Minor. His opinion was often sought by the Roman Congregations. He was Consultor of the Congregation of Indulgences and wrote a standard work on Sacred Indulgences. Shortly before his death he was appointed by the Holy Father to membership in the special commission for the revision and codification of the laws of the Universal Church.

It is obvious that a treatise on ecclesiastical jurisdiction by so able and experienced an author must possess an extraordinary value and authority. The value of the work is enhanced by the fact that it is not a new text-book on canon law. It is rather a compilation of essays on the several topics treated of in the ordinary text-books, so arranged that any one who seeks information on any particular point can satisfy himself without being referred to different sections of the work. It had been the author's intention to complete his work in two volumes, but a third volume was called for by recent legislation of various kinds. It is in every respect an up-to-date publication and one which without doubt will be regarded as a classic in its line.

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**THE WESTMINSTER LIBRARY.** A series of manuals for Catholic priests and students. Edited by the Right Rev. Mgr. Bernard Ward, president of St. Edmund's College, and the Rev. Herbert Thurston, S. J.

**THE TRADITION OF SCRIPTURE: Its Origin, Authority and Interpretation.** By Rev. William Barry, D. D., sometime scholar of the English College, Rome; former professor of theology in St. Mary's College, Oscott; author of "The Papal Monarchy," etc. 12mo., pp. xxv.+278. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London and Bombay.

"This series of hand-books is designed to meet a need which the editors believe has been widely felt, and which results in a great measure from the predominant importance attached to dogmatic and moral theology in the studies preliminary to the priesthood. That the first place must of necessity be given to these subjects will not be disputed. But there remains a large outlying field of pro-

fessional knowledge which is always in danger of being crowded out in the years before ordination and the practical utility of which may not be fully realized until some experience of the ministry has been gained. It will be the aim of the present series to offer the sort of help which is dictated by such experience, and its development will be largely guided by the suggestions past and future of the clergy themselves. To provide text-books for dogmatic treatises is not contemplated—at any rate not at the outset. On the other hand, the pastoral work of the missionary priest will be kept constantly in view, and the series will also deal with those historical and liturgical aspects of Catholic belief and practice which are every day being brought more into prominence.”

Basing our judgment on this announcement, we should say that the publication of this series is a step in the right direction. Every ecclesiastical student and every thoughtful, inquiring layman has felt the need which this series is intended to supply, and has often been forced to continue his studies in an imperfect manner because the proper books in convenient form were not accessible. If this new series remedies the evil, it ought to have a prompt and kind reception. The names of the editors are the best guarantee that it will, and Dr. Barry's name on the title page of the present number of the series is certainly a good omen. His clearness, accuracy and elegance in writing lend a special value to his name that begets confidence *a priori*. Nor is this confidence misplaced in the present instance. This book, though necessarily containing much matter in limited space, does not therefore become obscure or tiresome. On the contrary, it is interesting and informing throughout. It must have cost the author a great deal of labor.

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LEX LEVITARUM, OR PREPARATION FOR THE CURE OF SOULS. By the *Right Rev. John Cuthbert Hedley, O. S. B., Bishop of Newport*. With the *Regula Pastoralis* of St. Gregory the Great. 12mo., pp. lvi.+348. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago. MCMV.

Everything from the hand of Bishop Hedley is sure to be interesting and instructive. He is not only a master himself, but he recognizes a Master. His zeal for the salvation of souls is equaled by his zeal for the instruction and training of those to whom the care of souls is committed. Hence the present work, which the right reverend author thus describes:

“‘The *Regula Pastoralis* of St. Gregory the Great’ is not a book that is out of date. But, like most writings of a long by-gone age, it invites a commentary. I should like Bishops, pastors and Church students to be familiar with its text. But what I have tried to do

in the following pages is to pick out one or two of the holy Pope's more profound and fertile views and principles and to work them out in some detail for the benefit of Church students. What is required in the training of priests is to combine the wisdom of the fathers with the clear perception of present day needs. No instruction or exhortation addressed to candidates for the sacred ministry will be sure and safe if it is not grounded upon Catholic tradition. It is not safe to venture on novel views, smart criticism and modern appreciations of priestly life without keeping the eye upon that interpretation of the Gospel spirit which is presented to us in the writings of the great fathers of the Church. And among the fathers there is none who holds so high a place of authority in regard to the duty of the care of souls as St. Gregory the Great. Leaving on one side the adequate consideration of the pastoral charge itself, I confine myself to the preparation for that charge so far as it affects the advanced students in our seminaries."

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LIFE OF SIR JOHN T. GILBERT, LL. D., F. S. A., Irish Historian and Archivist, Vice President of the Royal Irish Academy, Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. By his wife, *Rosa Mulholland Gilbert*. With portraits and illustrations. 8vo., pp. 461. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and Bombay.

"John T. Gilbert was the son of an English Protestant father and an Irish Catholic mother who were married in Dublin in 1821. The father was of an old and honorable family of Devonshire, the same which gave to the world Sir Humphry Gilbert and Sir John Gilbert, and their step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, each of whom received knighthood for his services to Queen Elizabeth. The great-great-grandfather of John T. Gilbert was Edward Gilbert of Ipplepen, whose son was Edward Gilbert of Little Hempstone, who died in the year of 1797.

"The work done by Sir John T. Gilbert was little known to or understood by the ordinary reading public; his manner of pursuing that work was unobtrusive, while the amount and the results of it were very great. To give an outline of his career, an indication of his achievements and at the same time to suggest some idea of his unusual and many-sided personality has been recognized as a difficult undertaking.

"His life-long labors in and for his country were begun in boyhood and carried on too much and too often against wind and tide; yet his rare qualities of heart as well as mind secured him lasting friendships not only among sympathizers, but among opponents. So little was he concerned about future estimates of himself that he left few ordered notes to simplify the task of a biographer. For-

unately the archivist's habit of withholding from destruction current papers and letters which might possibly include some item of value for his work preserved records which have enabled me to attempt to produce a memoir which I trust will in some degree satisfy his friends and interest a certain public."

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**REX MEUS.** By the author of "My Queen and My Mother." With preface by the Right Rev. Bishop Hanlon. 12mo., pp. 183. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

"The author of this devout and interesting little book is already well known through former writings to a large circle of readers. The present book is a meditative work touching some of the clearly marked periods of the career of holy David; of the kind and good shepherd who was anointed King and became Israel's greatest ruler; the most distinguished of patriarchs, the best known of the prophets, the sweet singer of Israel and the man after God's own heart. There is no saint of the older Scriptures whose character has been so clearly and so fully given to us as that of King David. His own writings are among the best and most used of the older inspired books.

"The following pages make no pretence to be an exhaustive exposition of this great subject; the facts have been fully given in the language of Scripture from the first and second books of Kings, and striking analogies between the events of the life of holy David and events in the life of Our Lord have been sufficiently indicated to be instructive. The perusal of these resemblances and foreshadowings of what was to come in the life of Our Blessed Redeemer and of those who in their measure were to be made like unto Him is so interesting and so edifying that the minds of many will naturally be led on to good reflections and fruitful thoughts."

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**MARY THE QUEEN.** A Life of the Blessed Mother for Her Little Ones. By a Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. 12mo., pp. 172. Illustrated. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Most children's books fall short of the mark or shoot over it. Most speakers and writers imagine before they try that they can speak or write for children. It seems very easy. The step from childhood to manhood is so short, and we remain children in so many ways, that we are tempted to think we understand the child's capacity fully. But experience shows that we don't, with few exceptions. Perhaps, too, vanity has something to do with our failures. Consciously or unconsciously, it may be that although we start out with the firm determination of addressing the child only,

when we see the man or woman before us we address him or her. Whatever be the reason, the fact is that most children's books on serious subjects are failures. It is especially gratifying to note an exception in the little book before us. The writer does understand the child capacity, and she gives the child just as much intellectual food as it can digest, rightly cooked and invitingly served.

The book will be most effective in the hands of the parent or teacher because it deals with the best of all human models.

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**IL LIBRO D'ORO.** Of those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life. Translated from the Italian by *Mrs. Francis Alexander*. 12mo., cloth, pp. 500. Price, \$2.00 net; postpaid, \$2.18. Little, Brown & Co., 254 Washington street, Boston.

Lucia Alexander, the mother of Francesca Alexander, whose "Story of Ida" and collection of Italian legends, published under the title of "The Hidden Servants," are so widely known, has in this remarkable volume given to the English-speaking world a priceless collection of more than one hundred and twenty miracle stories and sacred legends, written by fathers of the Church and published in Italy in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The collection is derived from four books: 1. "Selections from the Lives of the Holy Fathers, together with the Spiritual Field," Venice, 1623. 2. "Selections from the Lives of the Saints and Beati of Tuscany," Florence, 1627. 3. "Selections from the Wonders of God in His Saints," Bologna, 1593. 4. "Flowers of Sanctity," Venice, 1726. The stories are rich in sacred history and legend, and many of them have a deeply religious significance which will appeal to all spiritually minded people.

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**MEDITATIONS ON THE MYSTERIES OF FAITH AND THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR EACH DAY AND THE PRINCIPAL FEASTS OF THE YEAR.** By a Monk of Sept-Fonts. Translated from the French by the religious of the Visitation, Wilmington, Del. Revised and edited by Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C. SS. R. In two volumes. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$4.00 net for both volumes.

The translation of these pious meditations of the anonymous monk of Sept-Fonts was a labor of love to the daughters of St. Francis de Sales. They are certainly masterly in their simplicity and equally adapted to the spiritual needs of religious men and women and to make excellent reading for those who wish to make progress in the way of salvation. They adhere to the Epistles and Gospels of the ecclesiastical year, and will be a fruitful source of thought to many a hard-worked missionary in the preparation of his Sunday homilies. The translation has been extremely well done. There is absolutely no indication, outside the title page, that the meditations were originally written in another language.

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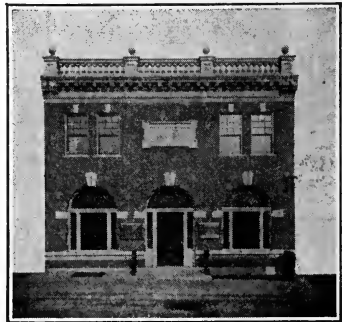
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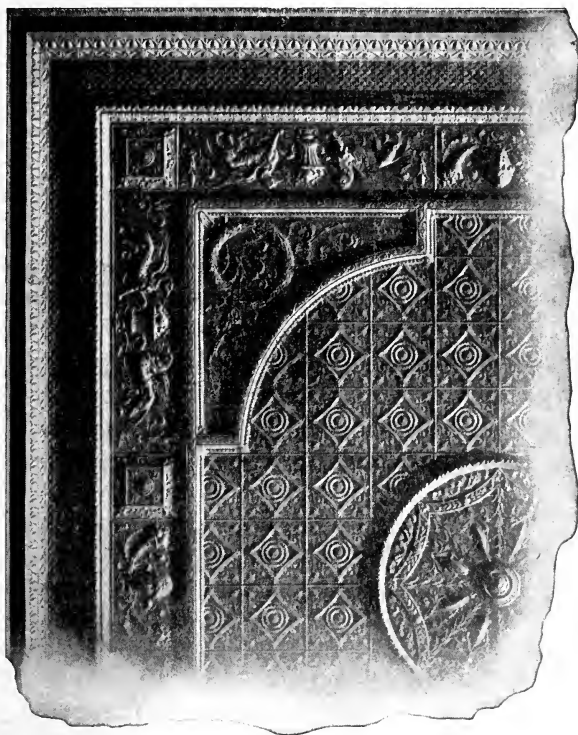
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(Extract from Salutatory, July, 1890.)

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VOL. XXXI.—JULY, 1906—No. 123.

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PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

## II.

THE encroachments on the liberties of the Church and the interference in ecclesiastical matters which had distinguished the administration of Tanucci were continued under that of the Marquis della Sambuca, a Sicilian nobleman who had been for some years Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, and whom Queen Maria Carolina selected as less likely to be under the influence of the King of Spain. His opposition to the unimpeded exercise of the authority of the Holy See was quite as decided as that of his predecessor, for not only was the Royal *Exequatur* still declared to be required before a Papal brief containing a dispensation could be admitted into the country, but it was also enacted that it should not be granted unless the King's permission to apply to Rome for the dispensation had been previously obtained.<sup>1</sup> A list was even published in 1778 of the various matters for which it had always been customary to apply to Rome for a dispensation, and it was notified that for no less than 78 of these leave to do so would thenceforth be refused. In pursuance of the same policy the provincials of the mendicant orders were prohibited in the following year from receiving novices for the space of ten years; a number of religious houses were suppressed in Calabria

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<sup>1</sup> Rev. Ilario Rinaldi, S. J., “Della Rovina di una Monarchia,” Torino, 1901. Introduzione, p. lxi.

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in 1783, and four convents of the Olivatan Order in Sicily were closed in 1784 and their revenues confiscated. The right of nomination to twenty-five sees in the Kingdom of Naples had been granted by Pope Clement VII. to the Emperor Charles V., but Ferdinand claimed the right of nominating to every see, abbey or benefice by a simple decree, and up to the year 1779 about three hundred such decrees had already been issued. In fact, under the influence of della Sambuca the Neapolitan Church had been so much disorganized and so much discontent and insubordination excited among the religious orders, that the kingdom was rapidly drifting into a schism; the more so because some of the Bishops, through pusillanimity or from interested motives, sided with the King and submitted without resistance or protest to his aggressions on the rights of the Church.<sup>2</sup>

The result was that many sees remained vacant, as the Sovereign Pontiff refused to accept the ecclesiastics nominated by the Crown, and della Sambuca went so far as to say that he would have their spiritual jurisdiction conferred on them by a synod of Neapolitan Bishops; but as those whom he consulted on the matter pointed out to him that the people would refuse to acknowledge prelates who had not been lawfully appointed by the Holy See, he desisted from his project.<sup>3</sup>

As all the conditions stipulated by the Concordat of 1741 had been thus disregarded and broken by the Neapolitan Government, Pius VI. in 1782 sought to induce King Ferdinand to revise it and to come to a new agreement which should restore order in the Church and terminate the disputes with regard to the collation of benefices. Della Sambuca, however, delayed so long before replying to this proposal that the Pope perceived that his object was to make still further inroads on the liberties of the Church, and then to have them accepted as established rights before coming to any understanding with Rome.<sup>4</sup>

What Pius VI. had foreseen came to pass when, in 1785, he again made overtures to the Neapolitan Government, for the Minister demanded as a preliminary to any discussion that the Sovereign Pontiff should first approve of all the usurpations of the Crown and the regulations with regard to ecclesiastical matters which had been enacted up to that time, and his insistence on this condition put an end to the negotiations.<sup>5</sup>

The career of the Sicilian statesman was, however, drawing to its close, since for some time he had had a dangerous rival at the Court of Naples, who finally succeeded in supplanting him. This

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxix.

<sup>3</sup> Rinieri, *ibid.*, p. lxix.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 13-22.

was John Edward Acton, usually known as le Chevalier or General Acton, born at Besançon, where his father, a descendant of a younger branch of an old Shropshire family, the Actons of Aldenham Hall, and who had accompanied the historian Gibbon on his travels as his physician, had established himself and married. His son had entered the French navy, but having been disappointed with regard to promotion, he left it and entered the service of Leopold I., Grand Duke of Tuscany. Having been given the command of a frigate in 1773, he distinguished himself in several encounters with the Corsairs of the North African States, and especially in the Spanish expedition led by Count O'Reilly against Algiers in 1775. There he commanded the two vessels sent by Tuscany, and by the daring with which he took up a dangerous position and the skill with which he directed the fire of his ships, he rescued the Spanish army, which had been surrounded by the Moors.<sup>6</sup> Invited to Naples in 1778 by Ferdinand IV., he was soon named Minister of Marine, and in that capacity displayed much activity. He built dockyards, founded a naval academy and soon created a fleet of four ships of the line, ten frigates and 128 smaller vessels. The Ministry of War was then entrusted to him, when he reorganized the Neapolitan army, which he raised to 50,000 men, and shortly afterwards the administration of the finances of the kingdom was placed in his hands.

The control which the King of Spain exercised over Neapolitan affairs and of which the prosecution of the Freemasons had been a consequence, was the chief cause of the hostility which soon arose between della Sambuca and Acton, for della Sambuca, a diplomatist of the old school,<sup>7</sup> was inclined to follow Tanucci's example and submit in everything to the dictates of Charles III., while Acton sought to render King Ferdinand independent of his father. This policy was also that of Queen Maria Carolina, who, guided by her brothers, Joseph and Leopold, aimed at replacing the influence of Madrid by that of Vienna. The dispute soon became still more embittered and two parties were formed at the court—the Spaniards, or partisans of Charles III., and the anti-Spaniards, or “Royalists,” who wished to see the King freed from all foreign interference.<sup>8</sup> Charles III. made

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<sup>6</sup> Antonio Zobi, “Storia Civile della Toscana,” Firenze, 1850. Vol. II., p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> J. A. von Melfert, “Zeugenerhor über Maria Karolina,” in *Archiv. für Oesterreichischer Geschichte*, 1879. Vol. LVIII., p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> A. von Arneth, “Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana. Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790.” Wien, 1872. Vol. I., p. 304. Léopold à Joseph, 15 October, 1785: “La cabale ourdie contre Acton et contre la Reine a Sambuca et presque tous les seigneurs de la Cour à la tête, et tous les Siciliens, et ce qui s'appelle à Naples le parti Espagnol qui y est fort nombreux.” P. 314, 23d Nov., 1705. The same to the same: “Le parti de Sambuca est victorieux, domine et menace tout le monde, quoique le Roi le haïssa: Seton a la fièvre continuelle et ne demande que son congé.”

every effort to induce his son to send away General Acton, of whose desire to establish friendly relations with England and Austria rather than with France and Spain he was well aware,<sup>9</sup> while Joseph II. assured the Queen that the dismissal of the general would be an act of injustice and of shameful weakness in the face of all Europe.<sup>10</sup> The complicated network of intrigues to which for some years this quarrel gave rise and in which the principal courts of Europe took part, caused at last della Sambuca to offer his resignation on January 3, 1786. It was at once accepted, and the Marquis Domenico Caracciolo, then Viceroy of Sicily, was named in his place as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, while Acton and the Marquis de Marco, the Minister of Justice and of Ecclesiastical Affairs, a bitter enemy of Rome, were given seats at the Council of State.<sup>11</sup>

The Marquis Caracciolo (1715-1789) belonged to a younger branch of the house of the Princes of Avellino, and before he was sent to govern Sicily he had been for some years Ambassador in London and in Paris. From the former of these two capitals he seems to have brought away only unfavorable impressions,<sup>12</sup> but in Paris he found himself in more congenial surroundings among philosophers and encyclopedists such as d'Alembert Holback, Helvetius, whose works he had studied and with whom he had corresponded. His opinions agreed fully with theirs, for he was heard to boast that if he should ever become Minister at Naples he would know how to emancipate the kingdom from Rome, and it was said at the time that his promotion to the Viceroyalty of Sicily was due

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<sup>9</sup> Greg. Vlad. Orlov, "Mémoires historiques—sur le Royaume de Naples." 1819, Vol. II., p. 165: "L'Antriche et l'Angleterre devinrent les seules puissances qui furent accueillies avec intérêt et considérées à la Cour de Naples; les agents de l'Espagne et de la France n'y éprouvaient que des refus et souvent des insultes."

<sup>10</sup> A. von Arneth, "Joseph II. und Leopold von Toscana. Ihr Briefwechsel von 1781 bis 1790." Wien, 1872. Vol. I., p. 226. Joseph to the Queen of Naples, 10 Sept., 1784: "Le renvoi d'Acton sans raison serait un acte d'injustice et de faiblesse déshonorante pour le Roi à la face de toute l'Europe et dont je ne le crois pas capable, surtout n'ayant aucune raison d'avoir peur de son père."

<sup>11</sup> Riniéri, *op. cit.*, p. 160. "Il Marchese de Marco era come invaso d'una vera mania furiosa contro Roma e contro le leggi ecclesiastiche . . . aver messo a capo della direzione dell'ecclesiastico un tal uomo, fù per la monarchia borbonica il fallo che arrecò le pù funeste consequense; eglì tra i ministri era il consigliere pù ascoltato da Ferdinando."

Bourgoin, "Mémoires sur Pie VI," t. II., p. 73. (De Marco) formé à l'école de Tanucci, créature du Chevalier Acton, avait pour tout talent une aveugle docilité aux volontés de ce ministre suprême, de la duplicité, et pour la Cour de Rome un grand fon et de malveillance qu'il prenait pour de la philosophie."

<sup>12</sup> Caracciolo told King George III. that the moon at Naples was brighter than the sun at London, and he used to say that he had found in England nothing polished but steel and no other ripe fruit than baked apples.

to the secret action of "les philosophes" whose influence extended over all Europe and had been brought to bear on the Queen of Naples.<sup>13</sup>

After delaying his departure from Paris for a year, Caracciolo landed in Sicily towards the end of 1781, and in accordance with the mania for sweeping away every trace of the past and reducing society to a dead level of equality under the absolute authority of the Crown, which was characteristic of the theoreticians of the philosophical school, he at once set about reforming the ancient institutions of the island, where, along with much that was defective, there existed a considerable amount of municipal and administrative independence.<sup>14</sup> Some of his measures, such as the prohibition of burial in churches and the repression of the arbitrary and excessive authority of the nobles over their vassals, were, no doubt, advantageous to the country, but his contempt for the traditions and usages of the people as well as the sarcastic tone which he affected when treating of religious matters, irritated the Sicilians, a thoroughly Catholic people, and he left Palermo to return to Naples, followed by their hatred and their execrations.<sup>15</sup>

Although Caracciolo was nominally Prime Minister, he had but little authority in the management of affairs, for the influence of the Queen supported Acton, whose views agreed with hers, and she would have wished to add the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to those which he already held, but the King refused to place so much power in the hands of one man, and Caracciolo, aged and of an indolent disposition, was never anything but a tool in the hands of his more energetic and enterprising colleague.<sup>16</sup>

When Caracciolo entered upon his new functions no less than five out of twenty-one Archbishoprics and twenty-nine out of one hundred and ten Bishoprics were vacant in the Kingdom of Naples.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Isidoro La Lumia, "Studii di Storia Sicilliana." Palermo, 1870. Vol. II, p. 555.

<sup>14</sup> La Lumia, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

<sup>15</sup> Tivaroni, "L'Italia prima della Rivoluzione Francese," p. 457.

<sup>16</sup> Melfert, *op. cit.*, p. 308: "So wurde Caracciolo mehr zum Schein als erster Minister kingestellt während die eigentliche Seele oes Cabinets Acton war." P. 362, Baron Thugut, the Austrian Ambassador at Naples, to Joseph II., 9 Dec., 1787: "La Reine me faisant l'honneur de me parler du Marquis Caracciolo et daignant me prévenir que la part qu'il avait à l'administration était absolument nulle, sa Majesté se laissa aller si dire qu'on ne l'avait mis à la place qu'il occupait, que parce qu'il n'avait pas été faisable d'ajouter d'abord ce département aux autres qu'on avait conférés a M. Acton . . . il est de fait que jouissant de toute la confiance de la Reine avec une sorte de certitude de faire adopter à sa Majesté toutes ses idées et la Reine étant à peu près sûre de pliar le Roi tôt out tard à toutes ses volontés, ce Ministre même dans ce moment-ci dispose à peu de chose presqu'arbitrairement de toutes les affaires de ce Royaume."

<sup>17</sup> M. Schipa, "Un Ministro Napoletano del Secolo XVIII." Published in the "Archivis Storico delle provincia Napoletane," anno 21, p. 708.

There had been no Papal Nuncio since the death of Mgr. Vicentini, in 1779, and no communication with the Holy See could take place except by the authorization of some Crown official.<sup>18</sup>

The new Minister, who in spite of his reputation as a freethinker seems to have been less hostile to the Church than his predecessor and was more of a statesman, saw the necessity of reëstablishing better relations with the Sovereign Pontiff. He therefore readily listened to the suggestion of Mgr. Domenico Pignatelli, Bishop of Caserta, and informed the Abbate Servanzi, who had remained in Naples as secretary of the Nunciature, that he would be willing to come to an understanding with Rome, but at the same time did not conceal from him that the King was resolved to obtain the right of nominating to all the Bishopsrics without exception.<sup>19</sup>

The proposal was immediately accepted by Pius VI., who in a letter to the Queen expressed his desire to come to an amicable agreement which should put an end to the misunderstandings and disputes which had so long existed between the two powers, and Mgr. Caleppi, an experienced diplomatist, who had been secretary to the Nuncios in Poland and in Austria, was sent to treat with the Minister at Naples, where he arrived on June 25, 1786. Lest, however, the Papal Government should be too hopeful of obtaining favorable terms, an edict drawn up by Caracciolo in the King's name was published a few days later, which asserted that the obedience of the religious orders to generals who resided outside the kingdom was an abuse which the King had lawful authority to reform, and that therefore the regular clergy of the two Sicilies should thenceforth be independent of their foreign generals and be subject, with regard to spiritual matters, to the Bishops of their respective dioceses. As, however, this decree had been signed by the King among other papers and published without his permission, he ordered its execution to be suspended on being appealed to by the Holy Father.

It would be impossible to give more than a very rapid sketch of the tedious negotiations which ensued and which lasted for nearly two years. Mgr. Caleppi had been instructed by Cardinal Buoncompagni, the Papal Secretary of State, to place great confidence in General Acton and be guided by his advice. But Acton was thoroughly devoted to the Queen and undertook nothing without her authorization.<sup>20</sup> He was, moreover, accused of wishing to prolong the negotiations as much as possible or even to break them off, as the revenues of the vacant sees and abbeys had been assigned to him for the purpose of augmenting the navy.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>20</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Schipa, *op. cit.*, p. 720.



Four subjects were to be treated by the representatives of the Holy See and of the Neapolitan Government—the right of nominating Bishops, the dependence of the religious orders on their superiors in Rome, the jurisdiction exercised by the Papal Nuncio and the collation of benefices and abbeys.<sup>22</sup> From the beginning of the discussions Pius VI. showed himself willing to sacrifice many pecuniary advantages hitherto enjoyed by the Holy See, such as the contribution paid by the city of Naples to the Church of St. Peter, and the *spogli* or the property left by Bishops and Abbots at their deaths, which had always been claimed by the Papal Treasury. He was also willing, in the case of a vacant see, to allow the King to propose three candidates, from whom the Pope should select one, but the King refused to make any concession with regard to the Nuncio's jurisdiction and insisted on the right to name every prelate.

The Queen and the Marquis de Marco would seem to have been responsible for the obstinacy with which the King insisted on what he had been taught to look upon as the inalienable rights of the Crown, and though Caracciolo showed some inclination to conclude a Concordat which should be advantageous to the Church as well as to the State, his advice could not prevail against the influence of the Queen. Maria Carolina was guided in her resistance to Rome by the counsels and the example of her brothers, the Emperor of Austria and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. She was, moreover, glad to displease the Kings of France and of Spain, who were both anxious to see friendly relations established between Rome and Naples, and, as Mgr. Caleppi soon discovered, she supported the party which was opposed to any understanding with Rome and was the real obstacle to any concession.

Among the suggestions made on the Neapolitan side and apparently more with the hope of exhausting Mgr. Caleppi's patience than as a serious basis for a negotiation, was that of the formation of a *Giunta Ecclesiastica*, or Ecclesiastical Board, which should be empowered to hear appeals from the Bishops; to reform the rules of the monastic orders; to close religious houses; to dissolve marriages and grant dispensations within certain degrees of consanguinity. Neither this plan nor any of the many others put forward by Caracciolo were acceptable, while any concession which he made was speedily annulled by the King, who still maintained his original claims. At last Mgr. Caleppi left Naples for Rome in April, 1787, to ask for further instructions, and on his return he was again met with the same proposals, drawn up, it is true, in a slightly modified form, but the acceptance of which would have deprived the Holy See of all jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Naples, although Pius VI.

<sup>22</sup> Rinieri, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

yielded both with regard to the *Giunta Ecclesiastica* and to the vacant Bishoprics, so far as to be willing to reserve to himself only the right of setting aside those nominees of the King's whom his conscience should oblige him to reject. The Holy Father also offered to share with the King and with the Bishops the right of collation to abbeys and benefices, but Ferdinand looked upon these very modest reservations as incompatible with his sovereign rights, and Caracciolo protested that the claims of the Papacy were opposed to the mode of thinking of the eighteenth century.

In spite of this evident ill-will and bad faith of the Neapolitan Government, Pius VI. still entertained so great a desire to establish friendly relations with Naples that when General Acton let it be understood that a visit from the Papal Secretary of State might facilitate the negotiations, Cardinal Buoncompagni left Rome for Naples without delay. His journey, however, was useless, as the King refused to allow the Holy Father even the right of rejecting the prelates of the *Giunta* whom he might consider unfit, and the Cardinal returned to Rome without having obtained any concession, while Caracciolo lamented his powerlessness in the matter, and Acton spread everywhere the report that the fault lay with Rome. He even accused Mgr. Caleppi of bad faith, on which the Pope immediately recalled his envoy, who brought his mission to a close in January, 1788.

The negotiations were, however, carried on by correspondence during the remainder of the year, as the Holy Father still entertained the hope of conquering the King's obstinacy; but he could not sanction the spoliation of the Church of which Ferdinand had been guilty by usurping the right of collation to no less than 758 benefices, in defiance of the laws of the Church, of the Concordat of 1741, of the protestations of the Bishops and of the last testaments of the founders of these pious works, which had been arbitrarily set aside. Nevertheless the Neapolitan Government soon flung off even the slight disguise of moderation it had hitherto shown in its dealings with the Holy See, for in September, 1788, the decree declaring the religious orders independent of all superiors residing abroad, which had been issued and then withdrawn in 1786, was definitively published, owing, it was said, to the influence of de Marco, and the regular clergy were also forbidden by the same decree to send representatives to congregations or chapters assembled in a foreign country, or even to hold a chapter within the kingdom without first obtaining permission from the King, who would then appoint a Bishop or some other dignitary as president.

The last act of discourtesy towards the Holy See for which the Marquis Caracciolo was responsible as Minister, though he most

probably acted in obedience to the will of Queen Maria Christina, was the refusal to perform the act of homage to the Sovereign Pontiff as feudal Suzerain of Naples, known as the presentation of *la chinea*, or white horse.

The origin of this ceremony is uncertain. It has been ascribed according to some to the fealty sworn by the victorious and repentant Normans to St. Leo IX. in 1053 after they had defeated his army and made him prisoner at Civitate in the province of Capitanata,<sup>23</sup> and by others to the investiture granted by Nicolas II. at Melfi in 1059 to Robert Guiscard of Apulia and Calabria, which he had already won from the Greek Emperor as well as of Sicily, from which he hoped to expel the Greeks and the Mahomedans.<sup>24</sup> The tribute of "12 denarii of the coinage of Pavia" for each yoke of oxen in the conquered territory which was then imposed was changed more than once by succeeding Popes and took its latest form in 1521, when Leo X., on conferring investiture of the two Sicilies on the Emperor Charles V.,<sup>25</sup> fixed it at 7,000 golden ducats and a white horse, to be presented every year on the vigil of the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.

It was usually the head of the House of Colonna, the High Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, who represented the King on the occasion of this ceremony, when the white horse, covered with splendid trappings and carrying a silver casket containing the tribute, was led in state, escorted by the Swiss Guard and saluted by the guns of the Castle of St. Angelo, from the Palazzo Colonna to the doors of the Basilica of St. Peter's, where it was presented to the Holy Father, while the Prince pronounced the formal declaration of fealty.

A dispute between the servants of the Governor of Rome, those of the Spanish Ambassador and those of Prince Colonna, which arose during the procession of the white horse in 1776 with regard to a question of precedence, served Tanucci as a pretext for advising King Ferdinand to refuse to perform again this public act of homage, and for the future to present the 7,000 ducats privately and merely as a proof of his devotion to the Holy Apostles. Tanucci fell from power shortly afterwards, to be succeeded by della Sambuca, and at the request of the Pope the King of Spain persuaded his son to yield; the procession of the *chinea* therefore continued to take place with the usual pomp until the year 1788, when, under the Ministry of Caracciolo, acting most probably at the bidding of Maria Carolina, it

<sup>23</sup> Moroni, "Dizionario Ecclesiastico-istorico," Vol. XXXVIII, p. 31.

<sup>24</sup> Abbé Odon Delars, "Les Normands en Italie," Paris, 1883, p. 323.

<sup>25</sup> Card. Stefano Borgia, "Breve Istoria del dominio della Sede Apostolica nelle Duc Sicilie," p. 228.

was decided that though the 7,000 ducats should still be paid as an offering to St. Peter, the presentation of the *chineia* and the acknowledgment of vassalage to the Sovereign Pontiff should cease. The ducats were duly offered by the Neapolitan Ambassador, but were declined by the Pope, who protested solemnly in St. Peter's against the refusal of the King of Naples to perform his obligations, stating that in his anxiety to restore peace to the Church he had made concession after concession till only two questions remained to be settled, but that the Neapolitan Government had broken off the negotiations and refused even to answer his letters; and this protest was renewed every year during the reign of Pius VI.

In the month of September Mgr. Servanzi, the secretary of the Nunciature at Naples, who had been charged by the Holy Father to present two briefs to persons engaged in a matrimonial suit, and who had not demanded the Royal *Exequatur*, was expelled from the kingdom at forty-eight hours' notice, and indeed his presence was no longer required in a country which had ceased to have any bond of union with Rome and was not far from declaring itself as independent of the Holy See as England.

The expulsion of Mgr. Servanzi was followed by other acts of arbitrary intervention in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, for as the Holy Father refused to appoint prelates to fill the vacant sees, the Archbishops were ordered to place them under the control of the neighboring Bishops. Happily the great majority of the Neapolitan episcopacy resisted these innovations and spoke frankly on the subject to the King, who, it is but just to say, showed himself less hostile to the Church than his Ministers and respected them for their courage; but the spoliation of the religious houses still continued, with the object especially of providing funds for the army and navy, while pamphlets hostile to the Holy See and to religion were allowed to circulate freely throughout the kingdom. The state of disorder which prevailed everywhere at last alarmed Caracciolo, whose eyes were beginning to be opened by the events which were just then taking place in France to the practical results of the doctrines of his friends, the "Philosophers." He again begged of Cardinal Buoncompagni to help him to find some issue from the deadlock, and Pius VI. expressed his willingness to make still further concessions; but the Minister who in Naples had not shown himself to be as hostile to the Church as he professed to be when in Paris died suddenly on July 16, 1789, and was succeeded as Secretary for Foreign Affairs by Acton, who thus, at last, concentrated all power in his hands.

Caracciolo's death was soon followed by the resignation of Cardinal Buoncompagni, who was succeeded by Cardinal Zelada, and negotiations were reopened with Naples regarding the important

questions of spiritual jurisdiction which had been under discussion, leaving aside for another occasion the tribute and the *chinea*. There were points on which Pius VI. could not yield, such as the power of hearing appeals exercised by the Nuncio at Naples, and the right of rejecting among the Bishops named by the King, or the persons selected to form part of the *Giunta Ecclesiastica*, those whom he should consider to be unworthy of the dignity, but the King and his Ministers still refused to give way and insisted on what they called the inalienable rights of the Crown.

It was only after long and tedious discussions that a compromise was at last effected in April, 1791, when Ferdinand and Maria Carolina, returning from a visit to Vienna, passed a few days in Rome, at which time more than half the sees in the Kingdom of Naples were vacant. Pius VI. then consented, for that occasion only and while a new Concordat was being prepared, to allow the King to nominate to the vacant sees, reserving to himself the canonical institution, the expedition of the bulls and the consecration, and without renouncing the right of rejecting those candidates whom he should deem to be unworthy. The new Concordat was never drawn up, and Ferdinand, or rather, perhaps, his Ministers and the Queen, dishonestly sought to render permanent a purely temporary concession, in return for which they had yielded nothing. They sent, indeed, General Acton to negotiate at Castellone, a town on the Neapolitan frontier, with Cardinal Campanelli; but, though the Holy Father again made considerable sacrifices with regard to the payments made to Rome by certain benefices, and to which the King laid claim, he still demanded the maintenance of the appellate jurisdiction exercised by the Nuncio and the reëstablishment of the presentation of the *chinea*. The offers made by Pius VI. were, however, of no avail; they were met on the part of the King by an obstinate refusal to yield anything in return or even to allow the Pope to reserve to himself matrimonial causes or matters connected with the professions of members of monastic orders unless they had been remitted to him by the Crown. With regard to the *chinea* he gave, indeed, a vague assurance that he might satisfy the Pope's demands, but he refused to include it in the Concordat.

The negotiations were therefore broken off at the end of July, 1792, and the envoys separated without having come to any conclusion. But the Court of Naples had soon to face an enemy far more dangerous than the Holy See, against whose influence in the kingdom it thought necessary to take such precautions; for whilst it was engaged in crushing the liberty of the Church and plundering religious houses, it neglected to take note of the progress made by Freemasonry, which after the fall of Tanucci had spread rapidly among

all classes of society, and by its secret machinations was preparing the downfall of the monarchy.

Not only the House of Bourbon, but every Catholic ruler in Europe during the eighteenth century seemed anxious to establish in his dominions a national church independent of the Holy See, but subject to the absolute authority of the State and deprived as much as possible of all outward splendor and ceremonial. Nowhere was this mania for interfering in matters of ecclesiastical discipline carried out with such intolerance and pedantry as in Austria under the Emperor Joseph II. and in Tuscany under the Grand Duke Leopold I. The House of Lorraine, to which these princes belonged, had inherited Tuscany in 1737 on the death of Gaston, the last of the Medici, and in accordance with the terms of the treaty made in 1736 at the end of the war between France, Spain and Austria for the succession to the throne of Poland. It was then decided that Tuscany should be given to Francis Stephan, Duke of Lorraine, as compensation for his hereditary duchy, which was assigned to Stanislas Leczinsky, the unsuccessful candidate to the Polish Crown and the father-in-law of Louis XV. Francis had married in 1736 Maria Teresa, daughter of Charles VI., Emperor of Austria, whose death in 1740 was followed by the war for the succession of Austria. At its close in 1745 he was elected Emperor, and thenceforth Tuscany was governed by a Council of Regency until his death in 1765, when his second son, Peter Leopold (1747-1792), was installed as Grand Duke.

The Republic of Florence and its successors, the Medici, had generally entertained friendly relations with Rome, but with the accession of the family of Lorraine various restrictions were imposed on the liberty of the Church, in accordance with the tendency then prevailing in Europe to eliminate as much as possible the influence of religion over society and replace it by that of the State. With the arrival of Leopold a still greater impulse was given to this movement, for the new ruler in his childhood had been intended for the Church, and to the theological instruction which he then received, and which was strongly tinctured with the Febronian opinions in favor at the Court of Vienna has been sometimes ascribed the passion which he showed for legislating in purely ecclesiastical matters lying outside the jurisdiction of the secular power. In other respects Leopold's administration of his small territory was distinguished by many useful reforms. A number of minor tribunals were suppressed and their powers centralized in a Supreme Court of Justice; legal procedure was simplified and the laws were rendered more humane by the abolition of torture and of the punishment of death; agriculture was relieved from many oppressive tolls and burdens; roads

were opened which facilitated the communications between the duchy and the neighboring States, and by the drainage of the Val di Chiana and of the Val di Nievole these once pestilential districts were rendered fertile and habitable.

Leopold was not, however, content with these useful reforms, but in accordance with the prevailing theory of the absolute supremacy of the Sovereign over the Church he undertook to regulate and reorganize her discipline and administration. Shortly after the beginning of his reign he decreed that the *Exequatur* and the permission of the "*Ministro del Regio diritto*," or Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, should be obtained before soliciting any dispensation from Rome. He suppressed the right of asylum for criminals possessed by churches and religious houses, not by coming to an understanding on the subject with the Holy See, but by carrying off suddenly all such persons found in them. In 1785 he forbade many processions and pilgrimages and suppressed all the confraternities, which to the number of 2,500 had existed for centuries in Tuscany, establishing in their stead a *Confraternita di Carita* for caring for the sick. The reception of nuns was also regulated; their profession, which was not to be accompanied by any solemnity, could not take place before the age of 20 (which was afterwards raised to 30), while for men the ages for the novitiate and the profession were fixed at 18 and 24, and their vows were only to be taken for a year, with the faculty of renewing them. In the same year the Grand Duke secularized many convents, changing them into *conservatorii*, or schools for girls, under the administration of the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs, leaving the nuns free to follow the religious life in another house of their order or to enter a *conservatorio*, and as soon as these schools were opened the convents were forbidden to teach, even gratuitously.

The Grand Duke's ideas with regard to the discipline of the Church in his States were put forward in fifty-seven articles in a circular addressed in January, 1786, to the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany, with a request to express their opinions on them frankly and with the utmost liberty, and to discuss them in the biennial synods of their respective dioceses. This strange document, which had been first submitted to the approbation of Scipione Ricci, the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato, bears unmistakably the stamp of that Jansenistic spirit which, under the mask of an austere piety, though refusing all obedience to Rome, aimed at overthrowing the supremacy of the Holy See, and which is so evident in the dealings of the various Italian sovereigns with the Church during the eighteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> "Punti Ecclesiastici compilati e trasmessi da Sua Altezza Reale a tutti gli Arcivescovi e Vescovi della Toscana e loro respective risposte." In Firenze, 1787, per Gaetano Cambiagi, Stampatore Granducaia.

Among these reforms which Leopold considered advisable for the good of the Church come first the revision and correction of the Breviary and the Missal and a suggestion that the prayers used in the administration of the sacraments should be said in Italian. He then advises the Bishops to claim the right of granting many dispensations which have always been reserved to the Sovereign Pontiff; he recommends the adopting of an identical course of theological studies in all seminaries and ecclesiastical academies, and that candidates for the priesthood should be obliged to study for a certain number of years before being promoted from one order to another. The Bishops were also asked to suppress all private oratories, at least in towns; not to allow the feast of a saint to be celebrated on a Sunday, and absolutely prohibit panegyrics or sermons in honor of the saints. Only one Mass ought to be said at a time; indeed, only one altar ought to be allowed in each church, over which there should be a crucifix or perhaps a painting representing the titular saint or the Blessed Virgin, and these images should never be concealed by a curtain, while all tablets or *ex-votos* in commemoration of miracles should be removed. Moreover, at the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament there ought not to be more than twenty-four lighted tapers on the altar nor fewer than sixteen, and twelve at most at any other feast. With a few exceptions all processions ought to be abolished; all novenas and the feasts of recently canonized saints suppressed; all relics carefully examined and their authenticity well established. The Grand Duke also describes in the most edifying manner the virtues which should distinguish the ideal parish priest; lays down rules for the prayers which he should read to the people before and after Mass, the instructions he should give them after the Gospel and even the tone of voice with which he ought to say Mass, at which, perhaps, all those present who understood Latin might be allowed to join in the responses. The Grand Duke's solicitude extended also to the monastic orders. He suggested the subjects of the sermons to be preached to the nuns, who were not to have more than one altar in their churches and no decorations or music. The monks, too, might celebrate the feasts of the saints of their order at the single altar allowed to remain in their churches, but without any pomp or music and never on holidays of obligation or during the hours of the parochial services.

It is needless to say that with the exception of the Bishop of Pistoia and of the Bishops of Colle and of Pienza, who professed nearly identical principles, the Archbishops and Bishops of Tuscany rejected very decidedly this attempt to reorganize the Church from a Jansenist point of view, and though the answers of some of these prelates seem, perhaps, too profuse in those expressions of humility



and submissiveness to the authority of the sovereign habitually employed at that epoch, particularly in Italy, it is easy to perceive beneath their courtly language the firm resolution to perform their duty and to resist at all costs the pretensions of the unauthorized legislator.

They point out to him, for instance, that from the earliest centuries churches were always richly decorated; that it has always been the custom in the Church to pronounce panegyrics in honor of the saints and to celebrate the memories of the martyrs on the anniversaries of their death; that it would be inadvisable to reëstablish the discipline of the primitive Church, and that usages generally adopted by the Church should not be denounced as abuses. They remind him that the Council of Trent had foreseen all the abuses which were likely to arise, and that every Bishop knew how to deal with them as well as the rules which he had to follow in the administration of his diocese. As to the works which the Grand Duke had recommended for distribution among the clergy, they had for the most part been condemned by the Holy See. The Bishops finally advise the Grand Duke to beware of the persons in whom he has placed his confidence with regard to ecclesiastical matters, and they warn him that the sole object of the writers who attack the supremacy of the Sovereign Pontiff is to shake off every religious and civil authority, making use of the power of the Kings to destroy the authority of the Popes and of the united forces of the people to overturn the throne.

The condemnation by the Bishops of his Jansenist programme must have deeply wounded the vanity of the Grand Duke, who thereupon resolved to convoke a national synod, but he first judged it prudent to lay before an assembly of Bishops the questions to be submitted to the synod, hoping perhaps that the arguments of the theologians whom he had selected as his representatives might appease the alarms of the more scrupulous and induce them to accept his spiritual authority.

In the interval the Bishop of Pistoia held his diocesan synod from the 18th to the 28th of September, 1786. Of the 234 persons who assisted at it, 171 of whom were parish priests, a large number had been invited from distant parts of Italy, especially from the University of Pavia, which sent three of its professors noted for their Jansenism—Pietro Tamburini, Giuseppe Zola and Martino Natali—and the first of these, who was noted for his hostility to the Jesuits, his servile deference to the absolutism of the Crown, his resistance to the authority of the Holy See, and who was proud of the number of censures he had incurred, pronounced the discourse with which the synod was opened. The nature of the decrees of this synod, in

which Bishop Ricci desired to express the opinions which he had held for many years, can be sufficiently indicated by the fact that after mature deliberation and when Ricci had refused to come to Rome to justify himself, Pius VI., by the bull *Auctorum Fidei*, published on August 30, 1794, condemned eighty-five of the propositions which they enunciated.

In answer to the Grand Duke's invitation the three Archbishops of Tuscany and fourteen Bishops met in the Pitti Palace on April 23, 1787, under the presidency of Count Antonio Serristori, who represented the sovereign, while two professors of canon law from the University of Pisa and four theologians were charged with the defense of his proposed reforms. The assembly held nineteen sessions; the *Punti Ecclesiastici* were again discussed and again rejected by the great majority of the prelates, and only the Bishops of Pistoia, of Colle and of Chiusi were found willing to approve of the Grand Duke's suggestions. Leopold then saw the uselessness of summoning a national council, which would only have condemned his projects still more emphatically, and on June 6 he dismissed the assembly.

The Grand Duke's mania for remodeling every civil or religious institution was not cured by his failure to make the *Punti Ecclesiastici* take the place of the discipline of the Church, but he no longer sought to obtain the approbation of the clergy. In 1788 Mgr. Ruffo, the Papal Nuncio in Florence, was deprived of his appellate jurisdiction, which was transferred to the three Archbishops, and was informed that thenceforth he should be placed on the same footing as the other envoys. The Bishops were required to submit to the government lists of the candidates for holy orders, and the candidates were obliged to solicit the *Exequatur* of the government before being ordained. All processions except that of Corpus Christi were prohibited; all celebration of feasts of saints except that of the patron saint of each locality was suppressed, and all ceremonial or display of wealth at interments was forbidden.

But Leopold's mania for reforming every civil and religious institution in his States was happily brought to an end before he was able to inflict any permanent injury upon religion in Tuscany, for by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph II., on February 20, 1790, he succeeded to the throne of Austria, and after placing Tuscany under a Council of Regency he left Florence for Vienna. Immediately after his departure the irritation of the people caused by the suppression of so many of the religious orders to which they were attached, and the prohibition of the ancient usages inherited from their forefathers, was manifested by seditious movements at Pistoia, whence Ricci had to fly, and at Leghorn, where the people,

in spite of the resistance of the government, reëstablished the confraternities which had been abolished and held the procession of their patron, which had been forbidden. In Florence, too, though the Council of Regency in reply to numerous petitions had authorized the Archbishops of Florence, Pisa and Siena to restore many of the feasts and religious ceremonies which had been suppressed, disturbances took place and houses were attacked and plundered. Leopold, who saw the artificial fabric which he had so laboriously constructed on the ruins of all that the people cherished and venerated already beginning to crumble away, was indignant at the rejection of the reforms which he had ordered the regents to maintain carefully. He sanctioned, however, these concessions, though forbidding the regents to make any others; but further modifications of his legislation took place under the reign of his son, Ferdinand III., whom he installed as Grand Duke in April, 1791. In the same year the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato resigned his see, and after the death of Leopold, in 1792, the greater part of the laws by which he had sought to regulate the discipline of the Church were either revoked or very much modified at a conference held between representatives of the government and the three Archbishops.<sup>27</sup>

The reforms imposed on the Catholic Church in Austria by the Emperor Joseph II. were still more destructive and more violently carried out than those in Tuscany, inasmuch as he possessed a more impetuous temperament, greater obstinacy, and though at first he did not suspect it, was much influenced by the secret societies which had brought all Germany under their sway, the Freemasons and the Illuminati.

Freemasonry had been first introduced into the Austrian Empire by a Count Sporck, who had been initiated in Holland and who opened a lodge in his palace at Prague in 1726; but it was not until 1746 that a lodge was opened in Vienna which reckoned among its members the Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, who had married in 1736 Maria Teresa, the daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., but who had not as yet been elected Emperor of Germany. The Duke had been received into the society in Holland in 1731, and in the same year had been given the rank of Master Mason at Houghton Hall, in the County of Norfolk, and his influence was able to avert any hostile measures on the part of the government against his fellow masons, who made proselytes speedily and secretly in every province of the Empire and among all classes of society, even, strange to say, among the clergy, in spite of the repeated proclamations of the Empress.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Reumont, II., p. 250.

<sup>28</sup> Alfred Ritter von Arneth, "Maria Teresa und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz." Wien, 1867. Vol. II., p. 99. Marie Terèsa à Joseph II., 24

With the death of Maria Teresa, the last years of whose life had been embittered by her knowledge of her son's irreligious tendencies and of the influence which the Freemasons exercised over him, Joseph II. was at last free to carry out his plans for the complete reorganization of the Empire according to the theories of the party which boasted of itself as the party of enlightenment, "*Aufklaerung*." He was, indeed, sincerely anxious to promote the welfare of his people, but it had to be done in his own way, and he was convinced that any resistance to his plans could only proceed from ignorance or ill-will, and should be suppressed by force. He had been noted from his childhood for his obstinate and impetuous character, and his education, directed mainly by a Hungarian nobleman, Count Batthyany, a harsh disciplinarian; by the Secretary of State, Bartenstein, the author of a tedious history of Austria in fifteen folio volumes, and by Karl Anton Martini, a lawyer belonging to the unpractical sentimental school of the French philosophers, had left him without any solid instruction or love of learning, any capacity for appreciating art or any respect for ancient institutions. To this must be added the pernicious effect of his study of the works of Voltaire, which excited the admiration of Frederic II., his stay in Paris in 1777, where he frequented the society of the leading philosophers and "Encyclopedistes," and the influence of the Freemasons who surrounded him, who flattered his vanity and made use of his absolute powers to carry out their designs.

The strategy followed in the campaign against the Church in Austria was on the same lines as that which had been carried out in the other countries where the Jansenists and the Freethinkers had united their forces to undermine the Church. The Emperor's decrees on religious matters which flowed from his pen in a ceaseless torrent during his whole reign contained the same prohibitions against the reception of any document from Rome without first obtaining the *Exequatur*; the same suggestions to the Bishops to render themselves independent of the Holy See; the same interdiction of any communication between the monastic orders and their generals residing in Rome or with any religious house situated outside the Empire, which had been already put in force elsewhere, but the reforms of Joseph II. were on a far greater scale than those of Ferdinand IV. or of Leopold; they entered into more details and were more ruthlessly carried out.

It was by the decree of 29th November, 1781, that the Emperor

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Decembre, 1775: "Il y a un grand malheur qui existe entre nous, avec les meilleurs volontés nous ne nous entendous pas . . . Vous faites trop voir l'antipathie contre toutes les anciennes coutumes et tout le clergé, des principes trop libres en fait de morale et de conduite. Cela alarme à juste titre mon coeur sur votre délicate situation et me frémir pour l'avenir."

announced his intention of suppressing all the contemplative orders in his dominions, and Prince von Kaunitz and Baron von Heinke were charged with its execution. According to the plan which they drew up, each province was to organize a "*Klosteraufhebungs commission*," or board for the suppression of religious houses, and these were replaced in August, 1782, by a board named "*die Geistliche Hofcommission*" (Royal Board of Spiritual Affairs), with affiliated sub-commissions in the provinces. The members of the suppressed religious houses were allowed a small pension and could join the secular clergy or enter some convent of their order situated abroad, or one of the orders still tolerated in Austria. Their property was to form a "*Religionsfond*," or fund for religious purposes, which was to pay them their pensions and assist schools or charitable institutions.

The Emperor seems to have acted under the impression that he was inspired, for he informed Pius VI. that he heard a voice within him calling out loudly that it became him as legislator and protector of religion to act thus and not otherwise, and he probably intended that the confiscated property should have been employed in the service of the Church; but many of the monastic buildings were turned into barracks and much of their wealth served to endow military schools and foundling hospitals.

In the archives of some provinces may still be seen the ponderous infolios which contain a minute inventory of the landed and funded property, the sacred vessels, the libraries and the furniture belonging to each religious house, for everything was executed strictly in accordance with the rules laid down, which also prescribed that the commissioners named by the local governments for the visitation of each monastery should perform their duties with kindness and courtesy.<sup>29</sup> The buildings, the lands and the forests of the orders were appropriated by the State for its own use or sold; the precious objects, paintings, reliquaries were put up to auction and the proceeds, together with the funded property, deposited in the "*Religionsfond*." The sacred vessels were to be given to the Bishops of the diocese or to newly founded parishes. The most valuable books and manuscripts were to be sent to the Imperial library, the others were to be distributed among the schools and libraries of the province. The monks and nuns were allowed to remain for five months in their houses, during which time they were supported by the State; they might then return to their homes or enter one of the orders still tolerated. It may be remarked that the writer from whom these details are drawn, an ardent partisan of Joseph II. and

<sup>29</sup> Adam Wolf, "*Die Aufhebung der Klöster in Innerösterreich, 1782-1790.*" Wien, 1871, pp. 22-56.

no friend of the monastic orders, states that at the time of their suppression the religious houses in general were in a flourishing condition, their discipline was excellent, and no scandal or misdeed is recorded against them in the official reports.<sup>30</sup>

It may be that in Innerösterreich (Styria, Carinthia and Carniola), with which alone Herr Wolf's work is concerned, the commissioners were perfectly honest and their accounts correct, but as a general rule their vandalism was such that in a few years the treasures of art and learning which the industry and the piety of many generations had amassed in the monasteries were wasted and dispersed without any advantageous result for either the Church or the State. A few examples from the many which are given by Catholic writers must suffice.

Gottfried van Swiethen, the president of the Board of Education, ordered to be sold as unsuitable for the library of a university early fifteenth century editions and works looked upon by bibliographers as priceless rareties; for, as he said, they only served to make a parade of erudition; and when in 1784 three hundred packages of theological works were about to be sold as waste paper for four florins (two dollars), he ordered them to be mutilated by tearing out some of the pages, lest the clergy might purchase them.<sup>31</sup> The fate of the library of the Carthusian Monastery founded at Gumming by Duke Albrecht II. in 1332 was not much better. Though some of the charters and manuscripts were deposited in the State archives, hundreds of cartloads of others were carried away and were seen no more.<sup>32</sup> The rich tapestries and vestments embroidered by the Duchess Johanna, the wife of the founder, her wedding ring and that of her husband, as well as their costly wedding robes, also disappeared. The commissioners suggested to the Emperor that Duke Albrecht's rapier, sword, dagger and choir book ought to be placed in the Imperial treasury and library, but the Emperor ordered them to be sold by auction, and the rapier went for six florins, the dagger for two, the sword for seven and the choir book for fifty-seven.<sup>33</sup> The collection of ancient weapons, cuirasses and banners belonging to the same monastery was sold as old iron, and the rare arms and armor, dating from the time of the Crusades down to the wars with the Turks, which was in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Lambrecht, in Styria, were sold to a smith as scrap iron for 450 florins.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55.

<sup>31</sup> Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II., Reform und Gegenreform (1780-1792)," Wien, 1867, p. 142.

<sup>32</sup> Sebastian Brunner, "Die Mysterien der Aufklärung in Sesterreich (1770-1800)," Mainz, 1869, p. 296.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 328.

The treasures of many other religious houses were flung away with the same recklessness. In the Cistercian Abbey of Lilienfeld, built in 1202 by Duke Leopold VII., a leaden fountain of great artistic value, an admirable specimen of Gothic workmanship, was broken up and sold to a Jew. The great bell of the church shared the same fate, the sacred vessels disappeared from the sacristy and the rarest works from the library.

Ten chests of silver vessels belonging to the Benedictine Abbey of Kremsmünster, which had been founded in 777 by Thassilo II., Duke of Bavaria, were carried off by the local officials without the authorization of the Emperor, who when he heard of it ordered them to be restored, but they had already been melted down, and the abbey received only 40,000 florins as compensation for what was worth 200,000. The Provost of the Canons of St. Florian at Linz was not more successful, for when after his monastery had been despoiled of its chalices, remonstrances, statues, reliquaries and censers, he obtained by appealing to the Emperor that at least a portion of the stolen property should be restored, it was found that all had disappeared into the hands of the Jews.<sup>35</sup>

Pius VI. was alarmed by this ruthless persecution of the monastic orders and by the claim put forward by Joseph II. as one of his sovereign rights to name the Bishops of Lombardy. He found that neither his own letters nor the remonstrances of the Nuncio produced any effect on the headstrong character of the Emperor, and he therefore formed the resolution to go to Vienna, hoping that in a personal interview he might be more successful and obtain some concessions. Cardinal Herzan, the Austrian envoy in Rome, and other members of the Sacred College tried in vain to dissuade the Holy Father from undertaking this journey, and Joseph II. warned him that no arguments would make him depart from the principles which he had adopted for the good of religion in his States.<sup>36</sup>

The Holy Father, however, persisted; he left Rome on 17th February, 1782, accompanied only by a few prelates of his court, and on March 22 he was met by the Emperor a few miles from Vienna, where he was received with enthusiasm by the immense crowds which had assembled from every part of the Empire to greet him. He was lodged in the imperial palace, but every entrance was carefully watched to prevent him from holding any communication with the outer world, and the Austrian Bishops were forbidden to come to Vienna without the express permission of the Emperor.<sup>37</sup> The

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<sup>35</sup> Brunner, *ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>36</sup> Dr. Hans Schlitter, "Die Reise des Papstes Pius VI. nach Wien und sein Aufenthalt daselbst." Wien, 1892. Erste Hälfte, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Brunner, "Mysterien," p. 222.

suppression of religious houses, too, continued to be carried out both in Bohemia and in Lombardy, and to counteract the good impression which the presence of the Sovereign Pontiff might produce on the people of Vienna, a number of scurrilous pamphlets was allowed to be published, in which the Papal dignity and the supremacy of the Holy See were violently assailed. They failed, however, to produce the intended effect, for on every occasion when the Holy Father appeared in public he was received with manifestations of the utmost veneration.

During his stay in Vienna Pius VI. had several interviews with Joseph II., in which the questions on which they were at variance were discussed, and though the Imperial Chancellor and the Vice Chancellor, Prince von Kaunitz and Count von Cobenze (both of whom, if not Freemasons, were completely at the service of that party), were not present, they furnished in writing their opinions on the subjects which were treated and made every effort to restrain the Emperor from yielding on any point.<sup>38</sup> It was not, therefore, possible for the Pope, who sought to uphold the traditional rights of the Church, and the Emperor, who believed that everything that was not purely dogmatical was subject to his authority, to come to an understanding, and after a month's stay Pius VI. took his departure. He had only succeeded in obtaining the hope of some very trivial modifications of the oppressive edicts with regard to the publication of the bull *Unigenitus* against the Jansenists, the oath taken by the Bishops, the *Placitum Regium* or *Exequatur*, matrimonial dispensations and the permission for the provincials of religious orders to inform the generals of their nomination.<sup>39</sup> The Holy Father had also been allowed to receive a deputation of Hungarian Bishops, to whom on account of the painful situation in which they were placed he granted very extended powers of dispensation, for these prelates were not only dignitaries of the Church, but also powerful nobles exercising great influence over the Hungarian people, and the Emperor was obliged to treat them with more consideration than those of his Austrian dominions.<sup>40</sup>

Pius VI. left Vienna on 22d of April, 1782, and the Emperor accompanied him for a few miles as far as the Augustinian Monastery of Maria-Brunn, where he took his leave of the Sovereign Pontiff and received his blessing, apparently with the utmost respect, but shortly

<sup>38</sup> Schlitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-69: "Aus ihr (die Antwort des Kaisers auf das Memorandum des Papstes) geht dentlich hervor wie sehr der Kaiser das Bestreben zeigte, sich dem Papste zu nähern, aber stets wider von Kaunitz mit aller Entschiedenheit zurückgehalten wurde."

<sup>39</sup> Schlitter, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 81, 84, 93.

<sup>40</sup> Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II. Reform und Gegenreform (1780-1792)," Wien, 1867, p. 118.



afterwards the monastery was suppressed.<sup>41</sup> This was followed by further measures against the Church. The suppression of the religious houses was executed with greater severity than previously. Three days after the departure of Pius VI. 160 were suppressed in the Netherlands, 64 in Bohemia, 31 in Upper and Lower Austria and in the following month of September all those of the mendicant orders shared the same fate.<sup>42</sup> It was also forbidden to insert in future in any calendars, breviaries or prayer books any indulgences applicable to the souls in Purgatory, and that doctrine was also ordered to be omitted from all future editions of the catechism. The boundaries of several dioceses were then changed; any portion of a foreign diocese which extended into the territory of Austria was detached from it and added to the adjacent Austrian diocese without consulting either the Bishop or the Pope.

It would be impossible to enter more fully into the ecclesiastical reforms of a sovereign who during a reign of ten years issued no less than 6,206 edicts, a large number of which were directed against the Church, but one of the most important cannot be omitted—that of 30th March, 1783—which decreed the closure of all the diocesan and monastic seminaries in the Empire and instituted grand seminaries at Presburg for Hungary, at Vienna for Upper Austria, at Prague for Bohemia, at Olmutz for Silesia and Moravia, at Lemberg for Galicia, at Gratz for Syria and Corinthia, at Innsbruck for Tyrol, at Freiburg for Breisgau and at Pavia for Lombardy,<sup>43</sup> to which the Bishops were ordered to send their students. The Emperor's intention was that they should all follow the same course of studies, calculated to form obedient and well drilled functionaries of the State, but completely divested of all trace of Catholicity, for according to the programme of these institutions published at Vienna in 1784, their principal object was to be the abolition of ultramontanism.<sup>44</sup> The teaching of ecclesiastical history, of Biblical exegesis, of moral and pastoral theology, of canon law and of patrology were to be based on philosophical principles—that is to say, on the theories of the "Encyclopedistes,"<sup>45</sup> and their libraries were furnished with Jansenist and Protestant works, especially with those which showed tendencies towards rationalism.<sup>46</sup> As professors both in these semi-

<sup>41</sup> Schlitter, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>42</sup> Jäger, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>43</sup> Rev. Augustine Theiner, "Jean Henri Conte de Frankenberg, Cardinal Archevêque de Malines, Primat de Belgique, et sa lutte pour la liberté de l'Église et pour les séminaires épiscopaux sous l'Empereur Joseph II. Traduct par Paul de Gealin, missionnaire Apostolique," p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>45</sup> Jäger, p. 129.

<sup>46</sup> Theiner, *ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

naries and the recently established normal schools, care had been taken to select men who 'whether priest or laymen, had neither conscience nor faith, neither religion nor morals, and for whom naught was sacred.'<sup>47</sup>

It is sad to say that, with few exceptions, the Austrian Bishops submitted to this decree,<sup>48</sup> but when on March 15, 1786, the Emperor informed the Belgian prelates that he intended to extend the same measure to Belgium and unite all their students in a general seminary at Louvain, he met with more resistance. Cardinal von Frankenberg, the primate of Belgium, protested strongly and implored the Emperor to abandon his project, but in vain. On October 16 an edict suppressed the diocesan seminaries as well as all schools of philosophy or theology in monasteries. November 1 was named as the opening day both of the Seminary of Louvain and of that of Luxemburg for the province of that name,<sup>49</sup> and the students were warned that unless they followed a course of five years at one of these establishments they should not be raised to the priesthood.

The management of religious affairs in Belgium had been entrusted to an ecclesiastical commission composed of men known as Jansenists and declared enemies of the Church, and the rector of the seminary, the Abbé Stöger, who had been professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Vienna, had written a manual of history, the irreligious tone of which has caused him to be expelled by order of the Empress Maria Teresa.<sup>50</sup> Still the Bishops, who found their protestations of no avail, who also probably feared that the government might employ force and who were somewhat tranquillized by Count Belgiojoso, the Chief Secretary at Brussels, who assured them that the Emperor would not allow any error to be taught in the seminary, and that their observations on the subject would be attentively listened to, allowed very reluctantly their students to proceed to Louvain. The theological lectures began on December 1, but before long the impiety displayed by Stöger and the other professors in their teaching and their uncouth manners drove the students to open revolt. They broke the windows of the class room and forced Stöger to take flight, and lest the people should take arms in their defense, troops were sent from the neighboring towns, when several of the seminarists were arrested and imprisoned.<sup>51</sup>

As the students still refused to assist at theological lectures where Jansenist opinions were openly professed, further arrests were made, but to no purpose, for one after another they fled from the seminary

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<sup>48</sup> Theiner, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 78.

till at the end of January, 1789, only twenty remained out of 300 who had been present. The Bishops were immediately ordered by the ecclesiastical commission to refuse to assist or to shelter the fugitives under pain of being treated as their accomplices, and to send them back to the seminary without delay. The Papal Nuncio at Brussels, Mgr. Zondadari, who was accused of having circulated in Belgium the Papal bull *Super Soliditate* in condemnation of Eybel, was expelled from the country, and Cardinal von Frankenberg, unjustly denounced as being the cause of the revolt at Louvain as well as of the irritation prevailing among the people against the imperial decrees, was summoned to Vienna. The Cardinal fully enlightened the Emperor with regard to the civil and religious situation, but as was the case with Pius VI., his words were of little use.

The Belgian people, however, were less submissive than the Austrian subjects of Joseph II. and much more ardently attached to their religion and to their ancient institutions. They also enjoyed privileges and liberties possessed at that time by no other nation on the Continent of Europe. The ten provinces into which Belgium was divided were independent of each other, though subject to the representative of the ruling power, who resided in Brussels, but in their various changes from the sovereignty of the Dukes of Burgundy to that of the Kings of Spain and lastly to the House of Austria, they had always preserved their traditional constitutions, built up slowly in the course of centuries by the charters granted at various epochs by their princes. The province of Brabant alone possessed a charter, in which all the chief privileges of the land were clearly and definitely expressed. It was known as the "*Laetus ingressus*," or Joyous Entry,<sup>52</sup> as every sovereign on ascending the throne was obliged to swear that he would govern in conformity with its articles, the most important of which was that if the sovereign were to infringe any one of the stipulated rights his subjects might refuse to obey him until he had withdrawn the obnoxious measure.<sup>53</sup>

Joseph II. in the beginning of his reign was inaugurated in the different provinces of Belgium. His sister, the Archduchess Maria Christina, and her husband, Duke Albert, of Saxe-Teschen, the governors general, swore in his name in each of the chief cities to maintain intact the ancient rights and privileges both of the Church and of the province.<sup>54</sup> What must then have been the indignation of the Belgian people when by a succession of edicts in November, 1786; January, March and April, 1787, Joseph II. swept away the historic institutions of their country to replace them by a new division of the

<sup>52</sup> Theiner, *ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>53</sup> Rev. L. Delplace, S. J., "Joseph II. et la Révolution Brabançonne," Bruges, 1891, p. 25.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

territory administered by a new order of functionaries, who were to make known the imperial commands and be obeyed even if they should appear to exceed the limits of their authority.<sup>55</sup>

This despotic measure speedily brought matters to a crisis, and the States of Brabant, relying on the privileges guaranteed by the "Joyous Entry," refused to vote the taxes (19th April, 1787).<sup>56</sup> Protestations and petitions flowed in from all sides to the States, to the governors general and to the Emperor, and some slight concessions were made by the suspension for a time of the new courts of law. Thirty-one deputies were then elected by the provinces to lay their demands before the Emperor at Vienna, but they found him obstinately resolved to carry out his measures, though he promised that if they first of all submitted he would go to Belgium to try to come to an understanding with the States.<sup>57</sup>

Again the States of Brabant refused to vote the taxes until on September 21 General Murray, who had replaced the Archduchess and her husband as governor general, acknowledged the ancient privilege and consented to suppress the new courts of law and the new officials. The Emperor, however, changed his mind again. General Murray was replaced by Count von Trauttmansdorf on October 25, 1787, and Count d'Alton was put in command of the army. Another attempt was then made to reopen the general seminary at Louvain, in spite of the strongest protestations on the part of the Bishops and of the States, but its halls remained empty; and as the diocesan seminaries had again received their students, the government resolved to suppress them by force, but the people in many places rose in their defense, and at Malines and Antwerp the disturbance was only suppressed after much shedding of blood (August, 1788).

But the end was close at hand. In January, 1789, the Emperor withdrew whatever concessions he had made; the States of Brabant and Hainaut were forbidden to meet again; in February the Bishops and the superiors of the religious orders received positive commands to send their students to the general seminary under pain of confiscation of their revenues, and in many cases the students were forcibly carried off and transported to Louvain.<sup>58</sup>

A general agitation then began to spread throughout all Belgium. Under the leadership of Henri van der Noot, an advocate of the Sovereign Council of Brabant, and of Colonel Van der Mersch a large body of volunteers was formed on the Dutch frontier and many villages prepared to take up arms in spite of the threats of Count d'Alton

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<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>56</sup> Delplace, *ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>58</sup> Theiner, p. 220.

that he would lay in ashes any town which revolted. Trauttmansdorf, foreseeing the coming revolution, promised in the Emperor's name to recall the obnoxious reforms, but the Belgian nation, which had been already deceived, rejected his overtures, and on October 26, 1789, Van der Mersch entered Belgium with a few thousand men. The defeat of the Austrian troops at Turnhout was the signal for a general insurrection. The garrison of Ghent surrendered; Brussels, Malines, Antwerp, Namur and Louvain were evacuated, and by the end of December the country, with the exception of Luxemburg and the citadel of Antwerp, was freed from the rule of Joseph II.<sup>59</sup>

Overwhelmed by this unexpected disaster and with his eyes at last opened by the results of his anti-religious reforms, the Emperor turned for help to the Sovereign Pontiff, whom he had so often defied and insulted, and promised to repair as much as in him lay the injury he had inflicted on the Church and on the liberties of the Belgian people. At his request Pius VI. wrote, on January 13, 1790, to Cardinal Frankenberg and to the Bishops of Belgium to inform them of the Emperor's resolution and to exhort them to persuade their fellow-countrymen to return to their allegiance, since they had at last obtained what they sought. But it was too late. Deputies from all the provinces except Luxemburg had already assembled in Brussels under the presidency of Cardinal Frankenberg, and on January 11 they proclaimed a confederacy bearing the name of "*les Etats-belgiques-unis*."

Joseph II. died on February 20. On January 28 he had just previously revoked by a decree the greater part of the reforms which he had tried to impose on the Hungarians and which had nearly driven them also to revolt. The day before his death he said to the Prince de Ligne, a Belgian nobleman and an intimate friend: "Your country has killed me; the taking of Ghent has been my agony; the loss of Brussels my deathblow. How humiliating for me; how humiliating!" And he asked to have inscribed on his tomb as epitaph: "Here lies a Prince whose intentions were pure, but who had the misfortune to see all his projects fail."<sup>60</sup>

With the accession of Joseph's brother, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, a reaction took place. The new sovereign had the sense to revoke much of the ecclesiastical legislation of his predecessor; the general seminaries were abolished; the Bishops were no longer interfered with in the management of their dioceses; some of the religious houses which had been suppressed were reopened and their property restored, but the *Exequatur* for Papal bulls and briefs was still main-

<sup>59</sup> Delplace, *ibid*, p. 120.

<sup>60</sup> Dr. Albert Jäger, "Kaiser Joseph II. und Leopold II. Reform und Gegenreform, 1780-1792," p. 297.

tained and the confraternities and processions still prohibited. Overtures were then made to the Belgians. Leopold disapproved frankly of the innovations imposed by his predecessor and promised to acknowledge the ancient right and institutions of Belgium. He was aided in the attempt to reestablish his authority by the dissensions which arose among the deputies, some of whom were willing to submit, while others wished to introduce the revolutionary ideas of the French Jacobins.<sup>61</sup>

France and England when applied to by the States General refused to intervene in their defense, and on December 3, 1790, the Austrian troops reentered Brussels. The Emperor adhered faithfully to his promises; he gave back to the Church the rights of which she had been deprived by the edicts of Joseph II., and he granted a general amnesty, but peace had hardly been restored when he died suddenly on March 1, 1792, shortly after having concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia against France, the Legislative Assembly of which was threatening to invade the German electorates and to let loose those armies of the Revolution which were to deluge all Europe with blood.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London, England.

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## THE SANCTUARY LITERATURE OF MEDIÆVAL ENGLAND.

THE study of pre-Reformation religious life in England has been coming to the fore by leaps and bounds. The "Continuity" theory is doubtless responsible in great measure for the movement; for the busy and venturesome vanguard of advanced Anglicanism is appropriating with the most delightful daring the erstwhile discarded treasures—both doctrinal and liturgical—of a Church it was once taught to hate and disown. Impervious to anything that savors of logic and historical consistency, the High Anglican recounts without a blush the sources from which his much-lauded Prayer Book was taken. It no longer comes upon him as a revelation or an untoward circumstance that whatever beauty it may possess was flagrantly borrowed from a Church which "hath erred in matters of faith;" on the contrary, he feels quite at home in a pre-Reformation library of even "Mass" books, and talks

<sup>61</sup> Théodore Juste, "Histoire de Belgique." Bruscelles, 1868. Vol. III, p. 83. London, England.

with naïve simplicity and sangfroid on practices the discovery and uprooting of which were the daily bread of a thousand and one Elizabethan pursuivants.

But hardly would we wish it otherwise. The Anglican has been, and is a good friend to us. He has done yeoman service in unfolding to us the riches of the past. He has had his own motives, of course; with these we may quarrel as with his unmanageable deductions from facts; but his antiquarian instincts, coupled with his laudable desire to test every link of the imaginary chain which is fondly supposed to unite his religious life of to-day with that of the primitive Church, has served the useful purpose of enriching our own store of historic knowledge and of supplementing the strenuous efforts of our own workers in the same field.

The happy result of these untiring labors is that we have been brought into close contact with the liturgical life of our Catholic forefathers, inasmuch as we have secured a clear and comprehensive description of the plan and contents of all the varied service books of the Church in England anterior to the Reformation. As a guarantee of accuracy, the descriptions have been written mainly from the books themselves; often from those known to have been formerly in use in specified parish churches and brought to light by recent research on the part of specialists in the subject.<sup>1</sup>

A record of the old service books, we may remark *per transennam*, is of more than antiquarian interest; it will appeal to every well informed Catholic proud of his religion, and will serve as an adequate and eloquent object lesson, on the one hand, of the Church's grand and dignified conservatism, while furnishing, on the other, abundant evidence that she is a living organism, full of vitality, capable of displaying her inner life in a variety of outward forms always beautiful and harmonious, never subject to the aimless vagaries or wanton fancies of the amateur religionist.

The language of the sanctuary is but the poetic and eloquent rendering of creed formularies. It is the flower that blossoms perennially in a soil that never fails; so that the Church's service books may be regarded as the natural outcome of the life that throbs in her veins, an index of the growth that must necessarily characterize a living organism. They exhibit her in all her many moods in the exercise of her multifarious duties; now with missal in hand, as the sole depository of the Eternal Sacrifice; now as the

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<sup>1</sup> Particular mention should perhaps be made of a most useful and compact volume which every student of the subject should possess, viz., "The Old Service Books of the English Church," by Christopher Wordsworth, M. A., and Henry Littlehales (Methuen & Co.), pp. i.-xiii, 1-319. The contents of this volume have been freely drawn upon in the course of the present article.

Church militant joining choir with the Church triumphant in the daily hymn of praise from breviary and psalter; now walking, processional in hand, in humble imitation of the first lowly procession to the temple or the triumphant entry into the Holy City; or yet again chanting her "Dirige" in mournful strains over the last remains of one of her children who but now has gone to sleep in the sleep of peace.

Truly the Church is the bride of Christ, *circumdata varietate*, with a divine genius of adaptability to the needs and emotions of her children. Her service books are not merely the epitome of her teaching; they are its glowing and sublime sequel, redolent of praise, of pathos, of practical piety and powerfully reminiscent in their liturgical instructions of the glorious visions vouchsafed to the exiled prophet of Patmos.

The different books from Missal to Manual may be classified under four heads:

- I. The different hours said in the choir.
- II. Processions in the church or churchyard.
- II. The Mass, said at the altar.
- IV. Occasions such as marriages, visitation of the sick, burial, etc.

Under I. we have Antiphoner, Breviary or Portos, Capitulare, Col-lectare, Computus (Gerim), Kalendar (Numerale), Hymnary, Legenda, Martiloge, Passionale, Ordinal, Consuetudinary, Pye, Prymer, Psalter, Song Book, Venitare.

Under II. comes the Processional.

Under III. the Epistle Book, Gospel Book, Grail, Missal, Troper (Sequences).

Under IV. the Baptisterium, Manual, Shrift Book.

Long though it is, this list represents only those books which were required by authority as a minimum; over and above them we find others which were provided by parishioners or presented for the use of churches by benefactions at various periods from the tenth to the sixteenth century: The Dirge Book, Quires (Quater- riones), Sermones, Versiculare, of Class I.; Prick Song (organ book), Textus, of Class III.; Benedictional, Pontifical, of Class IV.

Most of these will be unfamiliar to all but specialists in the subject, and though each one has its own particular interest it will be im- possible to do more here than notice some of the more important and better known.

## I.

First we have the books for divine service in choir. The history of the Breviary—the chief of these—is a curious one. As its name seems to denote, it was a compendium, but when first used it is not



easy to decide. Originally it was not an official choral book, but a short prayer book for lay use like the "Breviarium" dedicated by Alcuin to Charlemagne in 804, and the "Breviarium Psalterii" drawn up in 861 by Prudentius, Bishop of Troyes. Two centuries had elapsed before the Breviary in its now common acceptation is mentioned, and that in a treatise known as "Micrologus" ascribed to Bernoldus de Constantiis. The purposes which the Breviary properly so called were intended to serve are well set forth in the simple title "Horarium domesticum, sive choro ecclesiastico deserviens" found on the first page of Sarum folios. From this we gather that its contents were not exclusively for choir purposes, and if the mission priest was to say his office out of choir it became an obvious necessity that he should be equipped with a "*compact and portable volume which he could sling from his girdle or wear in his wallet as he trotted or trudged about his cure or district.*"<sup>2</sup> Hence the other name which is often met with instead of Breviary, viz., "Portos" or "Portiforium." Moreover, the original constituents of the office developed and multiplied in course of time. Hymns were grafted on the parent stem, as also the accounts of the martyrs' sufferings (Passionarium), the sermons or homilies of the Fathers (Sermologus), short lessons and prayers (Collectarium); so that a serviceable Breviary or Portos became really a collection of books which hitherto had had but a separate existence. Authors give 1250 as the possible date when the dean of St. Paul's was beginning to require Breviaries in place of the old Collectars, Antiphoners, Lec-tionaries, Hymnals, etc., and in addition to these there were incorporated into the Breviary Psalter and Antiphoner, for Psalmody; Liber Responsalis, Bibliotheca, Homilarius, Passionarium, for Lessons; Martilogium, for the Chapter Office; Kalendarium, Computus, for the Kalendar.

The oldest Breviary noticed in the British Museum catalogue of MSS. consists of 256 leaves measuring 8½x5½ inches. It has no lessons for Matins and comprises collects and little chapters, etc., for the *Temporale*, the *Proprium Sanctorum*, Service for the Dead, *Commune Sanctorum*, Dedication Anniversary, Hymns *de proprietate de communi* and Dedication. Its date is probably the twelfth century, but an older one still is the so-called "Portiforium Oswaldi," written apparently in 1064 and preserved in the Parker collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The MS. is practically intact. It is interesting to find in it, as in our Breviaries to-day, that the Saturday office is "de Sancta Maria," and a curious feature is the insertion of various "Blessings" and directions with regard to holy water such as now we should look for in our "Ritual" or "Ordo

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<sup>2</sup> See volume already alluded to, chap. iii.

Administrandi." A further characteristic of this, as of so many other Breviaries at that time, is that the music is appended here and there to some of the hymns, evidencing the extreme care and thoroughness and untiring patience which characterized the work of copyists before the art of printing superseded it.

Mention of music leads naturally to a notice of the "Antiphoner," which was one of the many books of which the Breviary was the epitome. In these days when the study of the earlier specimens of plain chant is becoming so prominent we may turn with additional zest to the music of the Antiphoner. Its scope was to provide the music for the canonical hours, as the "Grail" did for the Liturgy of the Mass.

Mr. Wordsworth writes:<sup>3</sup> "Its purpose was to provide the words and music of those antiphons which imparted to the course of the psalms a special flavor, recalling the season or the solemnity proper to the service of the day, or emphasizing the salient features of the psalms themselves. In early times the antiphon permeated the entire psalmody, recurring again and again as a sort of chorus . . . as may be still heard in the variable antiphonal invitatory which runs through the course of the 'Venite,' which is the invitatory psalm introducing the Mattins Nocturns. But by the mediæval times . . . the antiphon was sung only at the *Gloria Patri*, which concluded each psalm or group of psalms, or each canticle drawn from the Old Testament or from the Gospel of the Incarnation according to St. Luke."

Copies of Antiphoners are rare and precious. They are mostly in MS. Cambridge University Library contains a fourteenth century MS. Sarum Antiphoner, and a complete English monastic Antiphoner of the thirteenth century is to be seen at Worcester Cathedral Library. So great was the reluctance, chiefly perhaps on account of the expense, to put music into type, that there does not appear to have ever been more than a single edition printed of any Antiphoner of English use. Cordially, therefore, shall we welcome the facsimile editions of some of these MS. treasures which are said to be in course of production for the "Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society." The sole printed edition above alluded to appeared in two five folio volumes—Paris, 1519-1520—but only three copies are said to be extant. On the title page are the words: "*Antiphonale ad usum ecclesie Sarum politissimis imaginibus decoratum.*" It contains numerous elaborate and artistic woodcuts and a reduced facsimile page has been most carefully reproduced in "*The old Service Books.*"

The purpose of the *Psalterium* is sufficiently indicated by its name.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

The earliest specimens that we have—and one of them dates back to the seventh century (British Museum MS. Vesp. A 1)—differ from our Breviary Psalter in this, that the psalms generally followed one upon the other without any intervening antiphons or versicles. The reason of this seems to be that the first Psalters were non-liturgical. The liturgical Psalter is not met with until about the year 1300. One MS. of the eleventh century (Brit. Mus. Stowe 2) has the curious feature of the marginal addition of the antiphons in a handwriting of the fifteenth century. Frequently the Psalter was used as a book of private devotions, a fact which perhaps explains the occurrence sometimes of an interlinear English translation. An existing fourteenth century copy has a parallel French translation and forestalls the work of Tate and Brady, inasmuch as it “concludes with a rhyming version of the Psalms in English.” Only a few of the Psalters have been printed, among them being the seventh century MS. already alluded to and another about the middle of the twelfth century, both by the Early English Text Society. Perhaps none of the early service books varied so much in size and in ornamentation as the Psalter. One copy in the British Museum is exceedingly small, measuring scarcely three inches high; another, of the eleventh century, is about eighteen inches high and unusually wide; a third, known as the Meopham Psalter, preserved in the library of Sion College, London, was almost as large. The second of these is unique in having the text disposed in three columns, and still more striking are the exceedingly curious pictures of which the book is full. They are probably *ideographic* or illustrative of the text, and reveal the artist in a florid or even merry mood, while nothing could be greater than the contrast they present to the very severe specimens of the *Psalter* in which not only is there an almost entire absence of ornamentation, but psalms are made to run on, one after the other, without any attempt at division or separation.

Besides the Psalms, the earlier Psalters contained canticles, the Athanasian Creed and Litany; to these, after the beginning of the thirteenth century, frequently was added the Office for the Dead and even the music for the same. The extra choral use of the Psalter may be inferred from the following interesting notice of a “Royal Psalter” given by Falconer Madan in his “Books in Manuscript:”

“The fortunes of MSS. are well illustrated by a MS. now in Exeter College library, at Oxford. It is a Latin Psalter, followed, as usual, by canticles, a litany and prayers, beautifully illuminated in English style, and from the joint occurrence of the royal arms and those of Bohun, and the occurrence of the name Humphrey in a collect, probably written and painted for Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford

(d. 1361), grandson of Edward I., whose grandniece was married to Henry IV. in 1380. Through her it passed into the Royal Library, but seems especially to have belonged to the Queens, for both Elizabeth of York and Catherine of Arragon have written their names. In the calendar are obits of the royal family up to the time of Henry VIII., and no doubt it passed to Elizabeth. She seems to have parted with it to Sir William Petre, the refounder of Exeter College, to which he presented it. Thus it happens that the successive possession of the Tudor sovereigns and the only original authority for the date of the birth of the founder of the Tudor dynasty (Jan. 28, 'hic natus est rex Henricus VII.,' 1455-6) has dropped into a quiet college library."<sup>4</sup>

## II.

In the second class there is only one book—the *Processional* (Processionarium), which contained litanies, antiphons, etc., that were sung in procession, and all the rubrics which governed processions. Musical notation is strongly in evidence, and for this reason a "Processional" closely resembles a "Hymnal" in appearance; but whereas the latter pays only the scantiest attention to rubrics, practically indicating the occasion alone on which the various hymns are to be sung, the former is most explicit in its directions as to details of occasion, place and manner. Ornamentation for the most part is wanting in both of them. Here we are not surprised to find what the church wardens of Yatton in 1497 "payd for a pro-schensnall," 9s. 4d.; and one in 1426 cost the low figure of 5s. 11d.

"Manuscript copies of this service book are somewhat rare; the later printed copies are more common." One feature of the printed copies is worthy of special notice, viz., the appearance in the text of a kind of pictorial rubrics pointing out the position of ministers and servers on specified occasion, though the drawing, as we should expect, is somewhat conventional. One of the most interesting appears in a printed Sarum Processional of 1519, and depicts the order of procession before Mass on Christmas Day. A second, also from a "Sarum," gives the Ascension Day procession. The diagrams are certainly quaint. Crosses, candles, aspersory and thuribles indicate the positions of their respective hearers or ministers, while the sub-deacon, deacon and celebrant can be localized by small circular patches representing their tonsured heads. This feature in the drawing seems also to be observed in cases where the other servers also are clerics. The meaning of these diagrams is further

<sup>4</sup> The numerous other books that appertained to the service in choir are all of great interest. The "Old Service Books of the English Church," already referred to, deals with them fully, one by one.

elucidated by explanatory rubrics at the foot, e. g.: "*Statio dum benedicatur aqua benedicta in omnibus dominicis diebus; et fiat modo sequenti.*" "*Ordo processionis in secunda feria in rogationibus. Haec sequens Antiphona dicatur a toto choro in stallis.*" "*Statio dum benedicuntur candelæ in die purificationis beate marie.*"

### III.

The evolution of the Missal has proceeded on lines similar to that of the Breviary. It is a compilation. The "Missale Plenarium," or Missal in its modern sense, containing all that is required for the service of the Mass, was non-existent in the ancient Church. Its component parts existed as separate books: The Antiphonale, or Gradual or Grail; the Lectionary, Book of the Gospels, and Sacramentary. It cannot be definitely determined when these separate factors were incorporated into one whole. Maskell (*Monumenta Rit.*) gives the fourteenth or fifteenth century as the period when the complete book was generally adopted; but the authority of M. Leopold Delisle is adduced<sup>5</sup> for the statement that complete Missals were formed from the eleventh century onward. The matter, however, is not one of very vital import, though it is well to bear in mind that the word "missal" was in use long before it was deemed necessary or convenient to embody the different altar service books into one.

The "Sacramentary" was the earliest form of the Missal or Mass Book, a term by which it was known at least as early as the eighth century. It contained collects, secrets, prefaces, canon, the prayer *infra canonem* and post communion, besides directions and forms to be used in the administration of the other sacraments. The table of contents seems never to have been rigidly fixed, but the canon which is the invariable part of the book has not appreciably altered for 1,500 years. The history of English sacramentaries does not take us back beyond the tenth century. Earlier books with a mixture of Gallican and Roman rites seem to have perished and left the Gregorian sacramentary in possession of the field. Not that there was absolute uniformity in the liturgy of the Church in England. The various "Uses" of Sarum, York, Hereford, Lincoln and Bangor sufficiently indicate that divergencies did exist; but the points in which these differed from the Roman or Gregorian rite are commonly thought to have been far greater and more numerous than actually was the case.

English Uses were little more than English editions or recensions of the Roman Liturgy. We had no national rite like that of the Copts or Chaldeans for example, which like many other Oriental

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

liturgies received the explicit sanction of Rome, and such variations as did exist were but the outcome of circumstances which made uniformity almost an impossibility. Bishops seem to have had almost unlimited freedom to regulate public worship in their dioceses as long as they retained the main features of the Roman Mass; but never did they lose sight altogether of the decree of the Council of Cloveshoe in 747 that "the holy feasts of Our Lord's dispensation in the flesh, in all things duly pertaining to them—*i. e.*, in the office of baptism, in the celebration of Masses, in the manner of the chant—should be celebrated according to the copy which we have in writing from the Roman Church."<sup>6</sup>

Such differences as do exist in the Ordinary of the Mass between old English and modern Roman rites do not occur until after the prayer "Libera nos," which terminates the canon proper. But it is relevant to remark that neither does the Missal of Pius V. tally altogether with the Roman "Ordinarium" Missal of earlier times in the prayers which come after the canon proper. Indeed, the prayer "Domini Jesu Christe qui dixisti" is not to be found in the Roman Missal even in 1090, so that we are quite prepared for a certain amount of latitude and divergence in English Uses without being obliged to sever their connection with Roman uniformity in the main.

The best known Sacramentaries and Missals are the "Stowe" Missal, the Leofric Sacramentary (1050), the Red Book of Derby, the Missal of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, 1099, and the most recent MS. "find"—the Hambleton Missal, written apparently about the year 1405. Of this book Mr. Wordsworth gives a copious and interesting account (page 175), from which we cull the following:

"The book appears to have been written about the year 1405 for some one bearing the arms of Appleyard, a family well known in Yorkshire, Norfolk, and, at least in the seventeenth century, in Cambridgeshire. The chevron, or between three owls argent, membred or, on a shield azure, is four times repeated on the leaves, which are most highly ornamented, viz., at the opening of the Proprium de Tempore, and thrice in the canon of the Mass. . . . The book, which is now the property of H. H. Peach, Esq., Stoughton Road, Stoneygate, Leicester, has lost its original cover through damp and other causes. Rats have somewhat gnawed the margin, but their Hanoverian principles have probably led them to eschew the text, so that the book is practically complete, having lost only one leaf, which must have been originally left blank or else embellished with a miniature. It contained 414 leaves (or upwards of 820 pages) besides the four fly leaves, all of vellum. . . . It belonged to a person of distinction bearing the arms mentioned above."

<sup>6</sup> Hefele, "Concil," III., p. 562.

Being so much later in date than the Sacramentaries and Missals above named, its contents are much more comprehensive, more so in fact than printed Sarum Missals of a century later. It contains excerpts from the Processional, Grail and Manual, musical notation throughout for some of the liturgical lessons, and numerous other insertions which made its owner independent of all other books for his duties in church, save only his Breviary.

A comparison of the Hambleton with the Stowe Missal already alluded to will show the marked difference between a fifteenth century and an eleventh century Mass book. In four centuries it had grown almost beyond recognition, there being little else in common other than the ordinary and canon. The contents of the Stowe Missal as given by the Rev. F. E. Warren, who has edited it, are as follows: The Gospel according to St. John, Ordinary and Canon of the Mass (the Canon ascribed to Gelasius), a Mass in honor of Apostles, Martyrs and Virgins, a Mass for Penitents, a Mass for the Departed, Order of Baptism, Order for Visitation, Unction and Communion of the Sick, an old Irish treatise on the Eucharist, three charms in Irish.

Though not an English Missal, for it belonged to a church in Munster, this volume is a fair specimen of the Sacramentaries of the period, which seem never to have been bound by any fixed rule as to contents as long as the ordinary and canon of the Mass were present in their entirety.

Printed copies of the Sarum Missal abound, and strangely enough Missals of many other Uses were probably never printed at all. It is suggested in explanation of this that the printed Sarum Book may have been adopted and the necessary liturgical alterations added afterwards in handwriting. Certainly printed editions of the Sarum Missal were very early in the field. It is known that one saw the light as early as 1487, and by the year 1557 no less than sixty-six different impressions had been made. The five editions of York Missal which have come down to us appeared between the years 1509-1533, and only four copies have survived of the Hereford Missal printed in 1502.

The formation and introduction of what were termed Plenary Missals was hailed by the priest at the altar as a great relief. As the Rev. J. O'Brien writes in his "History of the Mass," "it was oftentimes very embarrassing for a priest, especially if celebrating Low Mass, to have to turn from one to another of the four volumes whenever he wanted to read a particular prayer or lesson, and the necessity of having one book in which the matter of all the four would be combined was soon felt."

The contents and character of the other three books which went

to form the Missal may be briefly noticed. The first of them, the "Antiphonale" or "Antiphonary" must not be confounded with the Antiphoner already described under the Breviary. It served, however, a similar purpose, supplying the music for the Mass as the latter did the music for the Office. It came to be known in later times as a Gradual, and its contents were almost coextensive with the same book used in choir to-day. *Grail* is only a contraction of Gradual. The Plain Song and Mediæval Music Society has had a fine facsimile produced of a Sarum Gradual written about the year 1210 and preserved in the British Museum. In the preface thereto Mr. W. H. Frere gives a list of eight Sarum Graduals, two of the thirteenth century, two of the fourteenth and four of the fifteenth. These folio printed editions were produced at Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. Elaborate ornamentation is not a characteristic of this service book, but the musical notation stands out with great clearness, a feature to which our attention is specially called in the 1532 edition, which claims to be printed in characters *crassioribus quam antea notis*.

More care was spent on both the Epistle Book and Gospel Book, Lectionary and Evangeliary as they are sometimes called. Extant specimens of both these books are rare, though some think it is probable that in pre-Reformation times they existed in considerable numbers. This, however, can be but surmise, for ecclesiastical authorities do not seem to have been very exacting in regard to either of these service books. Between 766 and 1544 twelve different authorities are given by Mr. Wordsworth as requiring certain service books to be kept in churches, but only in one instance, Aelfrie's Canon XXI., is mention made of the Epistle Book, the Gospel Book only twice. We should hardly expect, therefore, to come across as many copies of either of these books as, for instance, of Missals, Grails, Psalsters or Antiphoners, all of which are frequently set down among the "requisita." Still the faithful did not forget them among their voluntary benefactions, for in an interesting table of books actually provided, though not necessarily required by authority,<sup>7</sup> we find twenty-four Epistle Books and twenty Gospel Books in the inventories of churches, between the tenth and sixteenth century. Moreover, the incorporation of both these books into the Missal was not conducive to multiplication of copies, and manifestly it was only the larger parishes possessing facilities for High Mass which would require them at all after *full* Mass books became general, and even so a duplicate copy of the Missal was found to answer the purpose equally well.

Perhaps the finest extant copies of these twin volumes are those

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<sup>7</sup> *Cfr. op. cit.*, p. 36.



given to the Church of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, by Stephen Jenyns, Lord Mayor of London, and his wife, in 1508, and now preserved among the MSS. of the British Museum. Our readers will study with interest in "Wordsworth and Littlehales" the two reduced facsimile pages—one from each volume—which are carefully and minutely reproduced. The miniatures are extremely elegant, the initial capitals elaborate and the borders are decorated in finished artistic style. Everything points to the fact that these twin volumes were looked upon as of considerable importance. Even the binding is exceptional. An Epistle Book at the Cathedral Church of Sarum in the thirteenth century had both covers of silver, and sometimes we find oaken boards silver mounted or with a silver plate inserted in the front. The following excerpt from the Inventory of 1517, St. Lawrence's Church, Reading, is interesting:

"It ii° bokes, a goppellour ,lxix. unces) and a pistellour (lxxv. unces), the one side covered with silver parcell gilt with images uppon the same and the other side with boces of silver, weying yn all cxxxiiij. unces, of the gift of Mr. Richard Smyth, yeman of the robes with our Soverayne lord the Kyng."<sup>8</sup>

#### IV.

Lyndewood's description of the Manual, which is the chief book of Class IV., proves it to have been a very comprehensive little volume. He makes it include "omnia quae spectant ad sacramentorum et sacramentalium administrationem item benedictiones, tum fontium quam aliorum, secundum usum ecclesiasticum benedicendorum; et ea quae sunt usitata in processionibus."

The description accurately coincides with the contents of Manuals still preserved, except in regard to the last clause. It is doubtful whether the Processional was ever incorporated in the Manual—certainly not as a general rule—and the combination would have been a somewhat impractical one. In later Manuals, and occasionally in an earlier one, extraneous matter is introduced according to the individual taste or fancy of the compiler. Thus we come across the Canon of the Mass, the order of wedding and funeral Masses, one or two Votive Masses, and even the Confirmation service. Apart from these accretions, the Manual corresponded for the most part to our "Ordo administrandi."

After the Calendar came the Blessing of Salt and Water, the Asperges, Baptismal Services, the Blessing "post partum," the form for celebrating Marriages, Visitation of the Sick, Extreme Unction, the Office for the Dead, the Commendation, the Burial Service, etc., etc.

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<sup>8</sup> Kerry's "St. Lawrence's Church, Reading," p. 100.

We compare the Manual with the "Ordo administrandi" rather than with the Ritual itself because of the frequent introduction of English into the text. We must refer our readers for the many evidences of this to the second chapter of the "Old Service Books." They are exceedingly quaint and will be read with zest, carrying with them the conviction, if such were needed, that religion in those days at least was a whole-hearted thing; that it had struck its roots deep down into the soul and had blossomed forth into a living earnestness and simplicity before God, untarnished by mundane considerations, supremely conscious of that higher supernatural life imparted to the soul by means of the sacraments. Faith in those days had not been dimmed by the counter claims of devastating scientific theories, by the ravages of rationalism and infidelity or by the unwholesome sneers of the omniscient Freethinker; it stood before the world in sole possession of the field, with all its native fervor and simplicity. Reserve or awkwardness or shyness in the external manifestation of one's faith was an unknown quantity in those days. There was no fear of criticism, no thought of it. Outward forms and ceremonies in private devotions as in public worship were the common property and practice of all; not yet had they gone down before the ruthless scythe of an irreligious cynicism, and consequently every glimpse we get of the religious life of those times is fraught with a thousand and one indications of the wonderful spirit of piety that had taken possession of the people. All things were made subsidiary to their faith. It was graven on their hearts; it was a part of themselves—their constant companion from the cradle to the grave.

Note the childish simplicity that breathes in the priest's admonition to the godparents at baptism: "Dicens in lingua materna—Godfaderis and godmoderis I charge you and the fader and the moder that this child be kept this seven yer fro water fro feer (fire) fro horsfot, fro hondes toth, and that he . . . be confermyd of a byschop that next cometh to contre be seven myle be halve, and that he be tauyt his beleve, that is for to sey Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Credo. And that ye wasche your hondes er ye goon owt of church in peyne of fastyng xl fridayses."

Similarly in the form for visiting the sick. The priest asks: "Belevyst thou in god fader almythi, makere of hevne and of erthe? Et respondeat infirmus in quolibet articulo—I beleve. Belevyst thou in his sone?" etc., following upon which comes the humble acknowledgment of sin preparatory to Extreme Unction: "I knowliche to god and to owre lady seynte Marie, and to alle ye halwene (saints) of hevne that I have senned, with mowth spoken, with feet goon, with eyen seyen, with eren hered, with nose smelled," etc.

And so if we turn to the Prymer, the layman's prayer book. Many of these surpassed all other service books in wealth of ornamentation—a fact which may fairly be adduced as a gauge of the richness of men's faith and adequately reflects the deep interest, sincerity and love that characterized their worship of the Deity. One simple fact may be noted which speaks volumes, viz., the constant mention and bequests of Prymers in mediæval wills; for the prayer book of a departed one, with its many hallowed associations, was always considered a precious heirloom.

Thus the extract from the will of a fifteenth century London grocer: "My Prymer with gilt clasps whereupon I am wont to say my service."

Again, in a will of 1498, a lady leaves to "My goddaughter ursula ffitzwater a premer clasped with silver and gilte for a Remembrance to pray for me."

Another bequeathes "a Prymer to serve god with."

Whichever way we turn there is the same healthy glow of child-like faith, unfettered yet submissive; eloquent, unobtrusive, sincere; an ever vivid reflex and realization in every-day life of the Master's injunction, "Unless ye become as little children ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Unlike the Prymer, little or no ornament is to be found in the Manual. This is not surprising. Its contents had to be compressed into as small a compass as possible for the simple reason that the book often had to be held in one hand, and that sometimes, as, for example, at funerals, in the open, when a costly volume would suffer severely from the inclemencies of the weather.

Several MS. copies of the Manual are still preserved in the British Museum, and in his "Salisbury Ceremonies and Processions" Mr. Wordsworth gives a list of thirty-three printed editions of the Sarum Manual, ranging from 1497 to 1555.

Having incidentally alluded to the Prymer, it may be as well to finish our remarks upon it here, though it was classified under the first heading. Strictly speaking, it ought not to find a place in any one of the four classes into which we have divided the service books, the reason being that it was not a book essentially for public service. But it has an interest all its own. Considering that it was the layman's prayer book, its contents will strike the reader as being somewhat remarkable. They were as follows: The Hours of the Blessed Virgin, the seven penitential Psalms, the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the Litany, the Office for the Dead, the commendations.

These devotions, moreover, seem generally to have been in Latin, sometimes both Latin and English is present, though a considerable number of Prymers, wholly in English, still survive. The contents,

of course, varied. Those just enumerated are characteristic of the mediæval Prymer; an earlier MS. copy in the British Museum does not contain the fifteen Gradual Psalms or the Commendations, whereas its later development is supplemented by the Psalter and several other forms of devotion. The picture ornamentations, when present, are beautiful and unique; and here again we are fortunate in having some exquisite facsimile specimens set before us.<sup>9</sup> In this connection the Prymer holds the place of honor, for a full-size page of a fifteenth century copy (British Museum MS. 2 A. xviii.) appears as the frontispiece of the volume. It is a masterpiece of illumination. The lettering is bold and distinct, the borders with floral and frondal decoration beautifully executed and the coloring, especially in the picture representing the Annunciation, is superbly reproduced. Altogether it is a perfect gem of ornamentation. The other facsimiles are less elaborate, but no less interesting; one showing the picture which generally preceded the Office for the Dead, another the usual picture representing three little nude figures being carried up by angels in a white sheet to heaven, found before the Commendations of the Dying, and a third giving an interesting fly leaf which contains the royal autographs of King Henry VII., Queen Elizabeth of York and Margaret of Scotland.

There is no official book to-day which corresponds to the ancient Shrift Book, "script boc" or Penitential. The purpose it served is now practically covered by the seminarist's course of Pastoral and Ascetical Theology and such books as are intended to supplement it. "About the middle of the fourth century," writes Mr. Wordsworth, "St. Basil of Cesarea issued canons to define the limits of public penance to be inflicted for specific offenses. Such rules were frequently laid down in councils of the Church, and in the sixth and following centuries collections of such canons were codified." Various compilations seem to have followed, the contents of which furnish evidence of great activity in the production of suitable literature for the confessor, both by way of instruction and exhortation. Thus we have "Libellus de penitentiis," "Summa de penitentia," "De confessione," "Summa Confessorum," "Summa de Vitiis," "Manual for the Use of Priests and Confessors," "Speculum peccatoris," "Quomodo sacerdos sedebet gerere in confessione," "Quomodo suscipiendus est penitens," "Modus confessionis" and many others.

These different treatises or dissertations are sometimes found bound up with the Penitential Canons, sometimes they have a separate existence. It is worthy of note that by the Penitential ascribed by some to Egbert (766-91), as also by the twenty-first Canon of Aelfric (about 995), all young priests were counselled to procure

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, passim.

a copy of the Shrift Book; and there is other early evidence of the Church's solicitude that her pastors should be well posted up in the details of the most important duty of hearing confessions and guiding their penitents aright.<sup>10</sup>

The other books mentioned under Class IV. were the Pontifical and Benedictional, neither of which were at any time common, as they could not be classed among the books usually belonging to or required at a parish church. For this reason it is somewhat remarkable that comparatively so many are in existence to-day. The explanation proffered by Mr. Littlehales is most probably correct, viz., that both these books were more or less the personal property of prelates, and were cared for in a measure as such. The contents of the Pontifical were practically as we find them to-day. The Benedictional, according to Maskell, "contained the episcopal benedictions which were given during the Canon of the Mass—most probably "between the fraction of the host and the singing of the *Agnus Dei*." The main difference between the benedictions contained in the Pontifical and those set forth in the Benedictional is that the latter furnishes forms of blessing in accordance with the season or the feast; the former has the ordinary "blessings" for persons and things. As a rule the Benediction is threefold, and its general scope or character is seen in the following instance:

(*Rubic.*) *Dominica Septuagesima. Omnipotens Deus ita stadium veri cursus dirigere dignetur, ut bravium vos aeternae vitae comprehendere faciat. Amen.*

*Et ita vos armis abstinentiae circumdet, ut nullis hujus vitae impedimentis, ab aeterna perventione retardemini. Amen.*

*Quique vos vinca sua vocare, vobisque operarios mittere dignatus est, ipse vos sua gratia dignetur excolere, ut denario vitae perennis vos remunerari concedat. Amen.*

Then follow the words "*Quod ipse praestare dignetur,*" which are an abbreviation of the long form "*Quod ipse praestare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Benedictio Dei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sti; et pax ejus sit semper vobiscum. Amen.*"

Showing that these benedictions come with the regularity of the seasons; on the same page of the eleventh century Benedictional (*Brit. Mus. MS. 2892*), from which we culled the threefold blessing given above, appears the following rubric: "*Finiunt dominicales benedictiones post Epiphaniam. Sequuntur benedictiones a Septuagesima usque in Pascha.*"

Several fine Benedictionals are still extant, notably that of Aethel-

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<sup>10</sup> *Cfr.* "Sixth Canon of Clovesbro and the Lincoln Archdeacons," Visitation article No. 44.

wold, Bishop of Winchester in 963-984, of which Falconer Madan, in his work already quoted, says that it was written by Abbot Gode-man and illuminated with scenes from the life of Christ and figures of saints in such profusion and artistic taste that it is probably the finest MS. existing in private hands.<sup>11</sup>

Some of the *Notes* and *Scribblings* which are to be found in several of the old service books are very curious, *e. g.*:

Iste liber attinet, deny it if you can;  
Ad me Robertum Colston, a very honest man.

Somewhat severe is the sentiment found in a MS. Manual (Brit. Mus.):

Iste liber pertinet at paratum Aldatum. Thys boke ys one and chryst curse ys another, he yt take the one, take the other. Amen.

Mostly, however, the scribble is confined to family records, thus:

Thomas my sone was borne the xlii. day of Januarii, the yere of oure lorde 1488, on a Tewesday at nyght, betwene viii. and ix.: god make hym a good man. (Flyleaf of Prymer, Brit. Mus.)

It is curious also to note, and typical it was of the time, that after the quarrel of Henry VIII. with the Pope all matter referring to the Pope and to St. Thomas of Canterbury in service books was frequently obliterated. This fact undoubtedly accounts in great measure for the destruction of many of the old service books even under Mary, inasmuch as the books so defaced were condemned as imperfect.

This brief survey of the books that were used in the sanctuaries of Merry England may suffice to show that they are replete with interesting matter from beginning to end. Indirectly the study of their varied contents cannot but have a soothing effect on the earnest religious mind. The period from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation was one which in our early days we learned to associate with incessant strife of one kind or another, either differences with foreign powers and the protracted wars often consequent thereon, or internal embroilments which, if not actually terminating in civil war, as in the case of the Red and White Roses, at least kept the country in a continual state of unrest. That period is now clothed

<sup>11</sup> A passing reference should be made to the wealth of interesting topics touched upon in "The Old Service Books," other than its presentment of the contents of our old liturgical books. Many of its pages will delight the bibliophile as well as the liturgiologist, notably the chapter on miscellaneous subjects, which treats, among other things, of clasps and hosses, book-markers, book-rests, desks and cushions, patchels, standards, grotesques, etc., while in the second chapter much valuable information is forthcoming on the ornamentation of service books, mediaeval binding, the cost of service books, where they came from, by whom written, mediaeval references to service books and services, parts of services in English, service books adorned with heraldic devices, the plan of the mediaeval service book and its relation to the book of common prayer.

for us in a new and softer light—the dim religious life of the sanctuary. We do not see the glint of steel reflected from many thousands of helmets and death-dealing battle axes, nor do we hear the measured tread of an army on the march, the thunder of cavalry or the trumpet call to battle. We witness, on the contrary, the peaceful and glowing Ritual that surrounds God's earthly throne; we are shown the calm and tranquil inner life of a Catholic nation; we recognize that the period of which we speak was one of deep religious activity when the services of the Church were minutely carried out with characteristic majesty and magnificence, heedless of and unaffected by the raging storms that tossed the surface above.

G. E. PRICE.

Birmingham, England.

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## THE FRENCH CONQUEST OF ALGERIA.

THE French conquest of Algeria is a record of glory and disgrace, of deeds of heroism alternating with deeds of cruelty, of noble efforts for the evangelization of the native races thwarted by the ignoble policy inspired by the anti-Christianism and religious indifferentism of contemporary France. One of its greatest glories is that it gave its deathblow to piracy; but that is to be placed to the credit of the powers that were rather than of the powers that be. Algiers was long its chief base. Time was when the Algerine Corsairs were a formidable power who terrorized Europe, and in their swift-speeding galleys swept the seas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and could proudly say:

These are our realms, no limit to their sway—  
Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey,

whose name was everywhere “famed and feared;” whose “blood-red signal” glittered in the gales that lashed into foam the stormy ocean that separates two continents; at whose dreaded approach when they swooped down upon and captured the richly laden merchant vessels as they sped upon their course, or suddenly raided Christian towns, carrying off the pick of their population into slavery,

Hope, withering, fled, and Mercy sigh'd farewell,

when many an expectant merchant in Genoa, Naples or Venice strained his eyes in vain for the argosy which would never again sail into their harbor; when Algerian galleots infested every part of the Western Mediterranean, levying contributions of slaves and treasure upon the Balearic Islands and the coasts of Spain, and even

beyond the straits, waylaying vessels returning to Cadiz laden with the gold and jewels of the Indies, until Algiers, filled with the plundered wealth of a whole hemisphere, became the most opulent city in the world, in so much that the Turks called, not without reason, their India, their Mexico, their Peru; when, piracy increasing with the increase of the Turkish power in the Levant after the fall of Constantinople and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the Corsairs, from their rocky retreat, were strong enough to defy the might of Spain, Italy and France; when the great Corsair, Uruj Barbarossa, captured two galleys royal of Pope Julius II. on their way from Genoa to Civita Vecchia; when Uruj's brother, Kheyr-ed-din, pitted himself against brave old Andrea Doria, the greatest Christian admiral of his age, and made the Berbers, those indomitable African mountaineers, who had never owned a superior, choose him by acclamation as their King, treating the Moorish families who had welcomed him within their gates at Algiers with an insolence that the descendants of the Abencerrages must have found it hard to endure; when an adventurer with a motley following of untrained bandits and nomads could overthrow a Spanish army, make his dominions co-extensive with modern Algeria, and consolidate piracy, which became the scourge of Christendom, divided or united, for three centuries; when seven thousand Christian slaves labored at the defensive works and harbor of Algiers and every attempt of the Emperor to rescue them and destroy the pirates' stronghold was repelled with disastrous loss, as the great Armada sent by Cardinal Ximenes had been; when slavery became so common in North Africa that the expression in the slave market of Algiers, "Christians are cheap to-day," was a business quotation, just as if they were dealing in stock and shares; when scions of the oldest patrician families, the bluest blood in Europe, were compelled to pull at the oars alongside the scum of the Levantine seaboard under the lash of a Turkish boatswain; when among the captives were Cervantes, who, during the three years he spent in durance vile, gave proofs of his greatness of soul, constancy and cheerfulness, the Earl of Inchiquin—famous or infamous in Irish history as "Morough of the burnings"—and his son, Lord O'Brien, captured off the Tagus while engaged in one of those foreign services in which so many Irish soldiers of fortune enlisted, and whose ransom cost 7,500 crowns, as well as in the century following the remnant of the brave Irish Brigade, to the number of eighty, on their way from Italy, not to mention the Rev. Devereux Spratt, captured off Youghal as he was crossing from Cork to Bristol, and who was so moved to compassion by the miserable condition of the slaves at Algiers that, when ransomed, he yielded to their entreaties and stayed a year or two longer to comfort



them with his holy offices; when, long anterior to his captivity, the same divine virtue of compassion, at the close of the twelfth century, inspired St. John of Matha to found the Order of the Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives, whose members, in their white habits with the blue and red cross on the breast—three colors symbolical of the Three Divine Persons—fearlessly confronted the Corsairs and redeemed some twenty thousand slaves; when, in 1627, Murad, a German renegade, took three Algerine ships as far north as Denmark and Iceland, carried off eight hundred captives and, rivaling his namesake, Murad Reis, a Fleming, in 1631, ravaged the English coasts, crossed over to Ireland, sacked the town of Baltimore in West Cork and bore away 237 prisoners, men, women and children, even from the cradle—an event commemorated by Thomas Davis, one of the Young Ireland poets, in one of the most beautiful and finished ballad poems in the English language:

Then flung the youth his naked hand against the shearing sword;  
Then sprung the mother on the brand with which her son is gored;  
Then sunk the grandsire on the floor, his grandbabes clutching wild;  
Then fled the maiden, moaning faint, and nestled with the child.  
But, see! yon pirate strangled lies, and crush'd with splashing heel,  
While o'er him in an Irish hand there sweeps the Syrian steel!  
Though virtue sink and courage fall, and misers yield their store,  
There's one hearth well avenged in the sack of Baltimore.

Oh! some must take the galley's ore, and some must tend the steed;  
This boy will bear a sheik's chibouk, and that a Bey's jerreed.  
Oh! some are for the arsenal by beauteous Dardanellies,  
And some are in the caravan to Mecca's sandy dells.  
The maid the Bandon gallant sought is chosen for the Dey;  
She's safe—she's dead!—she stabbed him in the midst of his serai.  
And when, to die a death of fire, the Irish maid they bore,  
She only smiled, O'Driscoll's child—she thought of Baltimore!

"It was a piteous sight to see them exposed for sale at Algiers," relates Father Pierre Dan, the Redemptorist,<sup>1</sup> who found 25,000 Christian slaves in Algiers and its environs in 1634. "For then they parted the wife from the husband and the father from the child; then, say I, they sell the husband here and the wife there, tearing from her arms the daughter whom she cannot hope to see ever again." Many bystanders burst into tears as they saw the grief and despair of these poor exiles from Erin.

Down through the later middle ages, and even in modern times, the passion for piracy became epidemic in Southern Europe. Not only Mahommedans, but Christians engaged in it. But they were renegade Christians. There were Algerian galleots built by Christians, manned by Christians and commanded by Christians of this degenerate type. In 1588, out of thirty-five galleys or galleots which sallied forth from Algiers to prey upon Christendom, twenty-four were commanded by renegades. When a galley was launched to

<sup>1</sup> "Hist. de Barbarie," p. 277.

the cry of *Allahu Akbar*—"God is most great"—a sheep was slaughtered over the vessel's prow—a symbol or prefiguration of the Christian blood to be shed. These Algerine pirates, the majority of whom, according to Haeds,<sup>2</sup> were renegades, thought no more of hunting Christians than if they were hunting hares and rabbits.

The Corsairs were not only masters of the sea—their allies, the Turks, commanding the eastern and the Algerian pirates the western basin of the Mediterranean—but posed as the equals of the great powers. When Turkey entered into an alliance with Francis I. against Charles V. in 1543, Barbarossa, the most famous of the Algerian Corsairs, actually brought his 150 ships to Marseilles. Though a French admiral denounced this compact as an impious alliance, French captains had to salute the Corsairs *capitana*, and the banner of Our Lady was lowered to be replaced by the Crescent. Frenchmen, helpless and humiliated, saw the Corsairs wintering in the harbor of Toulon, while French slaves labored and languished in the infidels' galleys, securely moored in a French port. The captives died by hundreds of fever, but no Christian burial was allowed them; even the bells that summoned the pious to Mass were silent. They only met their match when they measured their strength against the chivalrous Knights of Malta, who were a perpetual thorn in the side of Turkey and made themselves even more felt and feared by the Corsairs, whose vessels they alone dared to tackle single handed. It was only after the proudest chivalry the world has ever known routed and repulsed the magnificent soldiery of Suleyman the Great from the bastions of Fort St. Michael, and the Knights of Malta, who will live forever among the heroes of all time, won everlasting renown, fighting and conquering for the honor of Our Lady and St. John, and the battle of Lepanto, that other brilliant victory of Christian faith and valor under the auspices of Our Lady—Queen of the Most Holy Rosary—was fought and won, that the era of the great Corsairs closed and they gave place to petty pirates. Petty as they were compared with their predecessors, they were still able to inflict humiliations upon France and Great Britain and prey upon European commerce as well as enslave Christians. "There was some excuse," observes Lane-Poole,<sup>3</sup> "for dismay at the powerful armaments and invincible seamanship of Barbarossa or the fateful ferocity of Dragut; but that all the maritime powers should have cowered and cringed as they did before the miserable braggarts who succeeded the heroic age of Corsairs, and should have suffered their trade to be harassed, their lives menaced and their honor stained by a series

<sup>2</sup> Abbot Diego de Haedo spent many years in Algiers in the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> "The Barbary Corsairs," by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, Fisher Unwin, 1890. P. 256.

of insolent savages, whose entire fleet and army could not stand for a day before any properly generated force of a single European power, seems absolutely incredible, and yet it is literally true." European statesmanship had fallen very low when Barbary Corsairs were put upon an equal diplomatic footing with civilized States. No really serious attempt was made to put down the scourge of the Mediterranean between 1560 and Lord Exmouth's fleeting victory in 1816. Meanwhile most of the maritime States were represented at Tunis and Algiers, although their representatives were subjected to repeated indignities. The powers having settled that Algiers must not be attacked, the Dey had only to bully and bluster and every government in Europe—each not wishing the other to score a point in the political game or attempt to checkmate—would truckle and temporize. The position of British consul was made absolutely degrading, so that one of them, Cartwright, described the consular office at Algiers as "the next step to the infernal regions." The Dey, often a common soldier chosen by his comrades, could presume to address George III. of England as "dear friend of this our kingdom," and consuls were recalled at their bidding or caprice. Sir Thomas Roe, proceeding to his post as Ambassador at Constantinople about 1582, said that unless checked the Algerine pirates would brave even the armies of Kings at sea and endanger the coasts, and reported that their last cruise had brought in 49 British vessels, and that there would soon be one thousand English slaves in Algiers; the pirates were even boasting that they would go to England and fetch men out of their beds, as it was their habit to do in Spain. To prove that this was no empty boast, they captured two Scottish lairds, the masters of Morton and Oliphant, who remained for years prisoners in Algiers. In the fourth decade of the seventeenth century there were three thousand husbands and fathers and brothers in Algerine prisons, while their wives, daughters and sisters thronged the approaches of the House of Commons and besought the intervention of Parliament with prayers and sobs. Four hundred British ships were taken in three or four years before 1622, and in the first quarter of the seventeenth century 240 British slaves had to be redeemed for £1,200.<sup>4</sup> The dare-devil insolence and aggression of the Deys went farther. The presence of a remonstrating admiral in the Bay of Algiers resulted only in the consul being thrown into prison and his family turned homeless into the streets, while his dragoman received a thousand stripes of the bastinado. When the French shelled

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<sup>4</sup> Sir R. Lambert Playfair, Agent and Consul General, in his "Scourge of Christendom," has set forth the principal incidents of British relations with the Dey of Algiers in great detail, and has authenticated his statements by references to official documents of unimpeachable veracity in a volume of over three hundred pages (London, Smith & Elder, 1884).

Algiers in 1683 the Vicar Apostolic, Jean de Vacher, who was acting as consul and had worked untiringly among the poor captives for thirty-six years, was, by order of Mezzomorto, with many of his countrymen, blown from the cannon's mouth; and the same thing happened to his successor in 1688, when forty-eight other Frenchmen suffered the same barbarous death.

But the day of retribution, though long delayed, at length dawned, and it is not to the credit or advantage of Great Britain that it was left to France to inflict well-merited chastisement upon the Algerines, and that the same feeble and vacillating policy which paralyzed the action of the powers during the Armenian massacres prevailed through a cowardly dread of a general Mahomedan uprising.

The conquest of Algiers in 1830 reflected a sunset gleam of glory upon the decadent and expiring Bourbon monarchy before it finally disappeared below the political horizon. An insult offered to the French consul by the Dey was the last straw which broke the camel's back, the last drop which filled to overflowing the measure of Algerine insolence. At one of the state audiences the Dey, mentally intoxicated by a recent diplomatic triumph over Great Britain, thought he could equally set France at defiance, and in a fit of real or simulated anger struck the French consul, M. Duval, a blow in the face with his fan. "It is not to me, but to the King of France, that this affront is offered," said the Frenchman with characteristic dignity and *aplomb*. "I care no more for your master than I do for you," retorted the Dey. That blow was well avenged. It cost the Algerines the possession of Algeria and added a colony to France. "Algiers," says a French writer, "perished by her own fault. The audacity which had stood her in good stead during three centuries ceased to be luck and became madness."

At the close of May, 1830, a French army of 34,000 men, under the command of General de Bourmont, sailed from Toulon, and on the 13th of June landed in the peninsula of Sidi Ferruch, on the African coast, about twelve miles from Algiers. In two battles fought on the 19th and 24th, they met and overcame an army of 50,000, forced to retreat precipitately upon Algiers, into which on July 5, after a short siege, the French troops marched in triumph, passing through silent and deserted streets, while the historic white flag of the Bourbons—the old flag which Chambord several years later refused to sully by combination with the revolutionary tricolor—floated from the battlements of the pirate stronghold, the fortress of the Kasba. It would have been well if subsequent military rulers in Algeria had been as jealous and careful of the honor of France as M. de Beaumont, who, when the Turkish janissaries sent an envoy declaring their willingness to depose the Dey and put

him to death, dismissed him with the reply that "the French army has not come so far to assassinate an individual, but to conquer an enemy."

An enemy had been conquered in a campaign which was short, sharp and decisive; but the conquest was not yet complete, although General de Bourmont in the first flush of victory wrote exultingly: "The task of the army is fulfilled." Sporadic rebellions of the tributary beys had to be put down; every expedition undertaken by Berthezene, who found himself menaced by a general insurrection of the natives, proved disastrous; the excessive severities of the Duc de Rovigo and General Boyer stirred to indignation and revolt the Arabs, who declared that the French were "worse than the Turks." The chivalrous and protracted resistance of Abd-el-Kader, whose brilliant leadership and marvelous resourcefulness inspired the Arabs with the hope of freeing themselves and their country from the yoke of the foreigner, had to be overcome by a nine years' strenuous struggle; a border war between the French and the Moors had to be fought and won before the power of the former in North Africa could be finally secured; the Kabyle war, which succeeded, had to be waged and the tribes who from time immemorial occupied all the mountainous country which covers so large a proportion of the area of Algeria, subdued for the first time in their long history; and the insurrection of 1871 quelled and immigration on a large scale from Alsace and Lorraine promoted before peace and order on any firm basis were established.

The history of the French conquest of Algiers is strangely linked with the fate of the Bourbon monarchy. Coincident with its capture synchronized the three days' revolution which led to the deposition of Charles X., whose power even the prestige of foreign conquest failed to preserve; while the seizure of the last stronghold of Abd-el-Kader by the Duc d'Aumale and the surrender of the heroic Arab chief, who had so long kept the armed forces of France at bay, to the young Bourbon prince, then Governor General of Algeria, was quickly followed by the revolution of 1848, which cost Louis Philippe his crown and obliged him to make his escape through the same door of the Tuilleries through which Philippe Egalité had passed on his way to the scaffold.

Jealous of the honor which the conquest of Algiers conferred upon the elder branch of the Bourbons, represented by Charles X., the government of the Citizen King, an offshoot of the more prolific Branche Cadette, grumbled at the expense which the maintenance of the new province entailed, and the question whether Algiers was to be retained by France or not was openly debated. It was regarded by many as a white elephant, a useless encumbrance, "a great quag-

mire in which the treasure and the blood of France had been swallowed up." Others maintained, and with more show of reason, that the Algerian question was a double one, at once of honor and of interest. "France," says a French writer,<sup>5</sup> "has received of God the mission of civilizing Northern Africa. However hard the task may be, however great the sacrifices it imposes upon her, she must persevere in this course; it would be a disgrace to her to do otherwise." And an English writer says:<sup>6</sup> "It is to the French, and the French only, that we owe a great work of reformation, the cleansing of one of the filthiest Augean stables in the modern world. Through every change of government and party, under King, Emperor and republic, at the cost of much blood and treasure, they have persisted in the work. No millions of money, no millions of sturdy colonists have rewarded these efforts. The French nation has still to endure a drain on its resources, and that with little prospect of relief. In return it enjoys the sense of possession, the use of the word colony and the consciousness of a great task well begun." The pity of it is that France has only half comprehended and hardly half fulfilled the great work which lay before it. It was not merely the material progress of a new colony, not merely making Algiers one of the first ports and coaling stations in the Mediterranean and an unrivaled health resort, but the Christian civilization and regeneration of North Africa, a land of classic memories enshrined in pagan and ecclesiastical annals, which the lives and deeds of heroes, saints and martyrs have made forever famous, although the remembrance of them may have half faded from the minds of men in these later ages.

"In His providence God has chosen France to make of Algeria the cradle of a great and Christian nation, a nation like unto herself, her sister and her child, happy to walk by her side in the paths of honor and justice," wrote one of the greatest Frenchmen, one of the primordial minds of the nineteenth century, a magnificent man, a citizen worthy of the country of St. Louis, a true *filis des croisés*, and an apostolic prelate worthy to rekindle the light of faith in a land rendered illustrious by the virtues, learning and eloquence of a Cyprian and an Augustin—Cardinal Lavignerie. "He is calling upon us," wrote that great Archbishop, eminent by his ecclesiastical rank and his brilliant services to the Church and humanity—"he is calling upon us to use those gifts which are especially our own in order to shed around us the light of that true civilization which has its source and its spring in the Gospel; to carry that light beyond the desert to the centre of the continent, which is still enshrouded in

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<sup>5</sup> M. A. Joanne.

<sup>6</sup> "Among the Berbers in Algeria," by Anthony Wilkin. London, Fisher Unwin, 1900.

the densest darkness, thus uniting Central and Northern Africa to the common life of Christendom."

The vast scheme of spiritual conquest—a conquest far more important than mere territorial expansion—planned out by Lavigerie, the evangelization not of Algeria alone, but of the whole of the African Continent—a colossal enterprise worthy of one regarded as the savior of Algiers, a fitting successor of the great Bishops of the primitive Church in Africa, a second St. Augustin,<sup>7</sup> would be farther advanced towards possible realization in the future if contemporary France had the wisdom to appreciate and promote such a gigantic undertaking, which would redound more to the credit of its statesmen than the petty policy its rulers pursued. But the times were out of joint for such a man and such a movement. He was a crusader born out of time. France was no longer the France of St. Louis, Catholic to the core and from end to end, but only Christian and Catholic in name. Other men and other manners had obliterated its past, extinguished its traditional spirit and rendered difficult, if not impossible, their revival. The eloquent and glowing words in which Lavigerie, on his advent to Algiers in May, 1867, depicted the history of Northern Africa; the traces of three great historic races discoverable in the ruins which everywhere strewed the ground; the remains of the highest and most varied civilization; the graves, the monuments and the memories of the most illustrious men; the scattered stones of world-famed cities; the more hallowed memories which appealed to Christians worthy of the name, sacred memories of the heroes of the faith—of their courage, their genius and their sanctity; the greatness of the ancient Church of Africa with its seven hundred Bishops, its innumerable churches, monasteries and doctors, the Church which rejoiced to listen while a Cyprian and an Augustin unfolded dogmas and doctrines; its soil saturated with the blood of martyrs; the courage of its delicate maidens in the hour of persecution, a courage which surpassed that of hardy and intrepid men; the grottos of its mountains and the oases of its deserts perfumed by the virtues of the solitaries of the Laura and Thebaïd, who moved to admiration, imitation and holy envy the whole of Western Europe from Lerins to Ireland, whose monks

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<sup>7</sup> On the occasion of the opening of the hospital at Algiers an Arab fête was held in the neighboring plains. It was a solemn and beautiful scene when Mgr. Lavigerie, in full pontificals, attended by fifty priests, having ascended the hill on which the hospital stood, gave his benediction to the building, which bore the inscription "Bit-Allah" (God's House). It was like an episode of the past, recalling to the minds of all who witnessed it the glories of the early Church of Africa. The English Consul, Colonel Playfair, kept repeating to everybody: "We have St. Augustin amongst us again!" ("Cardinal Lavigerie and the African Slave Trade," edited by Richard F. Clarke, S. J., p. 115.)

modeled their ascetical lives on those of the Fathers of the Desert—all these words, all his passionate appeals to Africa to take its place once again among the nations united to it by a common faith and a common civilization, all the picturesque phrases in which his fervent enthusiasm and ardent hopefulness portrayed a North Africa of the nearing future, risen again from its ashes, purified, regenerated and endued with fresh life and renewed vigor, were so much idle, empty verbiage to the unheeding ears and unsympathetic hearts of too many of his fellow-countrymen.

“The French administration in Algiers,” writes Father Clarke,<sup>8</sup> “had always been marked by an unjustifiable opposition to any attempt to Christianize the country. The government seemed to imagine that the policy of non-interference would do more to conciliate the natives than the heroic devotion of the Catholic missionaries; the clergy, so far from being supported by those in authority in their attempts to establish schools and orphanages and to spread the religion of Jesus Christ, had been discouraged in their zealous and self-denying efforts; the Sisters of Charity and other religious institutions had been established there rather in spite of the French authorities than with their sanction and aid. Even the Archbishop and those around him met with but cold courtesy at the hands of a government which was at best but half Christian. Its policy was to divide the country into two nationalities, the French and the Arab, and to keep them entirely apart. This had been the system pursued ever since Algeria passed into French hands. One of the leading newspapers, *Le Royaume Arabe*, openly advocated it. It was the representative of a number of generals who were all-powerful at the French court and who were opposed to colonization and the assimilation of the two races, and to the spread of Christianity.”

The first Bishop of Algiers after the conquest—as Mgr. Lavigerie reminded the Governor General in a letter defending himself against unfounded charges brought against him by the anti-Christian faction, who had determined to undo his work if possible and to ruin him if they could—was abandoned by those in power and obliged to fly from the land which he had watered with his tears and the sweat of his brow; and, had it not been for the generous interference of Prince Louis Napoleon (afterwards Napoleon III.), he would have died a prisoner. Every one knew that in handing over Mgr. Dupuch to the tender mercies of his greedy creditors they were handing over in his person the apostle who stood in the way of the anti-religious schemes which had long since been formed and were being carried into execution. His successor, Mgr. Pavy, was forbidden to enter into any relations with the Arabs, while the venerated superior of

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<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, c. iii., p. 54.



the Grand Seminary was publicly threatened with imprisonment, and even the galleys, for having picked up in the gutters of Algiers some little orphan boys of whom he wanted to make useful members of society. While Christianity was oppressed, Mohammedanism was promoted by a so-called Christian nation. A pilgrimage to Mecca by the Mussulmans of Algeria was accomplished at the cost of the State, and the doctrines of the Koran were taught, in the name of Catholic France, to a people who were unacquainted with them, such as the inhabitants of Kabylia. Little wonder that the French residents were constrained to say in the petition presented on the subject of the establishment of a bishopric: "The Arabs reproach us that we have no religion; that we are Christians, but do not fulfill the duties of such, and, according to them, a man is no man who does not pray;" a well-put and well-merited rebuke to modern skeptics.

Speaking of the Arab tribes, Lavigerie wrote: "From a moral point of view they have acquired our vices without learning our virtues, and have shown themselves obstinately opposed to everything in the shape of progress or amelioration. Such is the result of the rule of Christian France during a period of eight and thirty years! Is it not high time to have done with a system so fatal in its consequences, so absolutely condemned by the voice both of God and man?"

What the Archbishop contended for was the definite cessation of the system which separated the country into two castes—the one Arab, the other French—and the inauguration of that fusion of races which could alone ensure their own future. Mgr. Lavigerie, who was the first to raise the sombre veil which shrouded from the eyes of France the sufferings of Algeria, which, for politic reasons, had been concealed as far as possible from the knowledge of Europe, declared in a letter to the Emperor that the only chance of saving the native races was their rapid and complete assimilation. All unprejudiced minds recognized that his Christian villages and orphan settlements were the first practical and successful attempts at the much desired fusion of races, which his opponents sought to prevent. His two predecessors complained bitterly of the manner in which their efforts were frustrated by political intrigues or exigencies; but the apostasy over which they had to grieve was not that of the Mussulmans, whom they could not convert, but that of Christians and Frenchmen, who openly disavowed the religion of their country, and were afterwards raised to the highest posts in the Algerian government. Catholic and Christian France, which these men misrepresented and misgoverned, became the supporter of the Crescent against the Cross. The public funds were employed in propagating Islamism, in repairing and building mosques and erecting schools in

which Arab children were taught a creed, an essential element of which is hatred and contempt of Christianity. Nor was this all. When some of the French missionaries had gathered into a Catholic home the waifs and strays of the city, children deserted by their parents or orphans who had no one to befriend them, they were threatened with fines and imprisonment if they did not desist from their work of charity. The separation between the two nations was complete.<sup>9</sup>

The obstacles presented by the timid policy of the government to the evangelization of the Arabs were removed in a great measure by the direct interposition of Providence. In the year 1868, close upon the footsteps of cholera, followed a second and yet more terrible scourge, a severe famine, the result of two years of excessive drought and the ravages of a swarm of locusts. The Arabs, left destitute of any provision against this visitation, were reduced to pitiable straits. No less than 500,000 succumbed to famine and fever; for an outbreak of typhus came to complete the misery. But the colonial government, instead of taking prompt measures for the relief of the people, through fear of public opinion, already strongly adverse to their policy, studiously suppressed all details of their sufferings and drove the famished wretches away from the towns. The country was consequently covered with troops of starving wanderers, clothed in rags, resembling skeletons rather than human beings, who might be seen rooting up and eating the very grass of the fields to stay the pangs of hunger. The roadside was daily strewn with the corpses of those who perished from want and exhaustion; and in the course of a few months thousands of unhappy children were left orphans by the death or abandonment of their relatives and were found straying from house to house in search of food, or dying of fever and starvation in the desolate huts which contained the putrefying corpses of their parents.<sup>10</sup>

Having tried in vain to arouse the authorities to a sense of humanity, the Archbishop made a heart-stirring appeal to all Christians to hasten to the rescue of their famishing fellow-creatures. In response a stream of charity poured in from all parts of Christendom; priests and laymen, religious of various orders, ladies of rank, physicians, soldiers, all lent their aid and gave their personal service. The wished for opportunity of reaching the soul of the Arab through the bodily assistance afforded him by Christian charity had now arrived. But it was to the poor orphans, whose minds were not yet obscured by pride and prejudice, that Mgr. Lavigerie looked with special confidence as supplying the good soil wherein the Word of God might

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<sup>9</sup> Father Clarke, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 38.

be sown with the well founded hope of obtaining a plentiful return.<sup>11</sup> He soon had two thousand of them on his hands. Though he was much blamed and laughed at for what people were pleased to call his impudence, throughout the whole of that calamitous period not one unhappy outcast was ever turned away; not a single child knocked at his door or that of any other priest without finding admittance.

The number of children received into the two large orphanages, one (for boys) founded first at Ben-Aknoun and afterwards transferred to the Maison Carrée in the vicinity of Algiers, and the other at Kouba (for girls), from November, 1867, until June, 1868, when a fresh harvest put an end to the famine, was no less than 1,800. Of these about 500 died; others, but not so many, were claimed by their relatives as soon as the distribution of relief afforded them the means of subsistence. About 1,000 remained, and for these the Archbishop was enabled to provide. Such was the origin of the Arab orphanages.

Convinced that country life and agricultural labor is far preferable for the children of the lower orders, especially the waifs and strays of the world, than life in towns, where they too often yield to the temptations which beset them, he determined on the establishment of Christian villages, the inhabitants of which should be principally employed in the cultivation of the soil. With this view he purchased large tracts of fertile land for a new agricultural settlement, placed under the patronage of the great African martyr, St. Cyprian. The land was divided into allotments, streets made and cottages built to receive the newly married couples. A chapel was erected in the midst of the village, with a presbytery for the priest, who was the temporal guide as well as spiritual father of the infant colony. It was in the year 1873 that the first married couples, having plighted their vows and received a fervent blessing on their union from the good Archbishop, came to take possession of their new homes. Thus was the Christian colony of St. Cyprian formally inaugurated, an event which Mgr. Lavigerie hoped would be regarded with approval by the government, since should the result be successful, no surer means could be found to bring about the fusion of races and prevent the gradual retreat or eventual extinction of the conquered people in presence of the powerful and prosperous invader. He knew the Arab nature and correctly judged that the example of Christians of their own race and kindred leading a settled and laborious but happy and tranquil life would exercise a beneficial influence on the wandering tribes who peopled the neighboring plains. Nor was he disappointed. The experiment proved a success. A few years later the foundation of this first village was followed by that of a second

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

on the same model a few miles distant and dedicated to St. Monica. It was the delight of the Archbishop to visit his adopted children, to counsel and encourage them, to witness their growing numbers, their increasing prosperity and their steady perseverance.

"The villages," he wrote some years later, "are the salvation of our children. There, gathered together under the eye of the missionary, encouraging and helping one another by mutual example, they are sheltered from the dangers to which they would be exposed in any other part of the colony. The Christian village is an oasis in the desert; all around is sadly desolate and parched up by human passions. Here grow up not only my children, but my grandchildren, for I have been for some years a grandfather, the greater part of the cottages being now enlivened with the presence of one or two or even three little ones. I wish you could come with me to visit the village of St. Cyprian and see me surrounded by a crowd of little folk who call me 'grandpapa Bishop,' pull me by my cassock and climb upon my knees to see if I have any goodies to distribute. I submit to all with joy and thank God, who has made use of the charity of the faithful to give life to so many innocent creatures, destined to be one day the instruments of His wise designs. The houses stand apart and are arranged in regular streets. They are humble, it is true, but they are bright with cleanliness—one of the most attractive signs of civilization. A church—poor, indeed, but clean and spotless like the other buildings which it overlooks—is surmounted by that sign of peaceful conquest, the cross, which is destined to give spiritual life to this land, so long bent under the yoke of death."

Seguin in the interesting work, "Walks in Algiers,"<sup>12</sup> thus describes the orphanage of St. Charles Borromeo, situate in the direction of Koubba: "This orphanage, named after the Milanese saint who owes his canonization to his noble exertions among his plague-stricken townsmen, was founded with other institutions of the same kind by Monseigneur Lavigerie, Archbishop of Algiers, at the time of the famine in 1867. This is the home of the female orphans, that for boys being at Maison Carrée, both of which establishments are doing, and likely to do, a good work in the colony. The children were literally picked up out of the streets, most of them in a starving condition. They are brought up as agriculturists, even the girls cultivating the farm which is attached to their asylum. Groups of them, in their picturesque white dresses, may be seen at work in the orchards and fields about Koubba and Birkhadem, under the superintendence of a sisterhood, who share their labors. The notion

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<sup>12</sup> "Walks in Algiers and Its Surroundings," by L. G. Seguin. London, Strahan.

of this field labor for females may not be altogether consonant with our notions, but outdoor work is, in Algiers, accompanied with far less hardships than in our damp climate, and it is probably felt to be a good education for the future wives of colonists. This is the destiny for which the girls are being prepared, and as soon as they arrive at woman's estate they are married in a somewhat summary fashion to the eligible inmates of the male orphanage. Probably the pairing is not more arbitrary than the generality of French marriages, and the households of these young people, Christianized, civilized and in a measure educated, are likely to prove more harmonious and well regulated than that of the ordinary Arab. The plan seems at least to be succeeding, and already one large and flourishing village has been peopled by Christian natives from these schools of waifs and strays. There are at present about two hundred girls in the orphanage."

Maison Carrée, six miles from Algiers, derives its name from an old Turkish fort which was built at the beginning of the eighteenth century to guard the bridge over the Harrach, as its Arab name, Bordj-el-Kantara, the fort of the bridge, implies. It was also used by the Turks for overawing and making raids upon the surrounding Arab tribes. By the treaty of Tafna with Abd-el-Kader this little fortress was the limit of the French territory eastward of Algiers. The surrounding marshes have now been drained and the country brought into a particularly advanced state of cultivation. Before arriving at the fort an extensive and prosperous farm will be observed. This is worked by Arab orphans and is the companion institution to the female orphanage between Koubba and Birkhaden, above referred to. Vegetables are the chief products of the farm, artichokes being considered the specialty, besides which the largest vineyard in Algeria has been planted by these young workmen. The ground was bought in 1867, a mere marsh, by Mgr. Lavigerie, and was placed under the care of the Missionnaires d'Afrique. In addition to the care of the orphans, they prepare themselves for missionary work in Central Africa. They wear the Arab costume, devote themselves to the study of Arabic and accustom themselves as much as possible to the life of the natives. While the missionaries are thus endeavoring to assimilate themselves to the Arabs, the orphans are, on the contrary, being educated into Europeans. They are taught Latin and French, together with farming on the most approved European system, wear the European dress and are occasionally sent for a while to France so as to give them some notion of European life.<sup>18</sup>

The most important feature of Koubba, where the female orphanage is situated, is a large ecclesiastical college, which from its com-

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<sup>18</sup> Seguin, *op. cit.*

manding position attracts the stranger's gaze from the moment of his first arriving in Algiers; and every evening at sundown afterwards—when, the coast and lesser heights left in shadow, the rosy-golden light lingers lovingly upon the white dome and long façade, that crown the eastern spur of the Sahel. The college is divided into two sections—one for boys and the other for older students, each about thirty in number. It consists of two long corridors leading out of a fine central court, in which is the church and where on Sundays there is an excellent musical service, to which strangers are admitted without difficulty. The Archbishop of Algiers has apartments in the Séminaire.<sup>14</sup> The grounds of the college are very extensive, and though a considerable portion of them is utilized for the production of the vine, they are laid out with much taste and order. A little building in the garden, now used as a chapel, is that which gives the neighboring village its name. It is a Koubba or small mosque built by Hadji Pasha some time in the sixteenth century. In the garden also on the seaward side, that is overlooking the winding road which leads down to the Ruisseau, is a very handsome Calvary, with chapels, grottoes and stations, ornamented with sculptured work.<sup>15</sup>

Although there are more than sixty millions of Mussulman Africans in North Africa, Mahommedanism, still a power, and a formidable, organized power, to be counted with, is receding in Algiers. Before the French conquest there were no less than a hundred Mahommedan temples in Algiers. There are now only five, the others having been pulled down or converted into churches or used for other purposes. It is retributive justice. The architect of the Mosque of the Pêcherie, a Christian slave, a Genoese, forced by his Moslem tyrants to a work uncongenial to him, revenged himself by perpetuating in the Mahommedan temple, built in the shape of a Latin cross, the symbol of his own faith, and suffered death by impalement in consequence. Outside the gateway of old Algiers is a pretty little mosque which has been converted into the Church of the Holy Cross. The Church of Our Lady of Victories was, likewise, formerly a mosque. It has a beautifully carved doorway, the work of a native artist, a fine white marble altar and a piece of sculpture representing the Virgin and Child. The Cathedral of St. Philip was also primitively a mosque. When the French took possession of Algiers they found on what is now the Place Malakoff a handsome though modern mosque, erected in 1794 on the site of a more

<sup>14</sup> The Archbishop's residence is known among the Arabs as the house of Aziza, daughter of the Bey. It was originally part of the royal palace of Djenina, which for so many centuries was the seat of Arab and Turkish misrule in Algiers.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 319.

ancient one, by Pasha Hassan, and usually known by his name. Very shortly after the conquest this mosque was converted into a church, the altar being placed so as to cover the ancient *nimbar*, and the texts of the Koran enjoining constancy in prayer and faith in God left undisturbed in the vault of the cupola.

The pilgrimage Church of Notre Dame d'Afrique, built in the Byzantine style, with a high central dome rising from a cluster of smaller ones and flanked by a tall and graceful clock tower or minaret, occupying a conspicuous position on the spur of Mount Bou-Zarea and forming a prominent feature in all the views from the northwest side of Algiers, was begun by Archbishop Pavy in 1858 as a sort of thank offering for the establishment of the French and the revival of Christianity in North Africa. A black Virgin (Notre Dame d'Afrique) occupies the place of honor over the high altar, and at the feet of the statue lie the swords of Marshal Pelissier and General Yusuf. In one of the chapels is a solid silver statue of the Archangel Michael, valued at about £4,000, the offering of the Neapolitan fishermen. Around the church are numerous votive offerings, testifying to the favors obtained through the intercession of Our Lady of Africa and to the piety of the Catholic population. The church is much frequented by sailors, and many of the offerings are grateful tributes to Our Lady for protection from the perils of the sea. Every Sunday afternoon after Vespers a remarkable and most impressive ceremony takes place here. From the little platform in front of the church, which overlooks the sea, a funeral service for the shipwrecked—those whose vast grave lies spread out on all sides as far as the eye can reach—is chanted. The effect is described as altogether solemn and beautiful. Attached to the church are some religious houses, a monastery and a school for Arab boys destined for the priesthood, called *le petit seminaire*. Another impressive sight has often been witnessed in the Church of Blidah, a barrack town. During the celebration of Mass on Sunday morning a military band stationed in the church provides the music, while a guard of honor standing before the high altar presents arms with a great clattering of steel on the stone pavement at the elevation of the Host and chalice.

The Good Shepherd nuns and the Little Sisters of the Poor are also represented in Algiers, and until recent years the Jesuits had charge of orphanages in which foundlings sent from France were educated at the expense of the State, instructed in farming and prepared either to become colonists or enter the army. The beautifully laid out grounds with their alleys of cypress and mulberry trees, which were formerly the pride of the Jesuits, are now rented by a market gardener, and the orphanage and clergy house, together with

a very handsome and large chapel, ornamented with good stained glass windows, stand empty or are only occasionally used as store-houses for corn.

The past and the present, represented by mediæval monks and modern missionaries, white-robed Cistercians and Lavigèrie's White Fathers and black-robed Jesuits, have met to labor together in the common work of the regeneration and re-Christianization of North Africa, living symbols of the Church's continuity and vitality and adaptability to every age and every clime. Mgr. Lavigèrie's efforts to further and promote the interests of agriculture, which is the very soul and spirit of colonial life in Algeria, were greatly aided by the Trappists of the extensive monastery at Staouëli, who proved by their own example what industry and economy can do.<sup>16</sup> In the year 1843 permission to build a monastery and a grant of about 2,500 acres were obtained from the government by this religious order. The land was then almost a desert, or rather a jungle of brushwood and palmetto, the favorite haunt of the wild boar. The Trappists, worthy descendants of those monks of the West to whom European civilization is so largely indebted, covered it with vineyards, corn fields and gardens. A fine farm adjoins the monastery, and the monks pride themselves on their breeds of cattle, horses and sheep. They also cultivate enormous fields of geraniums, from which they distil perfumes, and are noted for their good wine, which needs no bush. The wine cellar is one of the chief sights of the monastery, over which male visitors are willingly conducted, for the canon law does not permit a woman's foot to pass the threshold of the enclosure. In order that ladies may partake of Trappist hospitality, which is proverbial, a couple of small refectories have been built just outside the walls, where two Brothers of the order receive all visitors with a kindly and simple grace, and where the best cheer the monastery affords is spread upon the snow-white wooden board—bread, butter, cheese, fruit and excellent wine, all home-made. A box for alms enables visitors to acquit themselves of the purely voluntary pecuniary obligation for these hospitalities. Miss Edwards, in her pleasant book, "A Winter With the Swallows," describing a visit she paid to the monastery, says: "One of the Brothers superior entertained us; he was a shrewd, cheerful looking man of fifty, quite *au courant* with the affairs of the outer world, quick to read character and apt, I should say, at ruling his fellow-creatures. We had an animated discussion on the present state of the Roman Church. . . . The father beat us hollow. He was so witty, so enthusiastic, so well trained in the use of facts, so apt at tripping you up with a truism, that we had nothing to say to him, and he saw it delightedly. When

<sup>16</sup> Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J., *op. cit.*



other subjects were brought forward our host had plenty to tell us about his convent and its prospects. He seemed pleased to hear his wine praised, which, with everything else on the table, was the product of the Trappist farms, and brought out some oranges of particular flavor as a special little attention. We were quite sorry to go, and promised the father we should not easily forget either our talk or our entertainment at Staouéli." The ground which the monastery and its adjuncts occupy is the spot where the first battle was fought by the French in 1830. The foundation stone was laid upon a bed of bullets, relics of the fight.

After a storm there cometh a calm; after fighting, fraternization. Although the conquered race were naturally reluctant to accept the conqueror's creed, and the work of evangelization and fusion was impeded, much has been done to shed the kindly light of Christian civilization over this strip of the Dark Continent since the queen of the North African littoral, the whitest city of the East, was transformed into a French settlement; although Seguin, for æsthetic reasons, regrets the transformation of that part of Algiers which looks upon the sea, the boulevard which now fronts the town having swept away eighty thousand quaint, flat-roofed Moorish houses, the policy of the French appearing to him to have been to efface as much as possible the Algiers of the past, and to substitute in its stead a commonplace and utterly uninteresting French town. Musulman Algiers as it existed in 1830 has rapidly disappeared. M. Berbrugger, conservator of the Bibliothèque in Algiers, regards its effacement as "a vandalism dishonoring even to a barbarous nation."

In the Lycée or college near Notre Dame des Victoires youths of all races, both Christian and Mahommedan, are educated together, the religious instruction of each creed being provided for. Formerly it was not by any means safe for Europeans to attend native fairs, and troops were called out to protect any strangers who might venture to present themselves. Now Europeans and natives mingle peacefully, if not amiably, together.

Notwithstanding this fusion and fraternization, Mohammedanism must be regarded as a strong, subtle and powerful opposing force, and will always have to be encountered and combatted.<sup>17</sup> Slavery will completely disappear long before it shall have disappeared. "Between the religion of Mohammed and the religion of Jesus

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<sup>17</sup> "Mohammedanism, overthrown and dying out in Europe, is, however, making rapid and alarming progress among the native population of Africa. It is imposed upon them by force. It created provinces and kingdoms, and is said to have subdued during the last hundred years no less than 50,000,000 souls to its iron yoke. Equatorial Africa will assuredly share the fate of the surrounding countries if its heathen population are left to themselves."—Letter by Mgr. Lavigerie to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

Christ," says Father Clarke,<sup>18</sup> "there always has been and always will be war to the death. The religion of Mohammed is the most powerful, the most determined, the most successful enemy that the religion of Christ has encountered."

Sir W. Muir, in his "Life of Mahomet," says: "They labor under a miserable delusion who suppose that Mahometanism paves the way for a purer faith. No system could have been devised with more consummate skill for shutting out the nations over which it has swayed from the light of truth. *Idolatrous* Arabia (judging from the analogy of other nations) might have been aroused to spiritual life and to the adoption of the faith of Jesus; *Mahometan* Arabia is to the human eye sealed against the benign influences of the Gospel. Many a flourishing land in Africa and in Asia which once rejoiced in the light and liberty of Christianity is now overspread by gross darkness and barbarism. It is as if their day of grace had come and gone, and there remained to them no more sacrifice for sins. That a brighter day will yet dawn on these countries we may not doubt, but the history of the past and the condition of the present are not the less sad and true. The sword of Mahomet and the Corân are the most stubborn enemies of civilization, liberty and truth which the world has yet known."

Innumerable Christians have been sacrificed to the Moloch of Mohammedanism. Close to the seashore, washed by the blue waves of the Mediterranean, and now engulfed beneath them, was the melancholy but sacred little strip of land where, year after year, in the dark days of Algerian terrorism, hundreds of unfortunate Christians found a repose which life denied them—their only escape from a hopeless and cruel slavery.<sup>19</sup> It was the old Christian burial ground of Algiers. The origin of the Christian cemetery, as Berbrugger relates,<sup>20</sup> is owing to an act of singular beneficence which deserves to be recorded. A Capuchin friar, once confessor of Don Juan of Austria, was enduring in Algiers all the miseries of slavery. The hero of Lepanto being informed of this, sent his old friend a considerable sum of money in order to purchase his liberty; but the good priest during his captivity had been a witness of the inhumanity of the Turks, who refused even to bury their unfortunate Christian slaves when their sad lives ended. Instead, therefore, of using the money sent him for his own enfranchisement, he devoted a portion of it to the purchase of a tract of land beside the seashore, where for the future his fellow-sufferers would find a resting place, and with the remainder of the money he liberated several other slaves whose

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

<sup>19</sup> Seguin, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>20</sup> "L'Algerie."

cases he thought sadder than his own. Happy in his good deeds, he ended his life amid the horrors from which he had freed others, leaving behind him not even a name by which posterity can bless him. In the little cemetery which the Christians owed to him his place was unmarked. Of the cemetery, Mussulman or Christian, no trace now remains. In 1832 the old burial ground was swept away without much regard to the sacred memories of the place, and the spot which was once God's acre is now devoted to military exercises.

The adjoining Arsenal d'Artillerie, which occupies the site of the old Turkish fort, known to Europeans as the Fort des Vingt-Quatre Heures, recalls another instance of Christian heroism. The name is credibly stated to have originated in the tragedy which occurred during the erection of this fortress, namely, the martyrdom of the Christian slave Geronimo, which occupied exactly the space of twenty-four hours. We owe the account which we have of his life and death to the pen of the Spanish Benedictine, Haedo, Abbot of Fromesta, who in 1612 wrote a history and most accurate and remarkable description of Algiers and was for many years in the service of the Primate of Palermo, who, moved by the misery which the Christians suffered in Algiers and the terrible evils which resulted therefrom to Christianity, employed a great part of his fortune in reclaiming Christian captives from slavery. It was from the mouths of these fugitives, whom the Archbishop received and succored, that his secretary or almoner got his information.

In 1540, when the Spaniards held possession of Oran, during one of their raids into the country the soldiers took prisoner a little Arab child, whom they put up for sale as a slave. The baby prisoner was bought by the Vicar General, Juan Caro, who baptized him under the name of Geronimo, and taking him to his own house educated him and treated him with much kindness. Later on he was carried home by some Arab slaves, who, during an attack of plague when the garrison of Oran was camping out in the fields and discipline was relaxed, managed to make their escape, and thinking to do the boy a kindness, took him with them. For some years he lived among his own people, a professed Mahommedan, but he subsequently returned to Oran of his own accord and to his old master, Juan Caro, desiring, as he said, "henceforth to live in the faith of the Divine Saviour."

It was with the greatest joy and satisfaction the Vicar General welcomed back the young Arab. He took him at once into his service and treated him with great affection. When he reached the age of manhood and had given evidence of bravery, he was permitted to enter the Spanish guard as a paid soldier. His patron afterwards married him in his own house to a young Arab slave, who

was also a convert to Christianity. Geronimo, after gaining both credit and honors in his military career, had the misfortune in May, 1569, to be made a prisoner by the Algerine pirates. He accompanied a party of nine Spaniards, who had received orders to make a descent upon the coast at some little distance from Oran, where there was reported to be an Arab encampment. They were chased by two Moorish brigantines, and the whole party, with the exception of the leader, who managed to escape, were made prisoners. As it was the custom that the Pasha should take as his own share of the spoil two out of every ten whom they made captive, Geronimo and another fell to the lot of the Governor, who was at that time Euldj-Ali, a Calabrian renegade. Geronimo, finding himself one of the slaves of the Pasha, was immediately carried to the Bagno or prison. The fact of his having been an Arab by birth who had abandoned his own nation and creed to become a Christian led to his persecution when it became known. He was loaded with a heavy chain and not allowed to leave the prison even to work with his fellow-slaves. Every effort to shake his faith or fortitude failed. The only answer he made to their arguments, promises or threats was not to expend unnecessary breath, for that nothing in the world, neither terrors nor persuasions, would induce him to forsake Christianity. Sometimes, after one of his interviews with their learned men, priests and marabouts, he would say to his companion Christian captives: "These people think that they will make me become a Mussulman, but that they will never do, even if they kill me." The Moors, finding themselves baffled and beaten in argument, demanded for this disobedient son of Ishmael such a punishment as should at least act as an example and warning to other renegades. The Pasha conceived the diabolical design of having him entombed alive, walled up in a bastion or fort which was being constructed, and intimated it to one of his Christian slaves, Maitre Michel, a Navarrese mason, who sought Geronimo and told him the cruel order which had been given, exhorting him to patience and at the same time bidding him prepare for death. Geronimo did not lose heart, but replied resolutely: "God's will be done. Let not these miserable men think that they will frighten me out of the faith of Christ by the idea of this cruel death. May our blessed Saviour only pardon my sins and preserve my soul." Some of the Christians who stood around and heard these words did their best to console and encourage Geronimo, who answered: "I have confidence in the Lord that He will by His grace give me strength to suffer for His Holy Name; but I entreat you all to commend me to God." He passed the whole of that night in prayer and pious exercises, assisted by a priest, one of the Pasha's slaves. It was scarcely 3 o'clock in the morning when three or four janissaries entered the

Bagno and demanded Geronimo, who was still at prayer in the church. When summoned he advanced to meet these men, who assailed him with abusive epithets, such as dog, coward, Jew and traitor, and asked him why he refused to return to the faith of his fathers. But to all this the servant of God did not answer so much as by a single word. The janissaries at once led him to the fort which was to be the scene of his glorious death. There the Pasha himself awaited him, accompanied by a great number of Turks and renegades. "Well, dog," said he, "so you refuse to return to the faith of Islam?" "I am a Christian, and a Christian I will die," replied the martyr. "As you please," returned the Pasha. "Then here," showing him a mould of concrete, "you shall be buried alive." "Do your will," said the holy man intrepidly, filled with a singular courage. "I am prepared. The prospect of death is not likely to make me abandon the faith of Our Saviour Jesus Christ." The chain about his leg was removed, his feet and hands tied and he was placed at the bottom of the block of concrete, face downwards. A renegade Spaniard, known to the Christians as Tamango and to the Turks as Djafer, then jumped on the martyr's body and called out loudly to those about him to bring earth to fill in the grave. "His cruel desire," writes Haedo in his "*Historia e Topografia de Argel*" (1612), "was soon gratified, and the earth was heaped over the body of this saint of the Lord, who, meekly suffering all things like a lamb, opened not his mouth. When the earth was filled in Tamango began beating it down with his hands and feet. Seeing which the other renegades, desiring also to show themselves good Mussulmen and accomplished Turks, came to his assistance and, jumping upon the earth, trod it down under their feet. Thus between them was accomplished the death of this noble martyr of Christ, while the spirit of Geronimo, we may well believe, was received by Our Saviour among the number of His saints in heaven, to receive there the crown and reward of his holy and glorious death. The Pasha assisted at the whole of this spectacle, accompanied by a vast number of Turks, renegades and Moors, who looked on with great pleasure and contentment. When all was ended and the body of the holy man enclosed in his noble sepulchre, Euldj-Ali returned to his palace, saying as he went that he could scarcely have thought the Christian would have met death with so much courage. This happened in the middle of September (the 18th) of the year 1569, and will be a day ever memorable to those who love the name of Our Saviour Christ. The Christians who worked at the fort Bab-el-Oued deliberated afterwards if they could by any means obtain the body of the martyr, but it did not seem to them possible on account of the constant presence of the Türks and the men who acted as overseers."

Haedo, whose account of the martyrdom was translated from the Spanish into French by M. Berbrugger and published in the *Akhbar*, an Algerine paper, on October 5, 1847, very minutely indicated the exact spot where the martyr's body lay. "If the fortress is examined on the side looking towards the north," he wrote, "it is easy to perceive the very spot which encloses the holy body, because on that side of the wall is a block which is indented and uneven. In truth, the body of the martyr having decomposed, the earth of this particular block has sunk in such a manner as to be quite remarkable."

M. Berbrugger, who frequently examined this wall, was struck by a huge cactus which had grown up against one of the blocks and covered it with its leaves, and surmised that Geronimo's bones possibly rested there. He was not mistaken. It was behind this very cactus that the skeleton of Geronimo was found, enclosed in a block of pisa, in which his body had left an impression, when the fortress was demolished in 1853. The position was very much that described by Haedo. The hands were tied together behind the back, the legs had the appearance of having been wrenched apart by a convulsive movement. Most of the ribs of the skeleton were found broken, which bore out in a remarkable manner Haedo's record of the martyrdom; and his description of Geronimo's person applies equally well to the remains discovered. "The martyr Geronimo," writes the Benedictine, "was at the time of his death about thirty-five years of age, small and spare. His skin was very brown, like all the Moors of his country of Barbary." The Arab type of face is plainly discernible in the plaster cast taken of the mould formed by the martyr's body to be seen at the Bibliothèque Musée, formerly the palace of Mustapha Pasha, the best preserved specimen of the ornate style of domestic Arab architecture now existing in Algiers. The cords on the wrist and even the texture of the clothing are apparent. Every circumstance points to the identity of the remains found with those of Geronimo, martyred three hundred years before, buried, as Haedo had described it, "in the sight of all," namely, on the very angle of the fort, past which was the chief road into the city. Immediately after their discovery Mgr. Pavy, Archbishop of Algiers, who had taken the keenest interest in the search for the martyr's remains, went to Rome and took the necessary steps for the introduction of his cause before the Congregation of Rites. The removal of the bones and of the block of concrete bearing the impress of the martyr's body to the Cathedral of St. Philip was authorized by Pius IX. at the beginning of 1854, the translation being signalized by an impressive function, over which Archbishop Pavy presided. The tomb, which is in a chapel to the right of the entrance, is a white marble sarcophagus bearing the inscription, "Ossa venerabilis servi Dei

Geronimo," together with the date of the discovery of the relics and their interment in the Cathedral.

Heroism and martyrdom are not things of the past in the Catholic Church, not dim and misty legends of remote ages, but of frequent occurrence in the living present, as the contemporary records of the vast missionary work being carried on in every part of the globe by the pioneers, the advance guard of the Church's sacred army on the outposts of civilization and in savage lands abundantly testify. When in 1877 the International Association was formed with main object of abolishing slavery, that open sore of the world,<sup>21</sup> and in opening out a route across the equatorial regions of Africa for the explorer and the trader, an opening was made for the messenger of the Gospel, it was to Mgr. Lavigerie and the society instituted by him for the special purpose of evangelizing the Arab and Negro races Pius IX. turned, assigning to the Algerian missionaries the first share in the glorious work of the Catholic missions in Central Africa. Three of their number had already shed their blood in the Sahara, on the way to Timbuktu, whither they had hoped to carry the light of faith. They were no empty words which Mgr. Lavigerie inscribed as the motto of his missionary society on the papers presented to him by a priest from one of the most tranquil and well ordered dioceses of France in order to obtain his authorization to say Mass. Instead of the usual formula he wrote across them the words, "Endorsed for martyrdom" (*Vu pour le martyre*), and returned them to him, saying: "Read that; are you prepared for it?" "It is for this that I have come here," was his reply. Such was the spirit which animated the spiritual sons of Lavigerie who were to be found not only in Algiers and at Tunis, amid the ruins of Carthage on the spot where St. Louis of France breathed his last,<sup>22</sup> but in the dark depths of the Continent, in the last hiding places of a brutal barbarism where cannibalism still prevails and slavery in its most degrading forms. It was this spirit which moved the Apostle of Algiers to

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<sup>21</sup> "My missionaries, the White Fathers—so called on account of their habit," Cardinal Lavigerie told the Anti-Slavery Society in London at a meeting held on July 31, 1888—"are established in the Sahara and upon the high table-lands of Central Africa, from the north of Nyanza to the south of Tanganyika. Eleven of them have suffered martyrdom, whilst more than fifty others have died from fatigue and hardships."

<sup>22</sup> On the taking of Algiers, in 1830, Charles X., who then occupied the throne of France, obtained from the Bey of Tunis the cession of the plot of ground where tradition states that St. Louis died. Ten years later a chapel and dwelling house were erected there by Louis Philippe in memory of his illustrious ancestor. By an unaccountable mistake, the statue of Charles V. (le Sage) had been sent from France to Tunis instead of the statue of St. Louis, and the massive proportions of the marble figure above the altar were a sorry representation of the angelic features and attenuated form of the saintly Crusader.

uplift his eloquent voice in pathetic and passionate pleadings to succor and rescue from the inhuman monsters who trafficked in human flesh the wretched Negroes, victims of one of the most revolting and appalling crimes against humanity, appealing from a London platform to all to join him in the utterance of a loud cry to God first of all, and then to all Christian people, "God save Africa!" It was this spirit of the apostolate, manifest in word and work, which, to use Montalembert's words,<sup>23</sup> made the hearts of all Catholics throughout Europe thrill with admiration and acquired for him an enviable place in history.

In embracing Christianity the Algerines, or the large majority of them, were, according to Lavigerie, returning to the faith of their forefathers,<sup>24</sup> since most tribes are of Berber descent. Of the eight distinct races in Algeria the Kabyles or Berbers, descendants of the original inhabitants, occupying chiefly the mountainous parts, are the most active and industrious, living in villages and principally engaged in agriculture and fruit growing. Among them, we are told, the virtues of honesty, hospitality and good nature are conspicuous. "It is not their misfortune alone that the lowlands know them no more, not their misfortune only that Mohammedanism has debarred them from entering, as they would otherwise have entered, on the path of European progress and liberty; it is the misfortune of the whole civilized world. Descendants of a mighty race whose culture once spread from the Atlantic to the Red Sea and the Hauran, from Crete to Timbuctoo and the Soudan, there are still to be found among them the vestiges of the arts and sciences, of the spirit of conquest and the capacity for self-government which, if developed, would make them again a great nation."<sup>25</sup>

When the French conquered the once powerful mountain tribe of the Kabyles they treated them with special clemency, left them undisturbed in the possession of their property, and in no way interfered with the internal government, by which for many centuries they had regulated their own affairs. The Kabyle or Berber

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<sup>23</sup> *Correspondant*, May 25, 1868.

<sup>24</sup> Leo XIII., in the bull reëstablishing the ancient primatial See of Carthage, recalls how Carthage had once been amongst the first to receive the faith of Christ—Carthage, whose name evoked memories of so many saints and martyrs, so many Bishops and doctors, of Perpetua and Felicitas, of Augustin, Tertullian and of Cyprian; how Carthage had been the scene of much heroism and courage under the persecution of proconsuls, the violence of Vandals, the merciless onslaught of Moslems; and how she had, until her final destruction, held unrivaled sway over the Church of Northern Africa, for hers was the metropolitan see, and to her authority 750 churches were subject. The ruins of ancient Carthage, now almost entirely buried beneath the sand of the desert and overgrown with grass, are situated on the shores of the Mediterranean, about ten miles from the city of Tunis.

<sup>25</sup> "Among the Berbers in Algeria," pp. 4, 5.



is the pet of the French community in Algeria, although the insurrection of 1871 was almost entirely confined to the Kabyles. In the famous Tombeau de la Chretienne, called by the natives Kober-Roumia—the tomb of the Christian woman—at Algiers, what is presumed to have been a refuge for some early persecuted Christians has been found. The most important portion of the interesting ruins of the Roman seaport town Tipasa in Algeria consists of the remains of a large square church, the massive stone walls of which are wonderfully perfect, and a vast number of tombs, or rather stone coffins standing above the ground into which the calcined ashes of the dead were probably put. These are all without inscriptions, though on some of them the A and O (Alpha and Omega), the Christian monogram, was found. Tipasa was a colony of veterans founded by the Emperor Claudius. It is mentioned by Ptolemy and in the Itinerary of Antoninus. In the year 484 Huneric, the Vandal King, appointed an Arian Bishop to the Catholic See of Tipasa, in consequence of which many of the inhabitants of the city fled to Spain, and those who remained and refused to conform to the Arian doctrine suffered the mutilation of their right hands and tongues.

On the west side of the fort at Sidi Ferruch, where the French army of invasion landed in 1830,<sup>26</sup> are the ruins of a Christian church of the Roman epoch, dedicated to St. Januarius, and a club with iron spikes found among the débris is supposed to be a relic of the saint, who was killed in A. D. 410.

Although Wilkin<sup>27</sup> discounts and discredits the assumption that the Berbers as a race were ever Christians—although he admits that in the palmy days of North African Christianity such of them as happened to dwell in the Roman towns were converted—many have been at pains to show that the blue cross on the forehead between the eyes with which the Berber girls tattoo their faces, contrary to the Koran, which expressly forbids tattooing, is a relic of former

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<sup>26</sup> The entrance to the barrack, built on the site of the old Koubba, ornamented with sculptured trophies of war and peace, bears the following inscription:

Ici, le 14 Juin, 1830,  
Par l'ordre du Roi Charles X.,  
Sous le Com. du Général de Bourmont,  
l'Armée Française,  
Vint arborer ses drapeaux,  
Rendre la liberté au mers,  
Donner l'Algerie à la France.

An Arab tradition long existed to the effect that the Europeans would enter Algeria by Sidi Ferruch. Another Arab prophecy, in which some may see a latent touch of fine irony, predicted the fall of Algiers when the Christians should be at peace together.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 106, 107.

Christianity. Wilkin says they were never at any period of their history other than pagans or Mohammedans; but their Mohammedanism appears to be more or less skin deep. "The Kabyle," says General Daumas,<sup>28</sup> "accepted but did not embrace Islamism. He is clothed with it as with a burnous, keeping beneath it his own social habits."

The writer or compiler of "Walks in Algiers" goes further and says: "The Kabyles pay a very great regard to the teachings, and are very much under the influence of their priests or marabouts, but the influence is personal rather than sacerdotal. They do not consider themselves bound to accept the Koran as an entire rule of faith, and are said to have been in early times better Christians than they have proved themselves Mahommedans. In proof of which are cited their custom of keeping Sunday as the day of prayer, of seldom marrying more than one wife, of treating her as an equal rather than as a slave and of permitting her to go unveiled. In spite of the somewhat rough awakening which some of the too ardent Kabylophiles had in 1871, the philanthropists and politicians of Algeria still look forward with hope to the future of this remarkable people, believing that their qualities of industry, energy and truthfulness will by and by develop them into useful and intelligent citizens, and that as civilization reaches them the traditions of their earlier history will return more and more strongly upon them; that the cross with which the Kabyle women, in dim remembrance of a lost religion, so often tattoo their foreheads, may grow to be no mere barbaric ornament, but the holy symbol of a living faith."

Those traditions take us far back into history. At the close of the eleventh century a Berber dynasty, the Murabits or Almoravides, extended their authority over the greater part of North Africa, until they gave place in the middle of the succeeding century to the Muwahhids or Almohades, whose rule extended from the Atlantic to Tunis and lasted for a hundred years. The rule of these African princes, it is recorded, was generally mild and enlightened. They came for the most part from the native Berber population and were not disposed to be intolerant. The Christians were allowed to retain their churches and worship unmolested.

We read of a Bishop of Fez as late as the thirteenth century, and the Kings of Morocco and Tunis were usually in friendly relations with the Pope. Christians were enrolled in large numbers in the African armies and appointed to civil offices. St. Louis IX. of France was so impressed by the natural piety and the mild and just rule of the Almohades King that he went to Africa on his way to the Holy Land to convert him and died in the attempt. The saintly

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<sup>28</sup> "La Kabylie."

monarch may be said to have sacrificed his life for the propagation of the faith in North Africa, and it was in the fitness of things that a lineal representative of his house should have achieved the conquest of Algiers.

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

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### ETIENNE BRULE, EXPLORER AND DISCOVERER.

IF THE readers of Parkman or Shea remember at all the name of "Etienne Brulé, the interpreter," it probably brings up a vague image of one who played but a very subordinate part in the drama of adventure and discovery of which this continent was the scene during the seventeenth century. Yet the first white man to set eyes on Lakes Huron, Ontario and Superior, and the earliest explorer of Pennsylvania, Western New York and Ontario surely merits to be rescued from the night of oblivion by some "sacred bard." Now, this is the task that Mr. Butterfield has undertaken in his scholarly "History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations,"<sup>1</sup> and the most critical reader of the book will have to admit that the author by his painstaking study of the very meagre details about Brulé's movements left by contemporaries, and by bringing to bear on these scanty documents a well-trained "illative sense," has made good the claims of that intrepid pioneer to the honors of a great discoverer. Moreover, the originality which Mr. Butterfield claims for his narrative is thoroughly justified by the fact that the discoveries which this book proves conclusively to belong to Etienne Brulé, other historians, and Parkman in particular, attribute to Champlain himself.

The successful issue of a long campaign, to be sure, is commonly ascribed to the good generalship of him who directs the marches and devises the manœuvres of the troops, and as Brulé was but a servant or employé of Champlain the achievements of the man to a great extent redound to the glory of the master who directed them. But the "Father of New France" is now so rich in fame that he can well afford to leave Brulé all the honor due that capable subordinate.

Samuel de Champlain, owing to the faithful, modest story he relates of his own exploits and to the tributes paid him both by those

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<sup>1</sup> "History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1626," by Consul Willshire Butterfield. The Helman Taylor Company, Cleveland, Ohio. The book is published under the patronage of the Western Reserve Historical Society.

who knew him intimately and by later writers, not of his faith or country, is renowned to-day not only as a great explorer, but as a prudent governor and zealous Christian. For from the founding of Quebec by Sieur De Mont's colonists till 1635, Champlain, except for some short intervals, was Lieutenant Governor of the settlement; and during all those years he was a fervent Catholic in his daily life and really an apostle in his eagerness to further, by every means he could, the permanent establishment of Indian missions. Champlain, however, we can assert with safety, would be to-day less famous for his explorations were it not for Etienne Brulé. Champlain's narrative, and that of Sagard and of Caron, too, would be without many an important fact and significant detail they now possess bearing on the language and the customs of the Indians of the Huron country and its neighborhood, and Champlain's knowledge of the vast, dark land that lay to the west would be much more circumscribed had there been no one like the adventurous and intelligent Brulé to carry out most faithfully his master's orders, and even to undertake enterprises of discovery on his own initiative.

Of Brulé's early life we know scarcely anything. Born at Champigny about the year 1592, he came out to New France, as Champlain's servant, in 1608, thus beginning his adventures as a mere boy. It must have been the rugged constitution of the lad, which was destined to endure so many hardships, that enabled him to be one of the eight survivors of the dreadful first winter at Quebec, when the scurvy claimed as victims more than two-thirds of the little colony. A second winter passed, however, before Brulé became a real explorer. Then occurred his opportunity. For Champlain had intended to accompany some friendly Hurons up the Ottawa to their home, just east of Lake Huron, but being unable for some reason to go himself, he tried to find a substitute, one who would be willing to go back with the Indians and with the object of acquiring needed information, explore their country, live their savage life and become familiar with their language and customs. So who should be selected but the eager, fearless and intelligent Brulé. But the Indians at once objected. They were quite unwilling to be answerable for the safety of the lad. Finally, however, after a long parley, the chiefs agreed to take Brulé along, provided one of their young men was permitted to accompany Champlain to France. The agreement was made, the exchange effected, and with instructions from his master "to see the great mysterious lake to the north" (Huron), "to observe the rivers, the people, the mines and the other rare things," one bright June morning in the year 1618 the youthful pioneer bade his friends farewell, took a place in a canoe and set out from St. Ignace Island in the company of several hundred shouting braves for the

Huron country. This was a momentous undertaking on Brulé's part. For in thus visiting the homes of the Hurons, who lived just south of Georgian Bay, "he was the first of Europeans," as Mr. Butterfield well observes, "to ascend the Ottawa—the first white person to stand upon the shores of Lake Nipissing—the first to descend the French river, and the first to discover Lake Huron." Champlain and, some seventy-five years earlier, Cartier also had heard from savages reports about this last great sheet of water; to Brulé it was left actually to set eyes upon it. Parkman,<sup>2</sup> therefore, is in error when he makes Champlain the earliest explorer of this lake. It was not till four years later, in 1615, and in company of Brulé, that Champlain beheld Lake Huron.

The first sight of a "pale face," we may well believe, was a nine days' wonder to those Indians of the Georgian Bay region who had not been near French trading posts. Brulé was treated with the greatest kindness by his Huron hosts during the fall and winter that he passed in their rude palisaded towns, and well improved the opportunities he had to learn the Huron tongue, to observe their habits and to note what was remarkable about their country. So that when he descended the Ottawa the summer following, thus being the first European to shoot Lachine rapids, and returned to the settlement on the St. Lawrence, the wealth and accuracy of the information he brought back, his proficiency as an interpreter and his skill as a woodsman gave Champlain the greatest satisfaction. Accordingly it became the latter's practice to promote the interests of the colony by sending scouts to live among the Indians as Etienne had done. Just where the subject of our sketch passed the next four years we have no certain information. Possibly he was one of the two young men whom Champlain sent, about this time, to the Algonquins. Be that as it may, there is little doubt that the fascination Indian life began to have for Stephen made him mingle more and more freely with the savages in the neighborhood of the trading posts, master several new dialects and become still more expert in woodcraft. When we next hear of Brulé it is in connection with another aspect of his master's Indian policy. When Champlain arrived in Canada in 1609, he found an ancient war raging between the Indians who dwelt in the neighborhood of Quebec, the Montagnais, with whom the more distant Algonquins and Hurons were allied, and the savage Iroquois, or "Five Nations," of New York. Now to carry on his explorations with success Champlain saw that it was necessary to win the friendship of the Canadian Indians, and he knew no better way of gaining it than by going on the warpath with them against their ancient enemies. In the light of after

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<sup>2</sup> "Pioneers of France in the New World," Chapter XIII.

events we can see how unfortunate was this decision of Champlain's. By the easy victory he won near the lake which bears his name over the fierce Iroquois, he filled them with a deadly hatred for the French which they never laid aside. The enmity thus aroused worked the ruin eventually of the Jesuit missions in New York and Canada, explains in a measure the ill success attending France's colonizing schemes and aided not a little in England's final conquest of New France.

Now, beside the holy purpose Champlain had at heart throughout his explorations of bringing to the children of the forest Catholic truth, he eagerly desired to find the long sought for "Northwest Passage." Since the days of Christopher Columbus this had been the ambition of nearly every navigator crossing the Atlantic. For the voyage around the Cape to India and China was so long and perilous and the journey overland by caravans so slow and costly that fame and fortune was believed to lay within the grasp of him who found a way of reaching India by sailing west. Though Etienne Brulé, 'tis true, had discovered in the country of the Hurons nothing but a "fresh water sea," romantic stories of vast waters lying far to the Northwest still reached Champlain, and he became persuaded that if he could but gain the sources of the great St. Lawrence he would find not far beyond a salt sea which, of course, could be no other than the well-known North Sea, whose waves must wash the shores of China and the distant Orient. So at last the Northwest Passage would become a glad reality, bringing to the Bourbor lilies wealth and empire and to the fortunate discoverer everlasting fame.

To secure the Hurons' aid in furthering this enterprise, Champlain, in accordance with his policy, readily agreed, in the summer of 1615, to join a war party that intended to attack a large town of the Onondagas in New York. Allowing Father Caron, the Recollect friar, who was eager to evangelize the Hurons, to leave Montreal, accompanied by twelve armed Frenchmen, early in July (for the impatient savages would wait no longer), Champlain himself, his body servants and our friend Brulé, with the usual Indian escort, followed the main party up the Ottawa a few days later.

By the very route Brulé had taken four years earlier, Champlain now reached Georgian Bay and beheld himself the great "fresh water sea." Then pushing on, he joined Father Caron and his party at an inland village and assisted there at the first Mass ever said among the Hurons. Not the last, however, for the mission thus begun in 1615 by Father Caron, but which languished many years, owing to the dearth of means and missionaries, was reëstablished by the Jesuits in 1634, only to be totally destroyed some four years later by the Iroquois, when Fathers Brébeuf and Lalemant were martyred.

All the warriors having gathered, they launched canoes and, accompanied by their French allies, paddled down Lakes Simcoe, Sturgeon and Ontario toward the Onondaga nation. The adventurous Brulé, however, was not with his countrymen on this occasion. He had gotten Champlain's leave to join another expedition. The circumstances were these: Near the upper waters of the Susquehanna, just south of the Iroquois, there dwelt a tribe of Indians, the Carantouannais, who were Hurons' friends. Now, the help of these braves would be very useful in the descent upon the Onondagas. So when two canoes of Indians were sent in haste to arouse the friendly tribe, Brulé contrived to be a member of the party. The expedition was a difficult and dangerous one. To reach betimes their destination Brulé's companions had to skirt the country of the hostile Senecas, and to choose a route into New York quite different from the one pursued by Champlain's party. After leaving Lake Simcoe, with a short portage, they gained the Humber, which brought them to the western shore of Lake Ontario. Paddling across, they hid their canoes, probably south of Niagara river, and plunged into the New York wilderness, the native heath of the bloodthirsty Iroquois. Crossing what are now the counties of Erie, Genesee, Wyoming, Livingstone, Steuben, Chemung and Tioga, Brulé and his guides successfully avoided the enemy, save a small band of Senecas, whom they easily took captive, and arrived in due time at Carantouan, the chief town of the Carantouannais, situated very probably close to the Pennsylvania boundary where Waverly now stands.

By this expedition Etienne won more laurels, for though Parkman gives Champlain the honor of discovering Lake Ontario,<sup>3</sup> Brulé unquestionably trod its shores before all other white men, reaching as he did, owing to the shorter route he followed, the head of the great lake some days before Champlain, on his way to Onondaga land, had crossed the eastern end. Brulé was also the first white man to penetrate the pathless woods of West New York. About Niagara Falls, however, we do not hear a word, though it would seem the Indians of the neighborhood would tell a stranger of the mighty cataract.

The prime object, though, of Brulé's journey was not altogether a success. Notwithstanding his endeavors to make the Indians see the high importance of setting out at once if they hoped to be of any help to their allies, the preparations and the pow-wows took so long that when the Carantouannais at last reached the Onondaga town it was to learn that the Hurons had been successfully repulsed and, tired of waiting for the promised aid, had left for home two days

<sup>3</sup> "Pioneers of France in the New World," Chap. xiv., p. 372.

before. So of course there was nothing for the warriors and Brulé to do but return to Carantouan. The march, however, gave our pioneer the title, "First explorer of the Counties Tompkins, Courtland and Cayuga"—if that is fame.

As no guides were to be had that fall to lead Brulé back to the Hurons, he found he would be forced to stay among the Carantouanais till spring. Far from thinking this a hardship, the young scout, we may be sure, liked nothing better. Nor was he the man to pass the winter doing nothing. Mindful of the further purpose Champlain had in sending him into New York, he determined to explore the country to the south. Following, accordingly, the windings of a river "flowing towards Florida," which was unquestionably the north branch of the Susquehanna, down past its union with the west branch at Sunbury, he reached eventually the head of Chesapeake Bay and continued very probably his explorations to the sea. The winter in this region Brulé found quite mild compared with those of Canada, and the savages, some of Algonquin stock and some of Iroquois, who dwelt upon the Susquehanna and the Chesapeake, our expert linguist had no trouble in conversing with, and found them very friendly. Thus was Etienne Brulé the pioneer explorer of that State which William Penn was not to colonize for sixty years. But the Chesapeake, John Smith had visited eighty years before Brulé.

On his journey back to the St. Lawrence in the spring the usual good fortune of the woodsman well nigh deserted him. While crossing a second time with some Indian guides the country of the Senecas a party of fierce Iroquois attacked his little band. Brulé took to his heels, and when he stopped at last he was all alone in a trackless wilderness. After wandering about, weak with hunger, for several days he chanced upon a path which led him towards an Indian village. Some home-returning Senecas, whom he then hailed, brought him to their chief to be examined. In answering his shrewd questions the captive lied right valiantly, protesting that there was not a drop of French blood in his veins. But the incredulous Iroquois, though the chief tried to protect the prisoner, threw themselves upon Brulé, plucked his beard, tore out his nails and scorched his sides with blazing brands. It had been all up now with poor Brulé except for a deliverance as wonderful as unexpected. For while cruelly torturing their prisoner, "one of the savages"—it is Father Sagard,<sup>4</sup> the Recollect friar, who tells the story—"seeing the *Agnus Dei* which he (Brulé) carried hanging around his neck, and wanting to take it from him, Brulé began to shout and yell and told his tormenters that if they took it from him God would

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<sup>4</sup> "Histoire du Canada."



punish them, as God did accordingly; for no sooner had they put their hands on it to take it from his neck than the heavens, which had been until now cloudless, grew stormy all at once and sent forth so much lightning, so much thunder and made so much noise that the savages believed themselves to be at their last day and ran into their wigwams, leaving their prisoner alone." The friendly chief, however, soon returned, dressed the captive's wounds and showed him from that time the greatest kindness, so that Etienne on leaving for the Huron country, with guides the Senecas provided, promised to effect a reconciliation between the French and the Iroquois, but that was not to be.

Brulé seems to have stayed with the Hurons during the winter of 1617-18, for it is not till the following summer that we find him with Champlain again at Three Rivers, relating the story of his explorations and adventures. But Etienne had now become so fond of savage life, perhaps, that he no longer felt at home in a French settlement. At any rate, it is quite probable that our pioneer in obedience to the orders of Champlain spent the year 1619 in exploring regions to the north of Georgian Bay, where the Beaver nation had their home, bringing back more definite reports, no doubt, concerning the mysterious "North Sea."

The year 1621, however, is the date of what most will call Brulé's great exploit. For then it was, if we may trust the story of the Recollect Sagard, that Etienne discovered Lake Superior. Ever since Champlain's first visit to the St. Lawrence his imagination fed, as we know, by the romantic tales of Indian traders, kept calling him by way of that great river to China and the East. Stories, too, of copper mines far to the north, which pure ingots of the metal Indians brought him but confirmed, served to whet his eagerness to know that region better. Accordingly Champlain despatched Brulé and a fellow woodsman named Grenoble expressly to discover, as is very probable, this copper mine and to settle once for all the question of the northern ocean's real existence. So on gaining Huron Lake by the French river route, now quite familiar to him, Brulé paddled past Great Manitoulin Island by the North Channel, discovering in that neighborhood, "about eighty or one hundred leagues from the Hurons," "a mine of red copper" which savages were working. Then pushing up the St. Mary's river to its famous rapids, though he was already further west than any European had ever been, we may feel pretty certain, trusting chiefly to Friar Sagard's narrative, that the adventurous explorer paused not here, but went on beyond the falls till his eyes beheld, stretching out before him the broad expanse of Lake Superior. Brulé had found at last the "*Grand Lac*" that had been for many years his master's thoughts

by day and dreams by night. But its waters, alas, were fresh! So puff went Champlain's North Sea bubble, and the airy castles on the Chinese coast the "Northwest Passage" was to make him lord of tumbled to the ground. Mr. Butterfield believes it probable "that the adventurers paddled their canoes along the northern shore of Lake Superior till they came to its head, entering the mouth of the St. Louis river where now stand the cities of Superior and Duluth."

The last important expedition of Brulé's that we have knowledge of was his journey to the country of the Neutrals or Attiwandarons, who dwelt just west of the Niagara river, where no white man yet had set his foot. There the "interpreter Brulé," as Sagard always calls him, passed the winter of the year 1624-25, returning in the spring to the St. Lawrence with glowing accounts of the region, which are confirmed by what Father Daillon tells us about the richness of the soil and the abundance there in those days of game and fish. A change had meanwhile taken place in the directors of the colony. Indeed it were high time something were done, for the entire population of Quebec—men, women and children—numbered in 1627 but one hundred souls, threatened often with starvation and once in peril of being scalped by Iroquois, while the sole concern felt for the colony by its proprietors, the two Huguenots, William and Emery de Caen, was that there should be no falling off in the number of rich furs exported every year. The energetic Richelieu, however, who now held the helm of state in France, observing the precarious condition of the settlement, annulled the Caens' privileges and placed himself at the head of a corporation of one hundred members, Governor Champlain being one, of which the objects were to build up the colony, develop its resources and evangelize the aborigines. Measures to relieve the little garrison which held the fortress of Quebec were at once taken by sending out in 1628 a large fleet loaded with supplies and colonists.

But unfortunately as a result of the religious troubles of the time France and England were just then at war, and Kirke, the Huguenot admiral, arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence with a British fleet in time to intercept and sink the Cardinal's ships. Champlain, though summoned by Kirke's messengers to surrender the fortress, promptly refused and, strange to say, the admiral retired that year without attempting to take Quebec, but returned the next with a squadron, found a pilot to guide up three warships to the fortress and thus compelled Champlain to yield. But who was that useful pilot? Etienne Brulé! So Stephen was a traitor then? The admission must be made. Treason always has an ugly look, and the French never forgot what Brulé had done; but in point of fact, with the defenders of Quebec reduced to only sixteen men and with provisions

so scarce that to keep from starving men, women and children had to grub up roots in the woods, the English when they came were looked upon as opportune deliverers.

When Canada by the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, in 1632, was restored to France, Brulé, who in the interim had been employed by the English as Indian interpreter, seems to have found it convenient to retire to the land of the Hurons to live, and from this time became, as Shea expresses it, "a thorough Indian." Therefore it is not improbable that Etienne, together with their mode of life, acquired the Indians' vicious habits and even practiced some of their unholy superstitions. Father Sagard had occasion certainly to rebuke Brulé for showing honor to an idol, and it is too well known how lax the morals of Christians often grow in a new country and among uncivilized people. So some readers of Champlain may be more inclined than is Mr. Butterfield to believe, as the editors of the "Jesuit Relations"<sup>5</sup> are apparently, that the charges of licentiousness made against Brulé in the 1632 volume of Champlain's works, were penned by that great discoverer's own hand.

The end of Etienne Brulé was tragic. While living in the Huron village of Toanché, the site of which is now unknown, the explorer was brutally clubbed to death by his savage hosts and his body actually eaten. Father Brébeuf two years later found, as he believed, "the place where poor Etienne Brulé had been barbarously and treacherously murdered." The reason why the Indians killed the Frenchman who had lived so long among them and who had always trusted them so unreservedly we shall never know.

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## SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE.

FOR twenty years or more French Radicals have placed a separation of Church and State (involving a denunciation of the Concordat) at the head of their political programme. In the attempt made in January, 1902, to suppress the French Embassy at the Vatican M. Dubief echoed Radical sentiment in declaring that this suppression was "one of the fundamental articles of the Republican programme." "We are," he added, "no more the France of St. Louis and the Crusades, but the France of the Revolution, of free thought and of human right." But Radicals and Socialists, so brave in warring upon women and children, upon aged priests,

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<sup>5</sup> Vol. V., note 58.

decrepit monks and teaching friars, have found it necessary to proceed by easy stages through uncertainty of the effect upon the popular mind of a separation not called for by that more or less ignorant mass of ten million voters representing universal suffrage in France.

In October, 1902, M. Ernest Roche, an independent Radical-Socialist, presented to the Chamber of Deputies a project of law establishing a separation of Church and State. As Combes and his followers were still immersed in war on the congregations and religious education, M. Roche's plan for immediately forcing the issue of separation was regarded as premature, but a parliamentary committee of thirty-three members was appointed and charged with the study of this and all other measures that might be proposed for the separation, which so many Radicals and Socialists ardently desired in the abstract.

The diplomatic controversy over the question of the "Nobis nominavit" had a contributive share in the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican, chiefly through the bad faith and unstatesmanlike (I might almost say brutal) attitude and methods of M. Combes. This whole subject of naming the Bishops has been authoritatively treated, from the side of the Vatican, in the so-called "White Book," last issued as part of the exposition and documents comprised in "La Separation de l'Eglise et de l'Etat en France."\* Influenced by the internal and external relations of the government with the Church and by the anti-clerical composition of the commission itself, the commission on a separation of Church and State adopted, on June 16, 1903, a resolution declaring that there was ground for a denunciation of the Concordat and for proceeding to a separation of the churches from the State. This resolution was only carried by a majority of one vote, the commission standing seventeen to sixteen on an immediate decision in this sense. This was during the Pontificate of Leo XIII., whose policy of "rallying" all French Bishops and priests (and the lay body as well) to the support of the Republic was reciprocated and responded to by every anti-religious measure which a European republic could invent. This fact is most important to notice, since it shows the brazen untruthfulness of subsequent attempts of the French Government to throw upon Pope Pius X. the responsibility for a measure which Radicals had clamored for during upwards of thirty years, and which Socialists were urging public meetings of voters to force upon a hesitating government, unwilling to bear the odium of its own unilateral repudiation of a bilateral contract.

In the first period of his premiership M. Combes was not prepared either to denounce the Concordat or to separate the churches

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\* Rome, "Typographie Vaticane," 1905.

from the State, simply because he found public opinion not yet ripe for either measure. Later he thought he saw in adopting this course a means of prolonging his official existence, a matter of considerable importance to a country doctor like himself without large private resources. Having slaughtered nearly all religious congregations or prepared their ultimate extinction, Combes appeared to seek to find further occupation for himself and to fortify his position by attacking the Church itself, whose secular clergy he had so recently praised and sought to protect from unfair and "unjust concurrence or competition with the regulars!" Like Waldeck-Rousseau, Combes saw here an opportunity to "save" the Republic from "*clerical reaction*." Throughout its whole discreditable history this third Republic of France has only been kept alive by being periodically "saved" by some clever politician from "*perils*" conjured up to terrorize the peasantry, who still recall the misery of their ancestors in the old *régime* and the misfortunes of France in the downfall of the first and second Empires. Thus Waldeck-Rousseau conjured up the "financial and clerical peril" of religious congregations in order to drive from France the Society of Jesus, the Augustinians of the Assumption and to hold the other congregations at his mercy. So Combes, in his turn, posed as "savior of the Republic" from the evil machinations of the "clerical reaction," as chiefly personified by the Church, in communion with her Supreme Head and subject to his authority. The Pope protested, in March, 1904, against the bad faith and infamous aggressions of the French Government in the matter of religious education and those imparting it, and M. Delcassé, through the French Ambassador at the Vatican, protested against the Papal protest. In the following month M. Loubet, as President of the French Republic, visited the King of Italy at Rome, at the same time politely, but significantly, ignoring the existence of the Pope and the Vatican, at which court France then had accredited an Ambassador! Then followed the protest of the Vatican, addressed directly to the French Government, and the protest simultaneously sent to all the powers where Papal Nuncios are in residence. The form of this general protest was published in France by the Socialist paper *L'Humanité*, and it was found to contain a clause omitted, through courtesy, from the text of protest addressed to France. This latter was based upon the uniform Papal tradition that has obtained since September 20, 1870, and which refuses to countenance a visit of any chief of state of a nation styled Catholic when made officially at Rome to the King of United Italy and in the former Papal palace of the Quirinal. French pride (not to say arrogance) was wounded by the clause, omitted from the protest sent to France, but appearing in the general protest to other powers.

This clause read: "If, in spite of all that, the Papal Nuncio has remained at Paris, it is only due to very grave motives of a nature special in every way." The French Government knew perfectly that the Holy See had protested to protect rights that silence would, perhaps, compromise and to prevent the visit of M. Loubet from being regarded as a precedent that could be followed at pleasure by the rulers of other Catholic nations. But people who seek to pick a quarrel and who desire no explanations that, from their kindly nature, would have to be accepted, generally embroil themselves with those (however well disposed) whom they would describe as aggressors and point to as their enemies. Hence it was not surprising to the diplomatic world to have the French Ambassador recalled from the Vatican "on furlough," although the Ambassador himself declared to the Holy See that "This furlough did not signify either rupture or interruption or suspension of diplomatic relations." In June, 1904, when before the budgetary commission of the Chamber Combes was asked by a Socialist to explain the real significance of the "actual state of affairs" or the existing relations of France and the Vatican and if the Holy See had been officially notified of the recall of the Ambassador; to this he replied: "I do not know if the recall has been announced, but I am able to say that it is effective *and that the Ambassador will not return to Rome.*" This statement was published in Italian papers, and such unofficial declarations created astonishment until it transpired that the Combes Ministry was not unanimous in its decision upon this point.

In March, 1904, had arisen the trouble in the Diocese of Dijon, France, which culminated in students of the diocesan seminary refusing to receive ordination from the hands of the Bishop, Mgr. Le Nordez. The Bishop of Dijon was, unfortunately, not the only one of the French episcopate claiming to be a "victim of hatred, deceit and calumny." Almost from the commencement of his episcopate Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, was attacked by accusations filed at Rome, charges which were examined into during the Pontificate of Leo XIII., and which led the Holy Office to advise the Bishop to resign his see. It was then (in 1900) thought at Rome that in the local conditions actually then existing it was impossible for Mgr. Geay to govern the diocese with the necessary authority and efficacy. Mgr. Geay agreed to resign, provided he received another bishopric in France. This condition appeared unacceptable to the Vatican, but no further action was taken in this case until May 17, 1904, when by order of Pius X. the request for the Bishop's resignation was renewed, and in case it was not forthcoming within a specified time an ecclesiastical trial was intimated as inevitable. Notwithstanding the secret and private character of this last letter emanating

from the Holy Office, Mgr. Geay communicated its contents to the French Government. Combes and Delcassé, jealous of the prerogatives of the French State and presumably caring little for the honor of the French episcopate, notified Cardinal Merry del Val (by the acting Chargé d'Affaires) "that if the letter of May 17 is not annulled the government will be led to take the measures that a like derogation of the compact which binds France and the Holy See admits of." The Papal Nuncio at Paris explained to M. Delcassé that this was *not* a threat of *deposition* of the Bishop *without a decision of the French Government*, but an invitation to the Bishop to meet the charges by a voluntary resignation, which could be explained by honorable and plausible reasons, avoiding unpleasant rumors possibly arising from a canonical process in the delicate matters involved. While professing to cherish a "sweet hope" of prostrating himself soon at the feet of His Holiness, Mgr. Geay was strangely slow in realizing this desire, sprung, as he explained, from "the impatience of my heart." So slow, in fact, that on July 2, 1904, Mgr. Geay was directed to betake himself to Rome within the fifteen days following the date of this order emanating from the Holy Office and approved by the Pope. The Bishop of Laval referred this last summons to the French Government, at the same time asking authority from the Ministry of Public Worship to go to Rome. This permission was refused. Mgr. Geay also stated by letter what he had done, and suggested that if His Eminence (Merry del Val) had "some objections to make upon this subject" he "would do well to address them to the French Government." He, of course, conveyed to His Eminence his "regrets and humble homage." The Bishop of Laval was given from the 10th to the 20th of July to fulfill the obligation of obedience by going to Rome. More or less of the correspondence between the Vatican and the French Government got into print, marred by many inaccuracies and notable gaps, and newspaper agitation did not serve to throw oil upon the troubled waters.

On July 23, 1904, the government notified the Vatican that it considered null and void the letter of March 11, 1904, by which the Papal Nuncio at Paris conveyed to the Bishop of Dijon (Mgr. Le Nordez) an order of the Pope to postpone ordinations declared null because the Nuncio had not previously obtained the assent of the French Government! The government also demanded the withdrawal by the Vatican of the letter of July 9, 1904, enjoining Mgr. Le Nordez to repair to Rome. It was asserted that in summoning to Rome a Bishop of France without the official knowledge of the government the Holy See had misconstrued the rights of the power with whom it had signed the Concordat, a Bishop in his quality of diocesan administrator depending upon the Minister of Public Worship.

Letters of the Vatican of the 2d and 10th of July addressed to Mgr. Geay, Bishop of Laval, were likewise regarded as misconstruing the stipulations of the Concordat, since (according to M. Delcassé) a Bishop cannot be suspended or deposed without an agreement of the two authorities which have contributed to create him. The Vatican was notified that if these letters were not withdrawn, and should an outcome be given to the menaces therein expressed, the Government of France would understand that the Holy See no longer had any solicitude for the obligations of the Concordat, and that it would become the duty of the French Government to defend the prerogatives conferred upon it by the Concordat. With an unwearied patience that no purely civil government would have condescended to exercise, the Papal Secretary of State demonstrated that no step of the procedure so far followed had been, on the part of the Vatican, a violation of the Concordat. But it was made equally clear that "a withdrawal of these letters would be, in fact, equivalent to a complete abdication of the Pontifical authority upon the episcopate, an abdication which is not in the power of the Holy Father, and which cannot be in the intentions of the government of the Republic." Moreover, in a conciliatory spirit the Pope intimated his willingness to prolong for a month the delay accorded to the Bishop of Laval, provided in this time he would go to Rome, or if, in the event of his failure to appear or to clear himself of the charges against him, the government would show itself disposed to come to an understanding with the Holy See with a view to providing for the administration of the diocese. But an amicable understanding seemed to be the last thing sought for or desired by M. Combes. He had within his grasp a semblance of excuse for that complete rupture of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, that suppression of the Embassy for which his more violent followers had fiercely clamored. By concealing part of the diplomatic correspondence it could be made to appear, for a time at least, as if the Pope had made this step inevitable. A council of the Ministerial Cabinet was called in hot haste, and its outcome was a verbal note conveyed to Cardinal Merry del Val on July 30, 1904, by the Chargé d'Affaires of France and reading:

"After having repeatedly signaled the grave attacks that the initiative of the Holy See, exercising itself directly with the French Bishops, bears to the concordatary rights of the State, the government of the Republic has . . . warned the Holy See of the conclusion that it would be led to draw from the persistent misinterpretation of its rights. Obligated to establish . . . that the Holy See maintains the acts accomplished without the knowledge of the power with which it has signed the Concordat, the govern-



ment of the Republic has decided to put an end to official relations which, by the will of the Holy See (*sic*), find themselves to be without object."

Thus was the ground cleared for a denunciation of the Concordat and a separation of the churches from the State. As regards Mgr. Le Nordez and Mgr. Geay, respectively Bishops of Dijon and Laval, their long hesitation between the wishes of the French Government and the will of the Holy See ended by the departure of both of them for Rome. The government then promptly suppressed their salaries and after they had (under virtual pressure) placed their "voluntary resignation" in the hands of the Holy Father, an allowance from the funds of the Vatican was made to each of them. They have since lived in France in a retirement, varied at first by interviews of Mgr. Geay with reporters that have since happily ceased. The severance of diplomatic relations with the Vatican was completed by a note from M. Delcassé to the Papal Nuncio at Paris stating that in consequence of the rupture of diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican "the mission of the Nuncio would be henceforth deprived of scope." In the parliamentary session of November 26, 1904, the credit for the Embassy at the Vatican was stricken from the budget.

It is impossible within the limits of one article to follow the work of the commission on a separation of Church and State or to describe the various parliamentary measures successively proposed to attain a separation. After the downfall of Combes, through the odium attaching to his spy system, the Minister of the Interior and of Public Worship presented to the Chamber of Deputies on behalf of the Rouvier Ministry a project of law to establish the separation. If for Combes separation had signified little else than spoliation, aggravated by oppression, the Rouvier plan sought to render spoliation less unjust, less intolerant. The ministerial project having been somewhat altered by the commission, conferences were held and a final agreement having been obtained, the proposed law was reported to the Chamber of Deputies in March, 1905. It is unnecessary to follow the parliamentary evolution of this immature project, forced as a principle to an issue by two successive Premiers who had far less solicitude for the permanent interests of their country than to assure their own continuance in power. M. Briand, speaking for the commission, took great trouble to throw upon the Pope the responsibility of a law which he at the same time declared to be perfectly good, beneficent for the Republic and honorable for its authors! Alas! for separatists, in an unguarded moment Combes betrayed the utter falsity and ridiculous insincerity of this pompous and solemn pretence of the anti-religious majority, that the Pope forced the separation upon France. In the parliamentary session of January

14, 1905, Combes declared: "When I assumed power I judged that public opinion was insufficiently prepared for this reform. I have judged it to be necessary to lead it to that."

When the law of separation, as finally adopted in the Chamber of Deputies, was referred to the Senate the Senatorial commission, under ministerial pressure, adopted the law as passed in the Chamber, without change of a single word. Although the law was the most important of any passed in France for a hundred years, and though it is fraught with grave influences upon the destinies of the country, this hastily matured, ill-framed measure, with all its unjust and vexatious provisions, was swallowed whole by a commission of cowardly, truckling Senatorial politicians, who disregarded their plain duty at the dictation of Radicals and Socialists on the outside. Separationists both in and out of Parliament were eager to see the law become operative before the universal suffrage of France could have an opportunity of passing judgment upon the principle of the separation in the parliamentary elections of May, 1906. The perfunctory semblance of discussion in the Senate when the bill was referred back from committee was a real abdication of all the constitutional powers and prerogatives of this legislative body, which never before reached as low a level of thought and action. Over one hundred amendments, designed to correct the injustices and illegalities of the law adopted by the Chamber, were put forward and ably sustained by a small but noble minority, but all in vain. The bill of the Chamber was adopted in its entirety by the Senate. With cynical frankness Senator Combes (no longer Premier) intimated that this might be but a beginning of more tyrannical measures yet to come. Such at least is a fair interpretation of his somewhat ambiguous phrases.

In the Papal Consistory of December 11, 1905, the Pope pronounced an allocution protesting against the law of separation in mild and temperate language, announcing his intention of again treating upon the same subject "more solemnly and more deliberately at an opportune time." The Holy Father evidently waited for the regulations of public administration that would indicate in what manner the Government of France intended to administer and enforce the law. It is one thing to adopt a law in France and quite another to carry it out in the spirit intended by its authors and to which the Ministry of the hour might pledge the government. The world had seen the adoption of the Concordat and its subsequent misuse and distortion by Napoleon, through his infamous "organic articles," added to it by Bonaparte, and though never accepted by the Holy See, yet used by various Governments of France as an instrument of tyranny and oppression. Recently have we witnessed the shame-

less repudiation by Combes of every solemn and public pledge by which Waldeck-Rousseau obtained the passage of his law on associations.

Immediately after the adoption of the law of separation the government appointed a special commission to elaborate rules of public administration by which the law was to be interpreted and applied. This commission being stuffed with the anti-religious element, its work was worthy of its authors. Fortunately regulations framed by the commission were submitted for revision to the Council of State, and great pressure was brought to bear upon the latter body to secure their modification in a liberal sense, or at least that the obnoxious features of the law be not aggravated in its operation. The first details of the regulations officially promulgated governed the taking of inventories of all movable and real property of churches, chapels and ecclesiastical buildings, including rectories, chapter houses, homes of retreat for aged and infirm priests (even pension endowments), etc., ostensibly to facilitate the transfer of these properties to such associations for the maintenance of public worship as might be formed under the provisions of the law of separation. These inventories were imposed upon all religious bodies—Catholic, Protestant and Jewish—and the law was made applicable to Algiers, where there is a large Mahomedan population. Viewed in the abstract, the taking of inventories was a formality necessary to an application of principles inscribed in the law. As estimates of value such inventories are worthless, because compiled by agents of the administration of Public Domains or treasury agents, unaided by experts in art, architecture and archival paleography. The Director General of the Register prescribed to agents taking these inventories a request *for the opening of tabernacles* in churches and chapels to facilitate completeness and accuracy. This order aroused a storm of indignation throughout France and the government realized that a stupid blunder had been made, and it was announced that agents would content themselves with gathering and incorporating into their report declarations of the priests upon the nature and value of sacred vessels contained in the tabernacles.

The taking of inventories of churches and their contents commenced simultaneously in many parts of France in the latter part of January, 1906. Instead of the simple formality hastily accomplished without general observation, of which separatists had dreamed, this proceeding was characterized in various places by scenes of the wildest disorder. When officials of the Registry presented themselves for the taking of the inventories the clergy, surrounded or attended by trustees of the building, read formal protests against what most of them styled "the first step in an act of

spoliation." It was held by Bishops and priests that the goods of the Church did not belong to the State because they are the product of oblations of the faithful or were built for their use. In almost every case the clergy were instructed to assist only as passive spectators, lending no active coöperation of any sort. The position in the matter of a vast majority of the hierarchy and clergy of France was voiced by the Bishop of Nancy when he stigmatized the inventory as "The first execution of the law entitled 'Law of separation of the Church and State,' and which is in reality for Catholics a law of spoliation and of servitude." As confirmation of this view the Bishop rightly stated that "the most influential men and the all-powerful Freemasonry announce other laws and other decrees still more rigorous." If these protests had not been accompanied by physical violence, the country might have been spared the shocking scenes that took place in Paris and the provinces. In many churches free fights took place between militant Catholic laymen, opposed to an inventory, and police, firemen and troops, who burst open the doors of churches or broke them down with fire axes in order to make an inventory possible. While at the doors chairs and fragments of broken confessionals were flying through the air, pious women within sang: "We will God that the Church may be able to teach the truth, to combat error which causes division, *to preach to all charity!*"

At the Paris Church of St. Pierre du Gros Caillou firemen were ordered to break down the doors with fire hatchets and axes and to turn the hose on a fashionable congregation massed within. Men of the congregation had barricaded the doors with chairs and broken confessionals. After the bloody fight which ensued and the inundation of the church interior (and the congregation in it), one of the priests gave Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament to such of the flock as remained to receive it! There being less in the provinces to vary the monotony of life, some of the worst scenes took place in much smaller communities. Four charges of cavalry were thought necessary by the government to effect an inventory in the provincial Church of St. Leonard. Conflicting statements have been made in private, in the newspapers and before magistrates in trials of demonstrators that followed these events (for there were many arrests) as to who were the first aggressors. Indeed, there have been flat contradictions as to the reality of the deeds charged. Persons of the highest social standing have denied on honor accusations made against them, but seemingly in almost every case the word of some police rowdy, drunk with excitement, was preferred to theirs and sentences given have been simply infamous. A boy of eighteen, son of a former sub-prefect, was sentenced to two months' imprisonment for tearing from the coat of a police rough a decoration he had

disgraced by striking one priest and several women. Members of the aristocracy present in the Paris Church of St. Clotilde declare that the scene there has been paralleled only during the reign of terror. The Marquis Costa de Beauregard, member of the French Academy, says that the events in St. Clotilde seemed to him like a repetition of the Commune of 1871. "I shall never forget," he added, "the siege of the Church of St. Clotilde, the turning movement by the rue Martignac, the Garde Republicaine hustling people from the church, using the butts of their rifles, striking, dragging and trampling on women, the firemen rushing about with hatchets and ropes as if they were besieging a fortified place, chairs flying in the air, shouting and the sound of blows."

The brutal methods of the Parisian police have also been described by the Marquis d'Aubigny, a retired lieutenant colonel of the French army. He declares that he saw the Chief of Police (Lepine) enter the Church of St. Pierre du Gros Caillou, surrounded by patrolmen, who carried pieces of broken chairs with which they struck Catholic manifestants, the Prefect of Police making no effort to calm them. "I turned towards these police agents," says the Marquis, "to urge them not thus to beat the manifestants. One of the agents raised upon me the piece of a chair that he held in his hand. I parried the blow with my umbrella that was brutally wrenched from me, leaving only the handle in my hands. Struck in the face, I staggered a little, and then, thrown to the ground, I was beaten by the agents. I rose up. The police wished to arrest me, but I succeeded in taking flight during the scuffle." Such are the heroic police of Paris, some of whom during the recent labor troubles have been seen to fight with their heels!

In the trials of manifestants magistrates showed how well they knew the surest way to official preferment. Long terms of imprisonment were inflicted upon all condemned for active opposition to the taking of inventories. Persons of the highest social rank when sentenced were subjected to the *régime* of common criminals, being photographed and measured by the Bertillon system. Moreover, condemnations followed evidence that would not in any State of the American Union serve to convict a Negro boy of robbing a hen roost. But Premier Rouvier required victims upon whom to wreak his vengeance, believing that then organized opposition to the inventories would cease. Throughout France under the Rouvier Ministry police, military and firemen "enforced the law" and sought to "make it respected" by breaking down the doors of churches with axes and otherwise putting them to sacrilegious desecration if not to sack. And the only necessity for taking the inventory at this time, or in any haste, was the wretched party necessity of trying to hoodwink

the people by hurrying through a formality it had been hoped would pass unnoticed, so that all might quiet down before the parliamentary elections of May, 1906. Forcible resistance spoiled this little game. Except in rare instances the clergy did not inspire the unseemly and bloody encounters that vigorous opposition involved. Rather was it a spontaneous movement or uprising of a long outraged lay population. Of course, the Premier and others who feared the political effect of these disorders charged Catholics with resistance to the inventories for purely political ends. Certainly Royalist and Nationalist politicians had in some instances associated themselves to these movements of resistance, but their association did not lessen or obscure their real significance. In many parishes inventories were made without opposition beyond a formal protest from the rector to reserve all property rights that might be asserted in the future.

The position of militant Catholics was well defined by a poster affixed to the walls of Paris by an association of Catholic youth. That poster read:

"We are asked why we protest. Because our backs are overburdened! For too long a time Catholics have been treated as pariahs in their own country. They have closed our schools. They have chased our Sisters from the hospitals. They have molested our priests. They have lied to us in promising to accord authorization to congregations who would ask it. They have torn away the crucifix from our court rooms. Freemasons spy and report upon all officials who go to Mass or simply allow their wives to go. There has been created against us a new ministry, the ministry of the reports of secret spies. Now they touch our churches. This is too much! We are told: 'This is but an inventory!' We know well that this is the first act of confiscation. They speak to us of legality. Who violates it, if it be not they who pretend to apply a law when the regulation that it prescribes is not yet completed? They tell us: 'The law is liberal.' We no longer have faith in official falsehoods. Do not Freemasons boast that very soon they will get possession of our disaffected churches? Catholics will not suffer their churches to be profaned. Let them say that to themselves!"

Yet the anti-religious rage of the Radical and Socialistic "Block," the so-called "Republican majority," was not satisfied, and the Rouvier Ministry was overthrown by a strange combination of its friends and enemies, again proving that in French parliamentary life there is little good faith or loyalty even among rogues. Such high conceptions of "enforcing the law" and "making the law respected" should have obtained for the Rouvier Ministry a longer lease of life, but their more violent supporters had become so accustomed to the brutalities of M. Combes that nothing less cruel would satisfy their

jaded appetites while disgusting decent Deputies of the Republican Centre and extreme Right. M. Sarrien was charged with the formation of a Ministry, whose most powerful personality was M. Clemenceau. Powerful he had been for thirty years as a sharp critic and conspiring antagonist of many Cabinets, but his strength has been discovered to have lain in his vigorous and picturesque rhetoric, and he has presented a pitiable figure in the labor troubles of the early spring of 1906. He has at first shown better judgment in the matter of the inventories than his predecessor, deciding that "counting the candlesticks in a church was not worth the loss of a human life." One man had, indeed, been killed in one of these struggles occasioned by the policy of forcible resistance. M. Clemenceau has declared, however, that no transfer of ecclesiastical goods would be made to any association for the maintenance of public worship that might be formed to receive them until the inventories had been completed in the churches concerned. Clemenceau has not, on the other hand, found out nor have the Sarrien-Clemenceau Ministry prevented shameful abuses of power that have marked some repressions of manifestations hostile to the inventories. Under the despotic system that prevails in France persons who are considered about to violate the law or are suspected of an intention of doing so can be held in prison preventively, with no criminal charge for offense committed pending against them. In this way manifestants who had incurred a fine of three dollars and twenty cents have been imprisoned for a month "preventively." Cases on appeal have during the Rouvier Ministry and since been confirmed and the penalty increased to a sum out of all proportion to the offense. A nobleman was fined ten dollars for shouting "Down with the saucapans!" at gendarmes gathered before a church. Appeal being taken to a higher court, a complaisant magistrate increased the fine to forty dollars. For shouting "Down with Loubet!" after that worthy had retired from the Presidency, a young man was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, execution of the sentence, however, being suspended under the first offenders' act. It is presumably to the credit of M. Clemenceau that manifestants sentenced for opposition to the taking of inventories have been now placed under the prison *régime* allowed to political offenders and are no longer treated as common criminals. This great reform was only instituted about the middle of March, and during many weeks before priests and lay persons of both sexes, some of the highest social standing, escaped the lot of criminals of the common law, if at all, only through the personal courtesy of their gaolers and not by administrative regulation.

Under the Sarrien Ministry has appeared the last installment of the regulations of public administration to govern the application of

the law of separation of the churches from the State. The provisions for taking the inventories had been detached from the general regulations and promulgated separately, and all Catholics had been expected meekly to assuaise in this first stage of a law which was known to have been made intolerable in its further application, as prepared by the commission on the regulation of its public administration. Later, of course, these objectionable (rather, intolerable) features were modified by the Council of State. Yet when there was no assurance of such modification the government had the assurance to expect the Pope to counsel submission to the inventories, and there is reason to believe that Cardinal Mathieu, the French Cardinal of the Roman Curia, approached His Holiness with either a request or intimation of this kind. It should be borne in mind that under the French legal system after a law has been passed, even in a spirit of fairness and equity, it lies within the power of the Ministry in office, if aided and abetted by the sometimes pliant Council of State, to distort and pervert such law in its actual application by these so-called "regulations of public administration."

The final promulgation of regulations governing the application of the law of separation, although deliberately delayed for months after the passage of the law, at last made it possible to analyze the *régime* that a separation of the churches from the State would establish. Space does not permit a complete reproduction of the law. The first chapter opens with a characteristic declaration of "principles," every one of which is violated either in letter or spirit by provisions of succeeding chapters. Limitations of revenue and interference by the State with financial affairs, and even the management of temporalities of churches of all denominations, foretell the disappearance of many rural parishes throughout France. Until 1881 churches of all denominations were authorized to receive gifts and legacies in favor of the poor. Some, indeed, have been proprietors or dispensers of government annuities whose arrearages have been distributed to the indigent. Donors of charitable funds, both Catholic and Protestant, have been dominated by the pious thought that their bequests would be distributed by hands consecrated to prayer and good works, and this law of separation requires that such foundations be given over to "public services or establishments or those of public utility whose destination is conformed to that of the aforesaid goods;" that is to say, in almost every instance to public lay establishments notoriously irreligious and sometimes actively anti-religious. At the time of such transfer heirs of the testator, seeing this misappropriation so foreign to the thought and desire of the deceased, can appeal to the courts for a declaration of a lapse of the legacy through non-fulfillment of the conditions of bequest. Benefactors still living can



follow the same course, but in any case the poor will suffer and a charitable will be violated.

In providing for the formation of lay associations to take over the use and management of church properties not only are these associations wholly foreign to the genius and constitution of the Catholic Church, but injustice is done to all churches by confiding to the Council of State, a lay body largely Protestant, the task of deciding upon the respective claims of rival associations that might dispute with each other claims for control within one ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In default of any lay association to take over the use, care and management of church properties, these properties "will be assigned by decree to communal establishments of assistance or beneficence situated within the territorial limits of the ecclesiastical circumscription interested." In a word, if any church (denomination) refuses to coöperate in the formation of lay associations thus arbitrarily forced upon it, or if, for any cause, lay associations are lacking, churches and chapels may be seized and sold, turned over to Freethinkers or transformed into public and low dance halls, as was done in Paris during the Reign of Terror. Already Freethinkers announce from the housetops that they will eventually get possession of Catholic churches.

The executive committee of the Lutheran Synod has pointed out the violation of the rules of common law and equity by article eleven of the law in not according to pastors upon whom the State itself had conferred irremovability indemnities proportionate to the injury caused them by a suppression of their salaries. The article quoted provides that: "Ministers of religion who at the time of the promulgation of the present law will be aged more than sixty years and who will have during thirty years at least fulfilled ecclesiastical functions remunerated by the State, shall receive an annual pension and life annuity equal to three-fourths of their salary. Those who will be aged more than forty-five years and who will have during at least twenty years fulfilled ecclesiastical functions remunerated by the State, shall receive an annual pension and life annuity equal to half of their salary. The pensions allowed by the two preceding paragraphs *shall not surpass fifteen hundred francs* (\$300!)." In the case of Protestant ministers and Jewish rabbis who have married and have reared families in faith of the honor of a Godless and apostate State, great financial distress or anxiety is inevitable. Moreover, the ink was scarcely dry on the regulations of public administration, if, indeed, they had yet been all promulgated, before the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship (M. Briand) was planning to suppress even this beggarly pittance in certain cases, as appears from a notice that was allowed publication, presumably as a

warning to all priests showing an independence that might be judged offensive by the present arbiters of such rights and liberties as they will condescend to grant to the Church and religion. M. Briand made known, in fact, that he had "addressed to the Prefects a circular urgently enjoining upon them to indicate to him ecclesiastics who, having formed requests for pensions or allowances, *would have had at the time of the inventories a criticizable attitude.*" The same M. Briand decided that in calculating the amount of the pension the last salary paid by the State was held to be the basis of the estimate, without including indemnities possibly received by a priest serving as chaplain, allowances accorded for serving vacant parishes or supplementary credits allowed by departments or communes. Vexatious restrictions are placed upon the financial resources of churches of every denomination, restrictions and limitations outrageous under a *régime* of so-called separation. The amount of reserve which church associations are allowed to accumulate is never to surpass "a sum equal, for unions and associations having more than five thousand francs (\$1,000) of revenue, to three times, and for other associations, to six times the annual average of the sums expended by each of them for the expenses of worship during the five last exercises." *Gifts and legacies are prohibited.* The hardships inflicted upon the clergy of all denominations are increased by the unjust limitations upon the gratuitous lease of episcopal residences, presbyteries and their dependencies, the great seminaries and faculties of Protestant theology. Episcopal residences are left to the gratuitous use of associations for public worship (for the Bishop's occupancy) for but two years; presbyteries, in communes where there is a resident clergy, the great seminaries and the faculties of Protestant theology during only five years from the promulgation of the law. More unjust still is the provision requiring church associations allowed the temporary use (not ownership) of ecclesiastical buildings to make all necessary current repairs and to pay insurance premiums! Indemnities for house rent, heretofore incumbent upon communes that lacked presbyteries, will remain to the charge of said communes during five years, but will cease in case of the dissolution of the association for public worship. Yet certain officials have suppressed these appropriations, their illegal action being rescinded by the Minister of the Interior when brought to his knowledge. This obligation of an indemnity for house rent in cases where a presbytery is lacking was not extended to the city of Paris, although the fact was brought to the attention of the government in time for correction by the Senate.

But the frantic haste of the government and its parliamentary majority to repudiate the Concordat and force the separation upon

the country before it could be fully comprehended, prior to the general elections in May, 1906, prevented all amendment of vicious features, unjust alike to all Christian bodies. In framing the regulations the government wished that every minister of religion who was at the time of separation (January 1, 1906) fulfilling any religious function whatever, even not remunerated by the State, but resulting from the general concordatary organization, should benefit by a pension if he was in the conditions anticipated by article eleven of the law as regards age and term of service. Thus were embraced within the provisions of the law canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches, seminary professors, priests heretofore remunerated by public establishments, such as vicars of fabrics or chaplains, but no provision has been made in the regulations for ecclesiastics who by reason of ill-health no longer exercise any regular ministry. Provision is also made in the law for ministers of religion actually salaried by the State at the date when operative, but whose age or term of service has not attained the length of time already specified by article eleven. Those in this category will receive during four years from the suppression of the budget of public worship an allowance equal for the first year to the whole of their salary, to two-thirds for the second year, to one-half for the third year and to one-third for the fourth. This allowance is doubled in the case of those who shall continue for eight consecutive years to exercise their holy office in communes of less than one thousand inhabitants. But any priest or minister transferred to another field of labor at once loses this allowance or pension. It is supposed that in the inscrutable workings of the governmental mind the thought predominated to secure the permanence of public worship in small and uninviting parts of the Lord's vineyard, but permanence of residence of any one priest should have been a mere detail and continuance of public worship specified as the one essential condition.

Certificate of residence is to be given to the priest by the lay association for public worship, thus placing Catholic ecclesiastics in relations towards the laity that should depend only upon the Bishop. This extension of time to eight years, to which I have alluded, is most unjust towards the Jews, since there is not a single Jewish synagogue in communes of less than one thousand inhabitants, yet rabbis laboring in communities most destitute of resources will receive an allowance during four years only. In providing pensions for professors in Protestant seminaries the Chamber forgot the existence of the Jewish seminary, carelessly excluded from the benefits of the law.

The most vicious feature of the law is the principle enunciated in article twelve, which declares that: "The edifices which have been

put at the disposition of the nation and which, in virtue of the law of the eighteenth Germinal year X. (of the Convention), serve for the public exercise of worship or for the housing of ministers of religion (cathedrals, churches, chapels, temples, synagogues, archiepiscopal or episcopal houses, presbyteries, seminaries), as well as their dependent realties and the movable objects which furnished them at the moment where the said edifices have been remitted to public worship, *are and remain properties of the State, of the departments and of the communes.*" One might well ask by whom and for what purpose have these religious edifices been constructed? What thought has inspired their founders, the artisans, architects and artists who erected and decorated them? To what end were they dedicated in the past, for the present and the future? M. Gide has aptly said: "These monuments, above all, those of the Catholic worship, have been adapted in an admirable way and by centuries of piety and of mystic art to one only destination, which is adoration and worship, and like all instruments and objects very well made, they cannot serve but for their ends."

By this law the beautiful churches of France are classed as departmental or communal property, by the same title as any old ruin or communal pasturage. Nor do crime and injustice stop here. The law of separation traces out no rule relative to the proprietorship of edifices constructed since the law of the eighteenth Germinal year X. In the absence of acts of acquisition the owner of the land will be presumed to be proprietor of the church or of the presbytery without necessity of taking account of the subsidies furnished by the State or by the commune. By application of this rule realties constructed upon ground acquired by a Protestant Consistory will, perhaps, remain the property of this establishment, but in the case of the Catholic Church, the practical results will be contrary to right and justice, since it will cause to pass under the domain of the commune a number of edifices which have been constructed at the expense of the faithful. M. Armand Lods, an able and fair-minded French Protestant, has pointed out that since many years the Council of State has laid down the principle that to obtain authorization to construct a church, the trustees must make gratuitous relinquishment of the ground to the commune. This, then, will become, by application of article 553 of the Civil Code, proprietor of the edifice itself at the time when it will not have contributed from its revenues either to the purchase of the land or to the expenses of construction!

The great problem confronting Catholics since the passage of the law has been the question of the associations for public worship with a predominance of lay members. The question has been raised:

"Are they compatible with canonical rules?" Extremists, under the leadership of Count Albert de Mun and M. Jacques Pion, said no, and urged both clergy and laity to ignore the law. Moderate laymen of the greatest personal eminence, like Messieurs d'Haussonville, Brunetière and Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, said yes, and more than twenty of them framed a memorial to the hierarchy of France, urging episcopal authorization for the forming of these associations. The Bishops of France, however, were disposed to wait until the Holy Father should pronounce a final decision in this matter. Beyond his encyclical (which we will presently consider) condemning the principle of the law, the Pope preferred to wait until after the parliamentary elections of May 6 and 20, 1906, to learn from the outcome the political complexion of the next Chamber of Deputies and the consequent chances of modifications in the law in a more liberal sense. From the agitation over the taking of inventories not a few in France and in Rome hoped for a virtual repudiation by a majority of the voters of the law of separation.

Meanwhile, it was clear from the terms of the law as adopted December 9, 1905, that *in default* of associations for the maintenance of public worship, *the exercises of public worship will be interdicted*. Article eighteen of the law of separation not alone authorizes, but *imperatively prescribes* the formation of these associations, with their conditions specified in detail by articles 19, 21, 22 and 23, relative to their composition, financial management, etc. If these associations should not be formed or are constituted outside the conditions of the law, the legal consequence would be that parish buildings and parochial funds can be claimed by the communes for the purpose of devoting them to secular works of charitable assistance; as to the cathedrals and churches, confiscation by the State, department or commune would seem to be their predestined fate. The law has not been limited to a regulation of the forms of religious associations; it has also regulated the liberty of reunion for the exercises of religion. Reunions for public worship cannot be held except in premises belonging to or rather held by an association for the maintenance of religion; where no such associations exist there can be no premises legally devoted to these exercises and every public reunion will become impossible. As regards Protestant churches and congregations of Israelites, the question has already been settled by the formation of these associations, organized or being organized according to the provisions of the law. The Catholic hierarchy arranged for a plenary reunion or episcopal conference to take place after the parliamentary elections to consider the whole situation and to report to the Holy See any decision or opinions that might develop from this conference. The law allows the Church until December

9, 1906, for the formation of associations for the maintenance of public worship. Several prelates have pointed out the difficulties of their formation and successful operation. For the least infraction of the complex rules which regulate them they can be dissolved and all the goods that they will have inherited from the present trustees of the churches will be taken away from the parish. In a collective letter the Cardinals of France have declared: "These associations, organized outside of all authority of the Bishops and of the rectors, are by that same feature the negation of the organization of the Church and a venture that is formally schismatic. The essential vice of the associations for public worship is to create an association purely lay to impose it upon the Catholic Church."

In his encyclical of February, 1906, His Holiness Pope Pius X. has condemned the principles underlying the law and justly stigmatized it as the crowning act of a long series of aggressive governmental attacks upon religion. With ringing emphasis the encyclical declares:

"We reprove and we condemn the law voted in France upon the separation of the Church and of the State as profoundly offensive as regards God, whom it officially disowns in laying down as a principle that the Republic did not recognize any religion. We reprove and condemn it as violating the natural law, the law of nations and public fidelity due to treaties; as contrary to the divine constitution of the Church, to her essential rights and to her liberty; as subverting justice and trampling under foot the rights of property that the Church has acquired by multiplied titles and besides in virtue of the Concordat. We reprove and condemn it as gravely offensive for the dignity of this Apostolic See, for our person, for the episcopate, for the clergy and for all French Catholics."

The encyclical contains a splendid arraignment of the whole series of anti-religious French legislative acts, of which the law of separation is the culmination, recalling that:

"You have seen violated the sanctity and inviolability of Christian marriage by legislative dispositions in formal contradiction with them; secularization of the schools and hospitals; wresting clerics from their studies and from ecclesiastical discipline to constrain them to military service; dispersion and despoilment of the religious congregations and the reduction generally of their members to the most utter destitution. Other legal measures have followed that you all know; they have abrogated the law which ordered public prayers at the beginning of each parliamentary session and at the reopening of the courts; suppressed the signs of mourning, traditional on ship-board, on Good Friday; effaced from the judicial oath that which it comprised of a religious character; banished from court rooms,

from the schools, from the army and navy, finally, from all public establishments, every act or every emblem which was able in any fashion whatsoever to recall religion. These measures and others yet, which little by little separated in fact the Church from the State, were nothing else than landmarks placed in the aim of attaining to complete and official separation; their promoters themselves have not hesitated to recognize it openly and on many occasions!"

Yet every measure restrictive of the rights of religion and the liberty of the Church adopted since 1871 has received a virtual endorsement at the hand of a majority of the voters of France. Almost every one (perhaps all) of those who voted for a separation of the churches from the State has been reëlected to the Chamber of Deputies in the parliamentary elections recently held, and the anti-religious elements rejoice in an increased majority in the Chamber that will now rule the destinies of France.

A decision from the Holy See authorizing or prohibiting the formation of "associations for public worship" will be rendered perhaps before these lines appear in print. Upon that decision rests in a very large measure the fate of the Catholic religion in France.

The future of the French as a people has perhaps been foreshadowed with perfect accuracy by the Emperor of Germany. During his last visit to Rome His Imperial Majesty declared: "We do not dream of attacking France. Leave the French alone and they will destroy themselves, for a nation without God is lost."

F. W. PARSONS.

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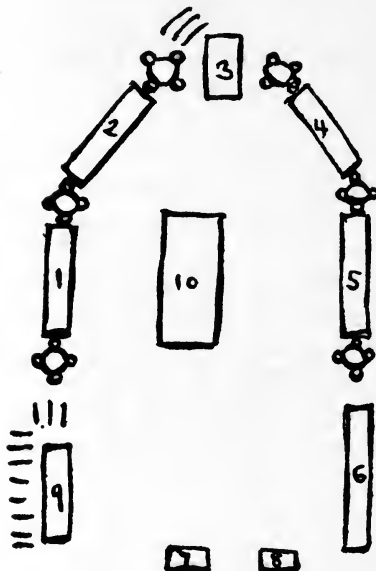
## THE SHRINE OF SAINT EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

### I.

**I**T IS an English Benedictine who reminds us that in the old days Westminster Abbey was more than the great pile we all visit and long to know. "Then as now it was the burial place of the mighty and renowned, the scene of great historical events; but it was, besides, the church of a famous monastery, the home of solemn daily and nightly worship of the Most High, the dwelling place of the Living God, the shrine of a glorious saint." That sad shell of greatness has indeed lost the sacramental presence; it is only a crumb of comfort, yet it is comfort to a history loving Catholic, that the last clause quoted still holds true. St. Edward the Confessor, despite many vicissitudes, still sleeps in his own reërected

abbey, and though diminished, battered and in part altered, his shrine still guards his dust. The double circumstance is unusual and marks a continuity of nearly seven and a half centuries. English law made war on the relics of all accounted worthy of religious veneration. SS. William of York, John of Beverley, Richard of Chichester and Thomas of Hereford were spared by accident, but their beautiful shrines are gone; St. Frideswide, abbess and tradi-

PLAN OF ST. EDWARD'S CHAPEL,  
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.



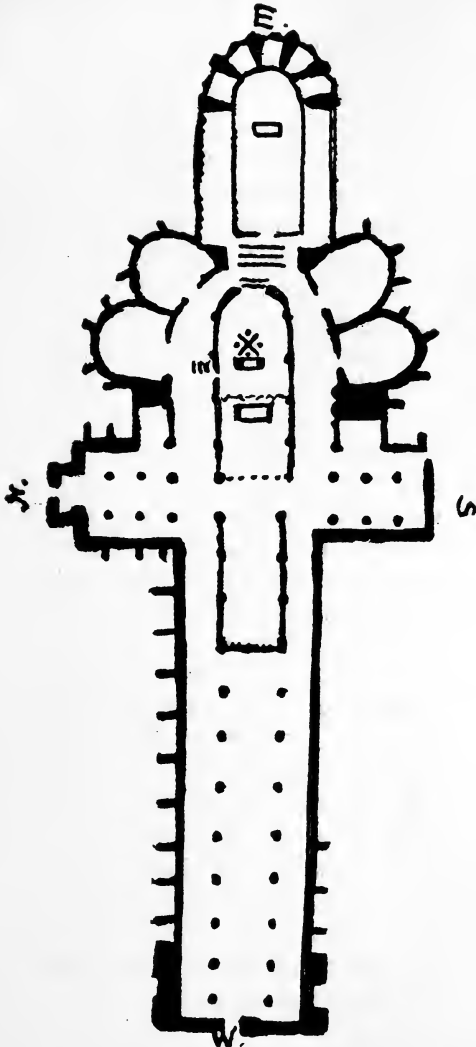
1. King Henry III., 1272.
2. Queen Eleanor, 1290.
3. King Henry V., 1422.
4. Queen Philippa, 1369.
5. King Edward III., 1377.
6. King Richard II. and Queen Anne of Bohemia, 1399, 1394.
7. Coronation chair of Queen Mary II., 1683.
8. Ancient coronation chair brought from Scotland by King Edward I.
9. King Edward I., 1307.
10. St. Edward the Confessor, 1065.

tional foundress of Oxford, very probably lies yet in her renamed Cathedral Church of Christ, where fragments of her shrine have been recovered and carefully pieced together, as St. Alban's, too, have been in his own minster; but certified shrine and saint together, out of all the treasured saints and shrines of mediæval England, are to be found in London's precious abbey alone. If St. Edward's body reposes to-day in the tabernacle of frayed stone and dim glass



mosaic which has stood where it stands since the translation of 1269, the immunity accorded to him and to it was doubtless a tribute not to his holiness, but to his royalty and the enforced respect in which

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Ground plan of the abbey, showing the relative position of the Confessor's shrine.

\* Notice the three existing altars, as against some thirteen in former times.

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all royalty was held by the generation who trembled under the Tudors. It is difficult otherwise to account for the preservation of the whole lower half of the shrine. We know how roods all over

England were repeatedly ordered to be "taken down unto the cross-beam;" how reredos were choked with plaster, and even holy water stoups and the brackets and corbels for images hewn level with the wall. Merely as a canonized servant of God St. Edward would have had no chance at all. His rank secured for his memory a designed and therefore unique exemption.

Of that glorious church he is even yet, as Professor Freeman reminds us, the most haunting presence. He was its guardian genius in life and in death. "Here Edward designed to place palace and monastery in each other's close neighborhood, to make Westminster the centre of the strongest national feelings of religion and loyalty. And he had his reward. His scheme prospered in his own time, and it has survived to ours. His minster still stands, though rebuilt; and within its walls a long succession of Kings have received the crown whose special glory was to have been the crown of Edward. And the walls which had beheld their crowning beheld also their burial. Westminster has supplanted Sherborne and Glastonbury and Winchester as the resting place of the Kings and worthies of our land, all because of him. The dedication of the abbey, not originated, but only confirmed by St. Edward, the second founder, was to the Prince of the Apostles. Most people know the lovely old legend how a Thames fisherman had a vision of St. Peter himself solemnly consecrating the little Saxon church which stood where is now the eastern half of the abbey nave; the little church on Thorneye, among marshlands and braided streams, with its ferry and its thick willows and its few busy Benedictines coming and going all night and all day. It may have been raised by the piety and care of King Seberl, who died A. D. 616; in the south ambulatory to-day is a tomb called his, and a stone coffin which at any rate our Edward must have seen and known. Within its dark, lowly walls his own devotion to St. Peter grew; his memorable rebuilding of them was not his own idea, but that of the Pope. Edward, exiled in his mother's Normandy and doubtful indeed of his chance of succession to the crown, made a vow that if Danish rule should pass away from England and himself come into his father's inheritance, he would undertake a pilgrimage to Rome. This was a difficult matter in the wild eleventh century; and, as it turned out, duty at home so claimed him and detained him that he could not fulfill his vow; but St. Peter's successor commuted it for him by charging him to found a church in honor of St. Peter, or else repair and enrich one formerly placed under the invocation of that great name, uniquely dear of yore to the English people. The King, restored to his throne when forty years old, had but to look across from his palace windows to see a neighboring church of St. Peter on Thorneye, reduced to partial

ruin by the Danes, which as already familiar and beloved was a fit subject for his munificence. And the discharge of his vow, his expression of gratitude to Almighty God, became his constant interest and the brightness of his declining years.

The new church, a piece of purest Norman architecture, started long before the Norman conquerors came across the Channel, arose in the then novel cruciform shape and was far more splendid than any ecclesiastical building then extant in England. It rose slowly and solidly, to the east of the little Saxon monastic fane, the remains of the latter not being pulled down until its supplanter was, though incomplete, ready for use. For many years a covered way led from one to the other. Half of this Norman abbey church, the nave, stood for centuries, joined to the upspringing transepts, choir and Lady chapel of later and lovelier styles, nor was it destroyed and built over until the reign of Edward the First. Modern discovery of the pier bases shows us, to our astonishment, that in size the Confessor's erection was almost comparable to the abbey of to-day.

On December 28, A. D. 1065, the feast of the Holy Innocents (or Childermas, as it was then sweetly called), the finished portion was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Abbot of Westminster, head of a new community of no fewer than seventy monks. It was a happy day, hallowed by the touching pomp of the liturgy; but a sadness hung over it because King Edward lay dying. His Queen, Edith, knelt in the sanctuary as his representative, with perhaps all her own proud kinsmen standing nigh to mark, unconsciously, her contrasted figure and let her seem what she was, a dove in a storm. Edward had fallen ill during the autumn, but had taken part in all the solemn preliminary ceremonies of the consecration, wearing his crown there in public up to and including St. John's Day, the 27th. Then his weakness overcame him on the very eve of the longed-for occasion. An anonymous contemporary Latin chronicle, printed in the Rolls Series from among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum, gives us an account of his last hours. We learn that Edith had nursed him devotedly and was kneeling by his pillow in Westminster Palace, with Harold and Fostig and others of her blood and of his. "Ever and anon would he comfort the Queen, who never ceased weeping, that he might lessen her burden of sorrow. 'Fear naught,' he would say, 'I shall not die; for by God's mercy I shall be better.' Nor by this speech did he deceive her who knew his mind. The God-beloved King Edward is truly not dead; but overthrowing death, he passed into life with Christ. Just before his spirit turned heavenward he was heard to utter strange words about a "dead branch engrafted in the green tree." This famous prophecy has perplexed many and been interpreted in a score of ways.

There are some who think it was a political forecast which has long ago come true. But there are also some who love to associate that prediction of an English royal saint with a glory still far in the future—the reunion of England with the Apostolic See. On the Epiphany, a day fragrant with memories of holy Kings, Edward, son of Ethelred the Unready, was laid before the high altar of his own church in a plain overground tomb of stone which he had had prepared for himself. The love which he had won so lavishly all his life did not forsake him in death, and his sarcophagus was soon covered with plates or scales of silver and gold, symbolizing a popular veneration. There for long he lay in the Westminster of St. Peter, under a splendid pall placed by William the Conqueror. Ten years later Queen Edith, or Edgitha, was buried at his right hand.

Edward's as yet uncanonized memory (for it was not until the year 1161, under Pope Alexander the Third, that Edward was publicly declared to be worthy of veneration) instantly became dear to pilgrims and pious folk and to those seeking his intercession in sickness or trouble; more than that, his grave became the very touchstone of national feeling, though literally under the eyes of the Norman court.

One remarkable and well attested circumstance illustrating the long racial strife happened there which gave new life to a cultus already popular. Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, was commanded by William the Conqueror, in the year 1076, to resign his see, as so many others had been forced to do, in favor of a newly imported prelate, who in this case was none other than that mighty builder whom we know as Gundulf of Rochester. Wulstan refused firmly to deliver up his crosier, symbol of a pastoral office conferred on him at King Edward's wish by the Pope; only to these two, he said, and not to the invader, would he return it. This declaration seems to have been made in the abbey church itself; for striding forward the stout Saxon planted his crosier in the Confessor's tomb. Not Gundulf, not any man nor number of men were able to move it, say the chronicles, until the primate bade the victorious Wulstan take it again and keep his beloved see.

Edward was duly canonized after various delays of one nature or another incident to the stormy time. A century had gone by; the King now reigning was the headstrong and much harassed Henry II., and the primate, as yet the King's honored friend, was the great Thomas à Becket. It is strange to think of these two, whose tragically intertwined after-story we know, bending together over the opened tomb of Edward, the lover of law and of peace. The latter lay still as if asleep, his cheeks ruddy, his flaxen beard "straight as a lily," his rich shroud, unstained, about him. And thus was he

raised as an acknowledged saint, from his simple resting place before the high altar, to a golden and jeweled shrine, standing on the same site in his own massive arched minster of St. Peter.

This was on October 13, A. D. 1163, a day kept ever since in the Roman Calendar as St. Edward's Day. Abbot Laurence assisted Becket through all the arduous ceremony carried out before the King and his court, and from the long-dead Confessor, before leaving him in his shrine, the abbot took a great surcoat of golden tissue (out of which three precious and famous copes were made) and the ring which, according to one of the loveliest of English legends, had been sent to him by St. John the Evangelist. This unique treasure was added to the Westminster reliquary, but was lost sight of centuries ago. For his tribute of love and good-will the tall, ascetic Archbishop who had officiated at this first translation of St. Edward gave an ivory statuette of Our Lady to adorn the new shrine, surely not foreseeing how his own martyrdom at Canterbury, seven years later, was to raise a popular local memorial far more magnificent.

As all the world knows, the present glorious abbey is the third church on its site. The choir, lateral chapels and transepts are the thirteenth century work of King Henry III., and the nave and cloisters, built years later, that of Edward I. King Henry the Third, whatever he did or failed to do, was an artist; and no man's fate can be called unkind to him which allows his dreams to win for themselves so grand a concrete expression. The abbey is the most talked about and written up of extant churches, but it is not always recognized for the divinely fair thing which it is. The addenda are too obtrusive. Since the Reformation, alas! it has gradually come to be a charnel house and a museum. The dominant impression it leaves on the tourist who sees it for the first time is that of statuary and epitaphs crowded under a soaring vault or ranged down long aisles tinted with a twilight as of October meadows. It is only after repeated visits and study that one shakes off the sickening tyranny of the pomps of the grave and begins to note with intelligence and grief how this elaboration of splendid appealing beauty is polluted and canceled by modern uses. Every chapel a lumber room, every arcade cut into, every niche marred or emptied, every chantry altar displaced, every light out, every bronze "Orate" made barren—this is what comes home to the lover, most of all to the Catholic lover, of Westminster Abbey. Across the ruining years he sees the "edges and the bordering light" of the vision which Henry the Third, aided strenuously by the people and the Black Monks, bade come true; there are not many sights in the world which better excuse the rising of an honest tear. Exquisite care is given to the fabric now; but it is too late. Materialism has gnawed it with a tooth sharper than

Time's, and generations of unloving or unthinking men have recked little "how the most fine gold is changed and the stones of the sanctuary poured out in the top of every street."

St. Edward's shrine as we see it to-day is, allowing for all its mishaps since then, part of the work of King Henry III. "Quiet King Henry," as Fuller calls him, was both liberal and extravagant. His heart was set upon building and adorning at the Westminster, and he had no scruple in taxing his subjects for so worthy an end. He himself told Matthew Paris, the celebrated chronicler of St. Alban's, that he had spent one hundred thousand marks (over a million and a half of our money) upon it. To Henry's personal and religious devotion to the Confessor's memory was due this replacement of the Norman abbey church by the lofty erection begun about 1235, when he had been reigning fifteen years. It was that which gave to God, in care of the English people and the monks of St. Benedict, a consummate masterpiece of Christian architecture. During the process a temporary shelter was provided for St. Edward's relics in the palace across the way, pending the completion of the new magnificent royal chapel. In this second translation the relics were nobly enshrined behind the high altar, as was usual; and to support the shrine and the whole enclosure there was heaped up a great mound of earth brought from the Holy Land. This is still the substance of the circular hillock to which visitors climb, little thinking what sacred romance has gone to the massing of the exotic soil under their feet.

Henry began, as Edward himself had begun, with the east end. Finished choir and transepts were thrown open during the winter of the year 1270. Months before, on St. Edward's own day, October 13, there had been lavish feasting in his name provided for all the poor, when two Kings and four Princes before a vast concourse had borne him shoulder high to his throne of final sleep. Once again men of another century sow his incorrupt mortal body; this may well have given a touch of added emotion to the majestic ceremony. The new Abbey of St. Peter, towering above him to a groined height he had never dreamed of, was a daringly novel experiment. There was cosmopolitanism, citizenship of the universe, in the British Isles then; and nobody thought it strange that details of that Gothic interior should be "foreign," because they were welcomed as being the best. Abbot Ware (possibly the instigator of the King in regard to the whole great enterprise) had taken advantage of the æsthetic revival in Italy to bring back with him from his journey to Rome his decorative idea, his material and even his workmen. The names of the latter deserve to be in benediction—Odericus and him whom we know as Peter the Roman. These masters and their masons made the shrine; they laid the rich mosaic pavement before

the high altar; they designed and adorned the lofty, delicate tomb of porphyry and jasper which King Henry's son and successor built for him near the Confessor, and which, with its effigy in gilded metal, full of seep, is dear to-day to every lover of perfect things. One can fancy the commotion which would arise if the Anglican authorities at Westminster should now give such a commission to Italian craftsmen of repute! though London then was a far more artistic city than it is now. But a stone's throw south, in the huge Cathedral "of the Roman obedience," Catholicism has gone calmly on after her free immemorial habit, gathering in treasure from the four quarters of the earth and from the seven seas, to adorn a house of God in England.

Two Queens were reburied at the same time as the Saxon royal saint. Somewhere at the north side of his shrine now sleeps Edith, his gentle wife, and for centuries the great chest containing the abbey relics stood over her second and unmarked grave. On the south side of the shrine was laid another Edith, holy and learned, better known to us under her changed Norman name of Matilda, or Maud, Queen of King Henry Beauclerc, who herself knelt many a day and night in prayer by her great-uncle's hallowed dust. These two noble ladies have no tombs nor epitaphs to mark their English graves in the soil of Palestine. Between them rose the famous shrine and the "Edward altar" placed against its foot. Battered, altered and neglected (neglected not now, indeed, in the technical, but only in the liturgical sense) the poor shrine is still recognizably beautiful, with its gracefully proportioned base, its little twisted enameled columns, miniatures of those in the cloisters of St. John Lateran; its trefoil arches of Purbeck marble, three on each side, and their recesses, where the sick were laid long ago to pray and be prayed for; its dim pathetic intermittent gleams of color and gilding. The square upper half must be to us as if it were not, would we try to form any idea of its ancient form and look. It used to be roof-shaped, rising over the chest, itself resting on the arches which contained the saint's body. Along the top of this oak ridge was a row of angels and saints interspersed with statuettes of donors and benefactors kneeling there in the comely childlike mediæval fashion. These were in beaten silver and gold, and the same metals, interspersed with jewels laid in mosaicwise covered the slanted sides, which faced north and south, and must have seemed to the devout people like a little watershed of the grace of God. A light wooden cover, over which some embroidered cloth was thrown, usually concealed the apex of the structure. This was always drawn up on great festivals (here as elsewhere) by pulleys, so that the precious fabric of St. Edward's shrine should be visible in all its brightness even to the far-away

multitude beyond the rood screen in the nave. The "Edward altar," as it was called for distinction, was small and simple, but costly and lovely. The shrine, at the west end of which it stood, provided it for reredos and dorsal. The celebrant here at the daily Mass long ago, facing his gold crucifix (King Henry's gift) and the tapers, moved between golden and ivory figures of St. Edward himself and of St. John the Evangelist in pilgrim weeds, which stood upon short spiral pillars, serving as pedestals. These (as can be noticed in their present position) are much more massive than the longer detached ones of the same date which still mark the northeast and southeast angles of the shrine. The saint's votive altar, curiously enough, was spared under Elizabeth, stripped and converted into a "table" to hold regalia, which was so used at several coronations; but it vanished somewhere about the date of Queen Ann's accession. It seems now, as we shall see presently, to have come back to stay.

The Plantagenet line of Edwards began with Edward Longshanks, who had received in baptism, as Henry the Third's cherished son, the name of the canonized patron whom Henry so venerated. That warlike scion of a home-keeping father, when he had conquered Wales, had the coronet of his foe, Llewellyn, the last Prince of his line, brought to be offered at St. Edward's shrine. The little heir who carried it thither from the victor's camp in his twelve-year-old hands, and died almost immediately afterwards, has been long forgotten by history. Prince Alfonzo was at that time his father's only surviving boy; he got his un-English name from his grandsire, the King of Castile, through his mother, the beloved and remembered "Alianor iadis Reyne de Engleterre." He, too, one of five young children of Edward and Eleanor, noted for their extreme beauty, sleeps well near the great shrine, "entre les roials." His younger brother Edward, the one worthless monarch of the name, also endowed the shrine. It was dear to the Black Prince and to his son Richard; to Henry IV., the latter's supplanter; to Edward IV., who was led away from it to die in the Jerusalem Chamber; to Henry V., who knelt many a time in his manly piety beside it; to the gentle Sixth Henry, preëminent among lovers of St. Edward, by whose side he desired to lie in death, and even to Richard the Third, who came hither in state with his sad young Queen to offer blood-stained coronation gifts. To every class and kind in England the shrine was a singularly sacred spot down to the Reformation, which swept the cultus and the fabric all but away. Of these royal donors one (possibly Henry VI., but more probably Edward IV.) bestowed something which yet remains. This is the exquisitely sculptured frieze which runs along the whole of the west screen of the chapel over the coronation chairs. In a series of carvings full



both of poetic fact and of wild imaginings, the tale is sweetly told, in crumbled stone, how the seven saints of Ephesus turned over in their sleep; how Satan danced upon the wine casks, or how the Ludlow palmers met in the Holy Land a wayfarer who said he was John the Beloved Disciple, and who sent back by them to Edward their King, as a summons to heaven, a ring once given by the royal charity to this very wayfarer, then a beggar, beneath the palmers' native skies, far away.

## II.

The shrine was rifled and made desolate by Henry VIII.'s authorized destroyers, and all its many articles of value were transferred to His Majesty's coffers. Ruin befell at least its upper part or fere-trum. A persistent local tradition asserts that the holy King's relics were concealed from harm (it is supposed by legal connivance with private daring) and buried "outside the sanctuary, towards the north," there to lie until Queen Mary Tudor upraised the old religion. With the official restoration of England to the Unity of the Church came bright busy days to the Abbey Church of Westminster. In Henry Machyn's now famous Diary, under date of March 20, 1557, is this entry: "Was taken up again, with an hundred lights, King Edward the Confessor, in the same place where his shrine was; and it shall be set up again as fast as my Lord Abbot can have it done. For it was a goodly sight to have seen how reverently it was carried from the place where he was laid when that the Abbey was spoiled and robbed; and so was he carried; and goodly singing and incensing as has been seen, and Mass sung."

The Queen and King, Mary and Philip, followed in the procession through the cloisters. The shrine was rebuilt within the month; alas, how unbeautifully! Faith, being suffering but immortal, only needed to be waked and delivered; but architecture, the sweetest of English arts and the most loyal to faith, was dead, as it were, of grief—the heavy cornice and the upper arches of the shrine, round and wooden, the double row of ugly little "classical" arches date from this period. Mary's exchequer was almost empty; she gave fresh jewels and images, but could spend no more. The thing to do was to get the shrine in order somehow, as a symbol of a people repentant and restored. No doubt it was intended to make it eventually as ornate as of old. "My Lord Abbot" of Machyn's mention was Feckenham, last abbot of his line, and a truly pathetic and still living figure. It was he who added to the new superstructure the many inscriptions now defaced. It makes one sympathize keenly with the poor idle hoe which inspired the Marian rebuilding, to see "Sursum corda!" among the legible words, faintly gleaming from the tarnished surface.

There is another recognizable token of the time in the present position of the thick twisted half columns which lie flush with the west wall of the shrine. These pillars, formerly pedestals for the statues of SS. Edward and John, stood long after the historic images they supported had been destroyed, one on either side of the forlorn space where the pre-Reformation altar had been. Abbot Feckenham had them shoved in, for preservation, to the incongruous position at either corner which they have ever since occupied; and during Mary's brief reign, that troubled and discolored mirage of Catholicism, the "Edward altar" itself was replaced for a precarious little while.

Feckenham, who had formerly been dean of St. Paul's, ruled a community of eight and twenty at Westminster. Among these was Dom Sigebert Bulkeley, who in his captive old age, as the last of all his brethren, was destined to save from extinction the dynastic glory of the English Benedictines and pass on the succession to our happier day. In 1554 High Mass and the full Catholic liturgy were restored to the abbey. The cultus of St. Edward, which had never really been interrupted, took on new life, and once again the royal chapel was strewn on his feast with rushes and with mint, thyme and lavender, while rich and poor streamed in to seek his fatherly intercession. The wheel of things turns again when, on December 13, A. D. 1558, the sad Queen was laid to rest. It was a uniquely magnificent funeral ceremony, but overclouded with foreboding, and it was followed by another great Requiem ten days later for her father-in-law, the Emperor Charles V. But Elizabeth, a new force, was arising to stamp her strong Protestant will on the hot wax of the age. In April, A. D. 1561, exactly four hundred years after St. Edward's canonization, all the beautiful altars of the abbey were broken down except his own, and that stood not saintly and kingly, but forlorn and meaningless in the sacramental absence of the King of Kings and the saint of saints. Sunset and the Arctic night were come upon the great Westminster. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him."

Nothing in particular seemed to have befallen the bare shrine for more than a hundred years, during which the most momentous storms and changes were passing over the land. At the coronation of King James the Second, in 1685, seats for the court and spectators were arranged, as they have been arranged for such occasions ever since, in all available spaces near the chancel. A high scaffolding was built all around the Confessor's chapel, and while this was in the process of removal one of the heaviest beams fell on the upper part of the shrine, smashing the woodwork and even the lid of the coffin. The damage wrought was not very promptly repaired. A choirman named Keepe (according to other accounts it was one Young, then

a recent convert to Catholicism) climbed up by means of a ladder, made an examination of the relics and took a pretty thorough inventory of the state of the body and of its vesture and ornaments. He drew from among the bones a splendid enameled crucifix on a gold chain and presented it to the King. It does not seem clear whether this was sold by his son, whom it is a shame to call by his most recognizable historic name, the Old Pretender, or whether, as Sir Henry Ellis thinks, it was in possession of an Austrian noble in Napoleon's time. St. Edward's broken coffin was then enclosed in a new oblong chest clamped with iron, but the shrine was never repaired. The coffin could be seen from Henry the Fifth's chantry, standing above it and just east of it, until the coronation of the present King, when the beautiful covering was thrown over the whole upper part of the shrine and left there, as a strange and welcome reminder of its aspect long ago. That serves as one example of the scrupulously loving and superintelligent care which is now given to the whole interior of the abbey, and, if particularizing were possible, to the *Capella Regum* in particular. Public feeling has so righted itself now that even those to whom literary genius is dearest must shudder to remember that when Addison died, in 1719, his statue, now in Poets' Corner, came very near being reared against St. Edward's shrine! Imagine the hubbub, not among antiquaries alone, which the rumor of some such proceeding would occasion to-day!

There is the spectacle of "ruinated" mediæval loveliness all over England, and even in Westminster Abbey; the explanations proffered for it are various and instructive. The true reason is, in general, one that the national mind (now turned clean to the right-about by the Oxford movement) refuses to dwell on. English guides and guide books, as must often have been noticed, are excessively fond of attributing any local ecclesiastical vandalism to Oliver Cromwell. Wherever in a renowned sanctuary the tourist inquires concerning some broken arcading, some great window despoiled of all but splinters of its priceless glass, or some delicate perpendicular canopy hacked and hewed over an empty plastered niche where once stood a patron saint in alabaster, the answer almost invariably incriminates the Puritans of the Commonwealth and their dark and apparently ubiquitous leader. Not a verger of them all, it would appear, has ever heard of such a thing as the Blessed Reformation and the playful habits of the Bluebeard King's commissioners. The one never identified as the "ruinator" is that active servile Cromwell, hunter of monks and friars, whose tyrannies passed into the tradition of the common people, only to be confused with the man of war and rule who a century later bore his name. Stow says concerning the likeli-

hood of Cæsar's having built the White Tower of London that "Cæsar hadd in his head no suche matter, but to dispatch the Conquest of this barbarus Countrie." So with the Protector and the Cathedrals. He was much too busy, he was much too finite (being burdened with an incapacity to be everywhere all the time!) to have done one-sixtieth part of the mischief laid to his door. Apart from the forgotten fact that most churches had already been for three generations in a state of extreme nakedness, Fairfax and some lesser Round-head leaders distinguished themselves memorably on divers occasions as very painstaking conservators of ancient holy things in which they had no religious interest. Far other was the temper of greedy King Harry, his young son, and his second daughter. Their whole business in life was to set up the Tudor monopoly, confiscate or pervert endowments and destroy all religious art, scholarship and tradition in England by way of tweaking the nose of the obstinate See of Rome. The harm wrought, it is well to remember, was not sporadic vandalism, but "judicial acts of the Elizabethan Bishops, in conjunction with the Elizabethan Ministers." At the abbey they are too intelligent to impute universal spoliation to Oliver; thereabouts, as it would appear, fancy has her flights and descends to no such tautology. For example, one finds in a pamphlet in orange paper covers, "printed for the Vergers," and supposedly accurate and official, a bit of comment which for heroic originality and ingenuity, it is safe to say, puts all Cromwellizing excuses in the shade. The pamphlet in question is "The Complete Guide to Westminster Abbey," published by Truscott in 1892 and since. Its description of the Confessor's chapel opens thus:

"The first curiosity that commands your reverence is the ancient venerable Shrine of Saint Edward, once the glory of England, but now defaced and robbed of its beauty by the devotees of this 'extream pious man,' all of whom were proud to possess some stone or dust from his tomb."

Italics were wasted upon this inventive statement. Catholics and connoisseurs must ever find it unexpectedly entertaining, something to light up melancholy thought of the true causes and occasions which

—have seen

Those titles vanish, and that strength decay.

To an English-speaking Catholic there can hardly be a more touching and attractive spot than the Confessor's chapel, bound up as it is by visible and invisible links, with the poetry of human history and surcharged with "the imperishable aroma of the Catholic past." The high shrine in the middle, as everybody knows, is ringed with the six royal tombs, in every one of which the body lies overground. How glorious these poor dim things were during the thirteenth and

fourteenth centuries, when they and their lost canopies were new, and down to the deadly Reformation, when, though no longer new, they were intact and tenderly cared for, we can now scarcely imagine. Over them is no roof proper to an enclosure, but only the lofty vaulting of the aisles or ambulatories, a dusky heaven of masonry, braided far up with the amethystine London light, the most beautiful light in the world. East is the stone screen separating the shrine from the high altar and the sacarium; north and south runs a converging pageant of apsidal chapels (overcrowded and spoiled with intruded monuments); westward and encroaching on the more ancient burial places of Eleanor and Philippa

—Queens

Whose names are written up in gold,

rises the exquisite H-shaped perpendicular chantry of the dear soldier who was once Holinshed's and Shakespeare's Wild Prince Hal. From top to bottom it is one blossom of elaborate sculpture, every figure in its place, except the altar crucifixion, which is gone. Full-length figures in their lovely niches look gravely down, and on a tie-beam above them all hang in full sight the saddle, helmet and shield, not indeed of Agincourt, as is commonly said, but of the funeral of seven years later, when "Harry the Fifth, too famous to live long," was borne to his rest, aged thirty-three, "to the great Grief of all goode men." The little jewel of an oratory half way up forms the horizontal cross-piece of the letter H. Directly under it, on the floor level, lies the headless royal effigy, once all silver-plated oak and once with sceptre, head, hands and feet of solid silver. In the little room or chantry proper, approached by worn steps winding through the upright sections, was the young King's memorial altar. He asked to have it placed there, dedicated in honor of the Annunciation of Our Lady and of All Saints, in order that every soul worshipping in the great church should be able to see daily the elevation of the Host at his Mass, and at other times to add to their Ave Maria a little prayer in English for him who slept below: "Mary, Mother, be mindful of thy servant Henry, who placed his trust in thee." Where that altar stood the altar stone, with its five crosses perfect, still is, and under it have been placed the bones of his widow, Queen Katherine of Valois. A special permit from the dean is necessary to enter the chantry; the vista of the nave from this point, and of the loftiest vaulting in England, is a thing not soon to be forgotten. Just beyond us, in the other direction, looking east, is the great chapel of Henry the Seventh, himself grandson of Katherine of Valois and the Welsh gentleman whom she married for her second husband, "the most beautiful person of that age."

Sweeping from the abbey floor level to its own majestic gates are the steps which the prudent builder got Pope Julius II. to enrich with the indulgence of the Scala Sancta at Rome. Has any Catholic pilgrim, in his historic enthusiasm, passing to the spacious church-within-a-church which the first crowned Tudor built, remembered this? Surely an indulgence lasts.

The time of all times to see the Confessor's chapel and to feel to the full the mystery, romance and sanctity of the whole environment is on St. Edward's Day. Catholics have always found their way to the shrine on October 13; even through penal times it was so; very noticeably has it been so for the last fifty or sixty years, since the Oxford movement and its converts brought a fresh tidal wave of intelligent faith and zeal to deepen the spiritual life of the children of the martyrs. The abbey authorities never have opposed in any way these annual gatherings, and gradually, cumulatively, they have taken on a definite form and come to be one of the striking, though unadvertised, sights of London. It is wonderful to watch thousands of people quietly and recollectedly pouring into St. Edward's Chapel, mounting and descending by the two small ancient staircases, as oblivious of everything outside their pious purpose as if Protestant occupation were a dream, and exile and persecution had never driven their forbears from home. For this is indeed home; this is the very quick and lodestar of Catholic England.

The present King, the first reigning Edward not Catholic-born, and Queen Alexandra were crowned in August, 1902. The Confessor's chapel was used then, as always on such occasions, for the tiring room. Two little houses or square tents of brocaded velvet were built to right and left of the shrine, each adorned with table and mirror; and these were taken down when their special use was over. At the same time over the shrine itself was hung by chains from the vaulting a brocaded velvet pall of the same amber color and the same pattern, this being a conventionalized crown alternating with royal roses. At the western and open end, over against St. Edward's feet, was placed a most graceful golden rood, a lovely bit of work, having the attendant figures of Our Lady and St. John. This was the King's gift to the abbey, and replaced the symbol of our redemption in a spot whence it had been absent more than three hundred years. Directly under it was rebuilt the little "Edward altar," adorned with a fine linen cloth, simple tapers in tasteful candlesticks, and on the frontal devices religious and armorial. Along the cornice of the provisional altar was worked the text: "*Cor regis in manu Domini,*" taken from Prov. xxi., 1, and worked all around the border of the rich covering of the shrine could be read the passage (pleasant and non-committal) chosen by the present dean from

the eleventh century account of the Confessor's happy death: "*Deo carus Rex Edwardus non mortuus est, sed cum XPO victurus de morte ad vitam migravit.*" Now the delightful circumstance about these charming decorations devised in honor of the coronation of King Edward VII. is that they have never been removed since from the Confessor's chapel.\* How wonderfully they heighten the Catholic atmosphere of the place on St. Edward's Day can be realized only by those who have been so fortunate as to see or join the Westminster pilgrimage of 1903, 1904 or 1905.

Imagine coming and going at will through that vast twilight all day long (save only during the two services of matins and evensong) a great stream of London people, most of whom visit the abbey on no other day. They enter by "Solomon's Porch," the north transept door; they pass over the graves of Fox, Pitt, Grattan, the Cannings, Peel and Gladstone; they come in groups up the beautiful ambulatory, and mount the little east stair, past Henry the Fifth's grave, one by one. They converge instantly about the shrine and kneel around it, many of them reaching forward to touch it with their crucifixes, medals or rosaries. There are no public audible devotions; circumstances are against that, and so is etiquette. The orderly multitude are tacitly pledged to a private worship of God and a private invocation of His servant and their friend. One sees there in a ring, with the subdued light playing on their bared heads, a master with his school boys, old folk from hospices and asylums, nobles and business men, soft-footed nuns, ladies, most touching of all, priests, kneeling in the shadow of the new "Edward altar," the phantom minor altar where no sacrifice has been offered. There they kneel, with their breviaries, a half hour at a time. Ordinary tourists get caught up as in a tidal bore; vergers stand about, always in a mood of official friendliness to the people who hold the founder in such loving veneration. Some of the devout throng visit the shrine more than once between dawn and dark. With their seriousness, their silence, the historic pathos and significance of the scene, the unearthly colors in air over the warm stone, the hint of physical beauty which is on almost every downcast brow of the "Angles"—they make an emotional moment for any among them who is not of them. It is a moving picture. The dean of the abbey, it may be, stands very still in the angle of the sacarium doorway next to the mighty "Hammer of the Scots," sleeping under his great gray slab; and the dean has an interested, wholly sympathetic expression on

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\* Several enchanting pictures, in color, of this interior as it now is may be found in Westminster Abbey. Painted by John Fulleylove, R. I., and described by Mrs. A. Murray Smith. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904.

his dark, individual, rather monastic face. A good woman over by the effigies of King Richard and his beloved Ann beats her worthy breast, murmurs a prayer audibly and lights a candle which she produces from her cloak pocket. During this innocent but highly irregular proceeding the nearest verger looks inquiringly over at the dean, and presently, in fact, goes up and speaks to him. Apparently so delicate, diplomatic a matter calls for no less than Dr. Armitage Robinson's personal intervention. So the long black gaiters go tip-toeing across to the good woman, and the dean says something ever so gently, and the lawless little light is blown out. Meanwhile one of our tall priests has risen to his feet after "long, long thoughts," anxious and holy thoughts, of his dear country and her destiny. His eyes meet the dean's; they know each other, for they smile in the grave English way. There is a light on the "Roman's" lips which tells you the word he is remembering without speech. It is St. Edward's own strange prophecy: "And the Dead Branch shall be grafted into the Green Tree," to which is now added, in the spirit of perfect faith: "*Amen.*" This is a good time and place to exercise hope and dream dreams. The far-wandering coronation stone, the Lia, Fail, Egyptian, Spanish, Irish, Scots, the hoary stone which, tradition says, pillowed Jacob's tired head at Bethel and witnessed the ladder of angels wavering between earth and heaven, the immemorial stone of visions is next the knee of some who pray for England and for the restoration of her full Christian birthright. You see the reunion of Christendom steadily and see it whole every St. Edward's Day. Miracles, or rapid spiritual processes, seem most natural on that apostolic ground of the metropolitan fane. It is like a rose-gray incense smoke sent up and stayed in air out of national devotion to Christ and His Church and to one who is the rock of that foundation.

"The pilgrimage of October 13," says a man who knows and a monk who feels, "is a solemn expression of the fact that we inherit (and, also, it should be said, we alone) the ancient loyalty of this country to the See of St. Peter."

Among the crowd are High-church Anglicans. The abbey has taken up on its own behalf in recent years the celebration of an anniversary so inblent with its origin and early progress; but it is an anniversary, not a living feast, the ritual chosen being merely and vaguely commemorative. Not so much as a tentative "*Oret*" *pro nobis* stamps it as positive and filial. Meanwhile, the straightforward homely habit of the abbey's dispossessed heirs, who with enforced informality ask St. Edward's prayers for his own isle, gathered as of old about the spot which was his mortal doorway into heaven, appeals to many who are not of the fold. Faith is not what it was



in Saxon times, but at least the local religious sense is active and general. Whether Protestant or Catholic, as says yet another thoughtful modern writer, "these people *care*. And care is love; and love is service; and service is salvation."

LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY.

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### THE STORY OF QUEEN ELIZABETH'S DYING.

DOM BEDE CAMM, O. S. B., in a little volume entitled "The Brave Days of Old," gives a new version of the much-disputed "last scene of all this strange eventful history," the protracted death struggle of Queen Elizabeth. Naturally enough, there have been various versions of that memorable and miserable scene. Protestant historians have sought to minimize its tragic impressiveness. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to present it as a deeply edifying, albeit painful episode. Some deplore it as a pitiable exhibition of a great mind gone wrong, but none attempt to emphasize the relation it bears to the ancient tragedies of the great poets wherein Nemesis carries out the dread sentences of the gods, to the last bitter syllable of their decree. Dom Bede Camm takes his account—and it is a mere graphic sketch—from a manuscript chronicle as yet unpublished, the "Annales Collegii Anglorum Valle-soletani." He draws from the annals the story of Elizabeth's last priestly victim, Father William Richardson, or Anderson, a Yorkshire cleric educated on the Continent. His death-warrant was the last signed by the moribund Queen—the "Hag," as the Irish loved to call her and have fastened that name to a bold Western promontory, that it may perpetuate in Ireland forever the memory of her barbarous and bloody reign in the island of piety and learning which she had turned into a corpse-strewn place of abomination, where famine stalked and men and women ate grass and even their own babes. Five weeks after Henry's daughter had affixed her sign-manual to the death warrant her own came from a higher authority. But her doom was not so swift. She had been given leisure to repent, but she had not the grace to call for the mercy of which she stood so much in need. The Annalist thus tells the story:

"Eight or nine days before her death she fell into a stupor and lay back among her cushions, staring as if she saw some terrible vision that affrighted her. She turned her face to the wall and absolutely refused to listen to the entreaties of her attendants that

she would take some food or allow them to remove her to her bed. And when the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London came to give her some spiritual consolation, she drove them away with contempt, saying: 'Go, and bad luck be with you. I know too well of what sort you are, for you have brought on me all these miseries which I now suffer, and what comfort, forsooth, can you give to me?' And so she breathed her last, a prey to the most hopeless melancholy and not without other even sadder signs of her spiritual condition."

This brief sketch tallies in nearly every point, except the number of days the Queen remained out of bed, with that of the "young faire Mrs. Southwell," one of the Queen's sworn maids of honor, quoted by the author of the notes to Dr. Lingard's history. This states that the Queen "sate for two dayes and three nyghts on the stole, ready dressed, and would never be brought by anie of the consell to go to bed." "She kept her bed 15 dayes, besides 3 dayes she sat upon the stole, and one day being pulled up by force, stood on her feat 15 hours."

When Shakespeare pictured the dreams of Lady Macbeth and Richard the Third, haunted before death by the spectres of their several gory victims, he could hardly have dreamed that his patroness, Elizabeth, would ere long have furnished the world with an example of the inferiority of the imaginary to the real when "tyrant conscience" stands guard at the gate of death. It was a frightful ordeal, not only to the wretched victim of tormenting remembrances, but to all those who were compelled to witness it. It was an agony prolonged over many days and nights, giving not a moment's rest or cessation either to the sceptred sufferer or the trembling watchers. The painter, Paul Delaroche, has given the world a vivid idea of the external terrors of that benumbing tragedy—the faded paindrawn, ghastly face, the Medusa-like coils of false red hair above the cavernous temples, the gorgeous velvet robe clutched with the bejeweled skeleton fingers, and the haunting look of agony in the hopeless eyes, fixed on the dreaded shore, unseen by all others, whither her grim pilot was steering her life's bark all too surely.

The historian must be sought if we would realize the full meaning of what the painter has sought to convey. Lingard tells how for days the Queen sat dumb and motionless with one of her fingers in her mouth and her eyes fixed on the floor. In paroxysms of her malady—which none understood, as she rejected all medical assistance—it was evident from her mutterings that frightful phantoms were flitting through her restless mind. To Lord Howard, her kinsman, she confided a hint of the visions which thus froze up her

speech and stemmed the blood in her veins. When he urged her to return to bed—she having been for many days propped up on cushions—she replied that if he had seen what she had seen there, he would never so advise her. Could the rapt author of the “*Commedia*” have had a prevision of that dread scene he could have left the world a fresh marvel of the inspired poet’s powers of impressing the lesson of sin and crime in words of imperishable fire.

To Lord Howard later on the dying sovereign said piteously: “I am tied, with an iron collar about my neck.” When he strove to console her and banish such delusions, she said: “No; I am tied; and the case is altered with me.”

There are some writers of this reign who seek to soften or hide those dreadful portents of approaching doom and convey the impression that Elizabeth’s death was tranquil and her understanding good to the last. They also assert that she received the spiritual assistance of the Protestant religion gladly and insisted on its continuance to the last. Lady Southwell’s testimony (she is sometimes referred to as Mrs. Southwell) tallies more with the version given by the unknown writer of the “*Annals*” above referred to. She tells of the conversation between the Queen and Lord Howard; also exposes the deception sought to be fostered by Cecil, the Prime Minister, so as to account for the dreadful ravings of the Queen as she lay in bed and saw the sights that harassed her guilty soul. She is mad, said the wily counsellor, her evil genius in every matter that came up for decision in her later career. She is mad; she knows not what she is saying. But the sharp ears of Elizabeth caught the false report, and she did not leave it long uncorrected. Lady Southwell testified that the Queen one day said to him: “Cecil, know that I am not mad. You must not think to make Queen Jane of me”—meaning Queen Juana of Castille, who was really deranged. Lady Southwell adds that neither herself nor any of the others about the Queen’s apartments at the time could perceive any tokens of insanity about her, her speech being quite to the purpose whenever she wished to speak.

About the visit of the Protestant prelates to the dying Queen Lady Southwell is silent. Had that visit—which undoubtedly took place—resulted in bringing about a happier mood in the conscience-tortured sufferer, the world must surely have known of it through such a trustworthy sympathizer. But her silence on the subject is of deep significance.

There is another witness—one who was present in the death chamber and remained there until within a short time of the actual dissolution. This is Henry Cary, Earl of Monmouth. His memoirs were written by himself and published by Boyle, Earl of Cork and

Orrery, a man who, like Cary, for some time enjoyed the favor of the deceased Queen, and, like other favorites, had been put aside when the fickle, vain old woman's transient fancy or passion had been gratified. Monmouth would appear to have at one time stood high in the affections—such as they were—of the ancient coquette, for when he took unto himself a wife she became mightily offended, and in her resentment refused either to see him at court or speak with him for a long time; and when at last State business made an interview unavoidable, Monmouth says that “our first encounter was stormy and terrible, which I passed over in silence.”

In his *Memoirs* Monmouth is very circumspect in his references to the Queen, but it is pretty easy to read between the lines. Whatever their private relations may have been, the sympathies of both were on the side of the party that had gotten the upper hand in the religious struggle, though to either the question at issue was more personal and material than spiritual or theological. Monmouth's statements on the subject of the visits of the Protestant prelates to the Queen in her last hours must be taken with all due reserve. They differ widely from the versions given by Lady Southwell and others who spoke as eye-witnesses. Lady Southwell says that the last words the Queen uttered were: “I will have no rascal's son in my seat”—in reply to the question of the Lords of the Council when the Earl of Beauchamp's name was proposed to her as her successor, along with those of the French and Scottish Kings. (“Rascal's son” was a reference to the fact that Lord Beauchamp's father, Lord Hertford, and Lady Catherine Grey—who was of royal lineage—had been secretly married, to the Queen's great chagrin.) After venting her spleen in this un-Christian way, the Queen relapsed into a state of insensibility, according to Lady Southwell, and did not recover consciousness, but died in that state, but without pain, at 3 o'clock in the morning (March 24, 1603).

For the Bishops and the Lords of the Council, Lingard says, the Queen had expressed the most profound contempt. To no one, save Lord Howard, the High Admiral, and one of her own kinsmen, would she vouchsafe a word. Lady Southwell's diary appears to bear out the statement by its absence of reference to the Bishops. Now comes Lord Monmouth with a far different story. He claims to speak as an eye-witness, too, and as one present in the death chamber until almost the last hour. Here is his version:

“When I came to court I found the Queen ill-disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting low upon her cushions. She called me to her; I kissed her hand and told her it was my chiefest happiness to see her in safety and in health, which

I wished might long continue. She took me by the hand and wrung it hard, and said: 'No, Robin; I am not well,' and then discoursed with me of her indisposition, and that her heart had been sad and heavy for ten or twelve days; and in her discourse she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight, for in all my lifetime before I never knew her to fetch a sigh but when the Queen of Scots was beheaded. *Then*, upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen.

"I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humor, but I found by her it was too deep-rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a Saturday night, and she gave command that the great closet should be prepared for her to go to chapel the next morning. The next day, all things being in readiness, we long expected her coming. After 11 o'clock one of the grooms came out and had make ready the private closet, she would not go to the great. There we stayed long for her coming, but at the last she had cushions laid for her in the privy chamber, hard by the closet door, and there she heard service.

"From that day forwards she grew worse and worse. She remained upon her cushions four days and nights at the least. All about her could not persuade her either to take any sustenance or go to bed."

Here Monmouth tells of his writing to King James telling him of the Queen's condition and notifying him that if she died he would be the first man to ride to Edinburgh to convey the news. He evidently had a keen eye to the main chance, both in London and in the Scottish capital. Then he resumes his story of the death vigil:

"The Queen grew worse and worse, because she would be so, none about her being able to persuade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral was sent for (who, by reason of my sister's death that was his wife, had absented himself some fortnight from court), what by fair means, what by force, he got her to bed. There was no hope of recovery, because she refused all remedies."

Was not this despair?—and was it not visible to all about the wretched Queen? And was not that which now almost immediately follows written to conceal the fact of that terrible despair from the world? Let us follow the narrative:

"About six at night she made signs for the Archbishop (Whitgift, of Canterbury) and her chaplains to come to her, at which time I went in with them and sat upon my knees, full of tears to see that heavy sight. Her Majesty lay upon her back, with one hand in the bed and the other without. The Bishop kneeled down by her and examined her first of her faith; and she so punctually answered all

his several questions, by lifting up her eyes and holding up her hand, as it was a comfort to all beholders. Then the good man told her plainly what she was and what she was come to, and though she had long been a great Queen here upon earth, yet shortly she was to yield an account of her stewardship to the King of Kings. After this he began to pray, and all that were by did answer him. After he had continued long in prayer, till the old man's knees were weary, he blest her and meant to rise and leave her. The Queen made a sign with her hand. My sister, Scroop (Lady Philadelphia), knowing her meaning, told the Bishop the Queen desired he would pray still. He did so for a long half hour after, and then thought to leave her. The second time she made sign to have him continue in prayer. He did so for half an hour more, with earnest cries to God for her soul's health, which he uttered with that fervency of spirit as the Queen, to all our sight, much rejoiced thereat, and gave testimony to us all of her Christian and comfortable end. By this time it grew late, and every one had departed, all but her women that attended her.

"This that I heard with my ears and did see with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down, and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a Christian, because I know there have been many false lies reported of the end and death of that good lady."

Exalted a person as the writer of the foregoing was, in his day, his statements on the subject cannot be accepted as trustworthy. There is motive apparent in every sentence of it. He himself admits that a very different version of the last utterances of the Queen had got abroad, and he wished to offset these "false lies."

Did Elizabeth shed any tears, as Monmouth declares, to his knowledge, she did, when she heard of the death of the Scottish Queen? "She shed many tears and sighs," he wrote, "manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen." She did nothing of the kind, so far as the most reliable authorities can discover. When she had signed the warrant drawn up by the Commissioners who had found Mary guilty, she was asked by Davison, to whom she had handed it back, did she intend to proceed to the execution of it or not. "Yes, by G—," was her reply, delivered with more than her usual vehemence. This is Lingard's statement of the matter, and there is no one found disputing it. After the murder was done she dissembled. She pretended anger, but not sorrow, and made a scapegoat of Davison, to whom she had sworn in that queenly way. But he was not, like her, a liar; he was a fearless, truthful bigot, and did not hesitate to defend himself and charge the Queen with duplicity and falsehood, nor to remind her of her message to Paulet, in timating that he ought to spare her the odium of signing away her victim's life by means of private assassination!

Monmouth was the messenger whom Elizabeth had selected to go to Edinburgh and inform King James of the death of his mother. In doing so she gave him a letter protesting that her murder (for such it was viewed by the Scots) was not owing to her. This was a flagrant falsehood—and Monmouth knew it to be so (he was then, not Monmouth, but Lord Hunsdon). When the nobles and people generally learned of the tragedy they were transported with rage, and Hunsdon would have been slain by them had not the poltroon, James, sent him a guard to protect him.

Monmouth's statements about Whitgift and the praying are not more reliable than his excuses for the Queen. The unknown writer of the "Annales" was in all probability right in his story of the Queen's reception of the Archbishop and the Bishop of London (the latter Monmouth does not mention at all). "Go, and bad luck with you!" James, besides being a poltroon without heart to avenge the death of his beautiful and illustrious mother, was an apostate, in the hands of the Scottish fanatics; and Monmouth, bent on securing something handsome for himself by being the first to bring tidings that brought James the Crown of England as well as that of Scotland, invented the story of the dying Queen's perseverance in Protestantism and acquiescence in his (James') succession, for his own purposes.

There is the best reason to believe that Elizabeth never concurred in the succession of James. Mrs. or Lady Southwell distinctly states that she never spoke another word after her emphatic declaration against the claim of Lord Beauchamp. But Monmouth says that when the Queen called for her council they proposed the name of the King of the Scots, and she made a sign of assent by putting her hand to her head. Orrery, who edited Monmouth's Memoir, gives little credit to such an interpretation. He says the lords of the council pretended it was a sign. It might just as well be interpreted as a sign that her head ached from their questionings.

It is a matter of no little curiosity what might have happened had not Monmouth got off to carry the tidings of the Queen's death to James. The lords of the council were quite undecided as to the situation. They took precautions that no one should leave the palace when the Queen died until they had decided what should be done, but he managed to escape by a ruse, and probably had relays of horses arranged, for he rode the whole distance to Edinburgh almost without resting till he got to Holyrood. The Council were divided on the subject of the succession. There were partisans of the King of France and of Lady Arabella Stuart among the English nobility, as well as of the King of the Scots. But Monmouth's promptitude settled the matter in favor of the latter.

When Elizabeth died she possessed, historians declare, about three thousand different gowns. She had jewels and treasure of every kind beyond counting. She had been all her life a greedy and avaricious female, besides a stingy one. Whenever she paid a visit to one of her great nobles she did not come to scatter gifts, but to take all she could get, and she usually left the house laden with costly valuables. Not long before she died the Bishop of London had the temerity to preach a sermon, deprecating the love of finery, in her presence. This enraged her so that she told her ladies that if he ever preached another on that subject she would fit him for heaven; he should walk there without his staff and leave his mantle behind him. She was a witty old lady, especially when she was dealing with Bishops who were not to her liking.

The homage which Catholics pay to the Blessed Virgin is often used as a reproach by those who are either incapable of discerning or unwilling to acknowledge its true character. They describe it as a species of idolatry, detracting from the homage due to the Creator—overlooking the fact that He sent an angel to convey to His unique creature the highest homage of heaven. The honest reader who follows Elizabeth's reign will find that monarch's parasites offering, and her accepting, tributes of praise which, if offered to the Mother of God, would almost deserve the brand of blasphemy. The flatteries of Raleigh, Drake, Essex and Cecil were truly fulsome at times. When the Queen had put Raleigh into confinement for a heinous offense against one of her own maids, he endeavored to arouse her pity by sending letters, full of passionate pleadings, to Cecil, to be shown the Queen. In these he compared her to Alexander in horsemanship, to Diana in the chase, to Venus in gait, to an angel in sweet singing. But Cecil himself could go further. In a letter to Essex concerning a prayer which the Queen had composed for the Admiral, at the time of the fleet's sailing out to meet the Spaniards, that crafty statesman, certain that the Queen would be shown it, wrote: "No prayer is so fruitful as that which proceedeth from those who nearest in nature and power approach the Almighty. None so near approach His place and essence as a celestial mind in a princely body. Put forth, therefore, my lord, with comfort and confidence, having your sails filled with her heavenly breath for your forewind." The prayer referred to is almost unintelligible to modern readers, but its dominant note is one of almost insolent familiarity with the Deity and an implied acknowledgment that the petitioner had deserved all the favors and protection of which she asked a continuance. No wonder when subjects used language fit only for divine worship that the objects of the flattery should be affected by the misdirected incense. Nor was this extraordinary



style of adulation confined to flatterers of the male sex. Women sometimes had recourse to it, to gain some great or petty end. Lady Rich, for instance, sister of the Earl of Essex, tried to regain the royal favor for her disgraced brother by eulogy of the Queen almost nauseous in its terms: "Early did I hope this morning to have mine eyes blessed with your Majesty's beauty." "Let your Majesty's divine power be no more eclipsed than your beauty, which hath shined throughout all the world; and imitate the Deity, not destroying those that trust in your mercy." The painted virago continued to receive such compliments quite as truth, believing herself beautiful and a goddess among women, until she was sixty-seven! Sometimes, however, she discovered, by accident, the real opinion of some of her flatterers. Essex, for instance (according to Raleigh), in a fit of fury, one day, after hearing of some new turn of hers, exclaimed: "Her mind is as crooked as her carcass!" That outburst of truth settled his fate, for it came to the ears of the Queen. She could forgive many things to a lover, but never such an insult as that. Essex was sent to the block very speedily afterwards.

Neither poet nor novelist ever presented the portrait of Elizabeth that truly conveyed her singular character. One requires to read a great many authorities to get a fair conception of it. Then it will be found that when the ancient poets and myth makers pictured a creature with the head and breast of a woman and the body of a lioness, and other like chimeras, they must have been inspired by prototypes of Elizabeth—women like Semiramis, full of masculine passions and the sternness and fearlessness which often accompany the sensuous and the sensual in masculine humanity. There was no trace of womanly softness about her composition, save in her coquetry with men. She cared very little for conventional restraint in such periods of playfulness and pleasure. Scott makes the episode at Kenilworth, when Dudley knelt before her in salutation the occasion for giving a glimpse of her disregard of queenly dignity. Before raising him from his humble posture, when intimation of his earldom was made to him, it was noticed, he relates, she passed her hand over his long curled hair with a caressing movement that seemed to intimate she would have done more if the time were not unfavorable. Sir James Melvil, the historian, who was an eye-witness of the occurrence, puts the scene in a much more realistic way. "I was required," he writes, "to stay until he was made Earl of Leicester, which was done at Westminster, the Queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial, he sitting upon his knee (kneeling) before her with great gravity; but she could not refrain from putting her hands into his neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by. Then she turned, asking me how I liked him." Her

partiality for the favorite led her to visit a much lighter punishment than she meted out to Raleigh when she found him giving a similar cause for jealousy; she only gave him into the custody of the Earl Marshal for a quarter of an hour. But when she found that he had actually gone so far as to marry Lady Essex, her wrath was furious, and she ordered him put into genuine imprisonment. Later on, she displayed similar indifference to public opinion in her behavior toward the Duke of Anjou, until the matter became an open scandal at the court. Raleigh was hardly less conspicuous a favorite for a time ere Anjou came; and Hatton and Oxford, and Blount, as well as Simier, the Duke of Anjou's ambassador and wooer by proxy, all enjoyed the royal favor, in sight of the whole court, in succession. Her coquetries lasted long after her natural charms had vanished; they were continued with the help of artificial aids until a few months before her death. She was sixty-nine when the Duke of Nevers was sent to transact business at her court. She was so fond of dancing, even at that age, that she could not refrain from joining him in a galliard. In the Sydney papers is the following curious chronicle of the fact: "The Duke of Nevers was honorably entertained by her Majesty; she daunced with hym and courted hym in the best manner; he on the other side used many complementes, as kissing her hand, yea and foote when she shewed him her legge." Her jealousy was immoderate, like a woman; her violence and anger as ungovernable as any man's. She beat her waiting women, and swore at them, just like the grandee women of Pagan Rome did at their slaves and tiring women; and she boxed the ears of men, when they offended her, just as freely. These unfeminine habits were never properly utilized by the romance writers. In "Drake: An Epic," a poetical production recently presented by Alfred Noyes, her character is drawn in true heroic colors. But it is as the sublime and patriotic Queen, the savior of her country, she shines, not as the royal vixen that she in very truth was, if all the chronicles are not a vast conspiracy against her fame. If a great drama of her time were to be written for Sarah Bernhardt, the world might possibly get a better impression of what she really was in the flesh than by any other means.

When the time came that told Elizabeth that vanity had run its course, the discovery was terrible in its effects. She was stupified. She could hardly realize it. She had begun to see that she was no longer received with acclamations by the people outside, and that those about her paid her only "mouth honor, breath, which the poor heart would fain deny, but dare not." Poets no longer wrote her praises; the voice of the courtly flatterer was no longer heard lisping her charms in sonnet or rondeau. Her teeth had grown black; her

face was deeply furrowed with the wrinkles of age; the "crows' feet" were at the corners of her eyes; the paint with which she used to bedaub her face and neck and breast was no longer effectual to hide the growing ugliness; the tawny hair had become whitey yellow. All this change was the work of a little more than a year or two. Its completeness seemed to have come home to her as by a flash. Then a chill despair settled down upon the greedy sensual old heart, with its still unsated demon of passion. She could not realize that her dream of vanity was over until then; and when she did at last realize it, she cared no longer for dress or titivating face or hair. She became slovenly and untidy, like any kitchen wench; and in such dishevel, and with many a fierce imprecation on her foamy shrivelled lips, she settled down to die in silence and in sullen defiance of God.

How different was the exit of her illustrious victim, the persecuted Mary Stuart! Her final mood is best exhibited in the letter she wrote to her kinsman, the Duke of Guise. Here is a translation of it as taken from Von Raumer's "History of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries:"

"My Good Cousin: I bid you, whom I best love on earth, farewell, since in virtue of an unjust sentence, I am about to die, in such fashion as, God be praised, none of our family, and still less of my station, ever did before. Do you thank God, therefor, for upon this earth I was useless to His and the Church's cause; but hope that death may prove my steadfastness in the faith and my willingness to die for the maintenance and restoration of the Catholic Church in this unhappy island. And although never yet executioner dipped his hand in our blood, be not you, my friend, ashamed for this, for the judgment of heretics and Church enemies, who have no right over me, a free Queen, is honorable before God and profitable for the children of the Church. Did I belong to the former, this judgment should not light upon me. All of our house have been persecuted by that sect, as your good father, together with whom I hope to be received into mercy by the just Judge.

"I commend to you my poor servants and the payment of my debts, and entreat a pious foundation for my soul, not at your cost, but after the manner that you will hear from my disconsolate servants, the witnesses of my last tragedy. May God bless you, your wife, children, brothers and cousins, and above all, our head, my good brother and cousin, and all his. The blessing of God, and that which I would bestow upon my children, be upon yours, whom I no less commend to God than my son, the unhappy and deceived. . . .

"God give you grace to endure through life in the service of the Church. Never may this honor depart from our family, but men, like women, be ever ready (setting aside all other worldly considera-

tions) to shed their blood for the upholding of the faith. As for me, I hold myself, on father's and mother's side, born to make the offering of my blood, and I have no purpose to degenerate. Jesus, who was crucified for us, and all holy martyrs, make us by their intercession worthy freely to offer up our bodies for His honor!

"Fotheringay, Thursday, 24th Nov.

"P. S.—They have taken away my canopy, thinking to degrade me. Since then my warden came and proffered to write about it to the Queen, that having been done not by her order but upon advice of certain counsellors. I showed them on that canopy, instead of my arms, my Saviour's Cross. Since then they have been gentler.

"Your affectionate cousin and perfect friend, Mary, Queen of Scotland, Dowager Queen of France."

When Pope sang of "the pain, the bliss of dying," two such pictures as the foregoing might have made one in his unconscious spectroscopy of fancy. The death of the just who die in grace and the implicit trust in God is beautiful; but, oh, how immeasurably more so the passing away of those who are privileged to lay down their lives for His sake!

But how terrible, on the other hand, is the lesson of the last hours of the impenitent. The legendary horrors ascribed to the sight of the Medusa's head would appear to have been suggested, some time in the forgotten past, by some such tortures as afflicted Elizabeth in those awful days when she sat, daring not to brave a couch of slumber again while life still held out to punish her multitudinous sins and crimes. The strong silent despair that settled on her soul was eloquent, in its dumbness, of the intolerable weight of her guilt, as the curse she flung at the Protestant clerics was of her fury at her own folly in creating them.

Many of the English sovereigns died in circumstances as piteous, in some respects. The terrible despair of Henry II. when he learned how his favorite son, John, headed the list of his revolted nobles made him curse them, and curse the hour he had been born, ere he turned his face to the wall to die. Still it did not produce absolute despair, as in the case of Elizabeth; he was penitent even in the wildest tempest of his fury. Blood-guiltiness, sins of the flesh, of pride, of cruelty, of greed and plunder were theirs in plenty, for the most part, to be confronted with at the crossing of the dread line. But she was the first to be called on to plead to the tremendous crime of wiping out a National Church. Her father had warred on that Church, no doubt, and laid violent hands on the new Ark of the Covenant; but he did not raze it and drown its foundation trenches with consecrated blood. This work he shrank from, but his heart-

less daughter, like a new Tullia spurning her father's body, as it were, did not shrink from beginning and finishing.

Little wonder she cursed the men who led her on or drove her on. Little wonder she sat speechless and shuddering as one who had seen a basilisk, as her wild eyes sought the shore line of the dread eternity toward which she was being hurried by unseen and irresistible hands. In all history there is no more profoundly saddening story of Nemesis and the justice of heaven.

JOHN J. O'SHEA.

Philadelphia.

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### NOTRE DAME DE FOURVIÈRE.

IN THE year 1870 the inhabitants of the city of Lyons found themselves threatened with the horrors of a siege. The tide of war which was then devastating some of the fairest provinces of France rolled perilously near the gates of the ancient city; destruction seemed inevitable. In this hour of mortal danger the inhabitants had recourse to the Queen of Heaven, who had so often in the past extended her gracious protection to them.

On the 8th of October Monsigneur Gineulhaie, kneeling at Our Lady's altar in the old chapel at Fourvière, solemnly promised in the name of the priests and people of Lyons that if through the intercession of their great patroness the terrible danger with which they were threatened were averted, they would spare no effort to erect a new sanctuary at Fourvière, where from time immemorial a shrine of Our Lady had existed. Their prayer was heard.

On the 1st of March, 1871, the treaty of peace was signed. Neither the city nor Diocese of Lyons suffered the slightest injury from the invaders. The magnificent basilica which dominates the city testified to the powers of Mary's intercession and to her children's gratitude.

The origin of the shrine is completely lost in the mists of antiquity, and no date can be accurately assigned to its foundation. One thing is certain that from the moment when the dawn of Christianity dispelled the darkness of paganism devotion to the Mother of God has ever been a characteristic of the people of Lyons.

We read that Lyons, or Lugdunum, as it was called by the ancients, was founded in the year 43 B. C., by Munatius Plancus. So rapid was its growth that in the reign of Augustus it became the capital of the Roman province of Gaul and possessed a Senate, magistrates

and an athenæum. It was in Lugdunum that the four great roads which traversed Gaul met as in a centre. In A. D. 53 the city was destroyed in one night by fire. It was rebuilt by Nero and later it was enlarged and greatly embellished by the Emperor Trajan. In the fifth century Lyons had already become one of the chief cities of the Kingdom of Burgundy, and in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it rose to great wealth and importance. To escape the tyranny of the nobility in 1307, the inhabitants placed themselves under the protection of Philippe-le-Bel, who united the city to France.

The first to sow the precious seed of devotion to the Queen of Heaven, destined to produce such a rich harvest, was St. Pothinus, the first Bishop of the Gauls. It might almost be said that the precious gift was bestowed directly by St. John the Evangelist, who received Mary as his mother from the dying Saviour, for St. Polycarp, the successor to St. John in the Diocese of Smyrna, transmitted it direct to St. Pothinus.

But it was not on the heights whence the gods of pagan Rome seemed to dominate the two great rivers which joined their waters in the valley beneath that the flower of devotion to Mary was first planted. The infant church with Mary's worship must hide amongst the rushes of the marshy river banks. The summit and slopes of the hill, from Saint Just to Pierre-Seize, were covered by the proud temples and palaces of the Romans, lifting their majestic heads to heaven. St. Pothinus, seeking a place whereon to erect the standard of the Cross, passed over the abode of human greatness and grandeur and chose a lonely and unfrequented spot where, just before joining their waters, the two convergent lines of the Rhone and Saone formed a triangle, the base of which was formed by the hill known at the present time by the name of La Croix Rousse.

This was the place chosen by St. Pothinus whereon to found his Christian colony. Here, amidst the fogs and mists which enveloped those desolate marshes the first Christians of Lyons practiced their religion in lowliness and obscurity. Yonder, directly facing them, rose the eminence on which the proud Roman city was seated in regal beauty.

The humble followers of Christ crucified had the stronghold of paganism ever before them, in its power and magnificence seemingly indestructible. And yet it would seem as if some prophetic instinct had guided St. Pothinus in his choice. Before very long many causes were to combine for the removal of that centre of life and action which had its home upon the height. By degrees as Christianity triumphed the attraction of the Cross was to draw Lugdunum down into the plain and to gather round the sanctuary founded by St. Pothinus all the inhabitants of the Christian colony, just as the

temples and monuments of paganism were grouped around the forum of Trajan. Consequently one by one the glories of the pagan city would depart, whilst on the ruins of the forum Mary's sanctuary was to arise.

Thus once more was Mary Immaculate to crush the serpent's head, and from the hill of Fourvière, so long the stronghold of paganism, the Queen of Purity watches over the new Lyons nestling at her feet.

Like all the saints and like his beloved master, St. Polycarp, in particular, St. Pothinus cherished the most tender love for Our Lady and labored unceasingly to enkindle the same ardent love and devotion in the hearts of the Christians of Lugdunum.

In a bull of Pope Innocent IV. it is stated that the altar dedicated to Our Lady by St. Pothinus was the first raised in her honor on this side of the Alps. It would be impossible to doubt the evidence of a Pope so renowned for his learning and who, moreover, had such abundant opportunity during long residence in the city of becoming acquainted with the traditions of the church of Lyons.

The soil was fruitful and the Gospel of Christ spread rapidly to Lugdunum. Soon the marvelous progress of Christianity attracted notice. The Christians, warned by the storm of persecution which had burst in Rome and Smyrna, in which latter city St. Polycarp had suffered martyrdom, held themselves in readiness for the moment when they, too, would be called on to witness for Christ.

However, the danger seemed to have passed away. Not until 177, nine years after the death of St. Polycarp, did the thunderbolt fall on the Christians of Lyons. Several were at once thrown into prison. The venerable shepherd of the flock, St. Pothinus, soon shared their captivity. They were tried publicly in the forum of Trajan. A short distance from the forum, on the eastern side of the hill, rose the palace of the Cæsars. Here, in the underground dungeons of this palace, the first martyrs of Lyons were imprisoned, and here St. Pothinus, with several of his companions, succumbed to their cruel suffering. At the Hospice of Antiquaille may be seen the gloomy dungeons, now converted into a chapel, in which St. Pothinus at the age of ninety, after enduring unheard-of torture, breathed forth his soul to God.

The blood of the martyrs is ever fruitful. The religion of Christ, which was then so persecuted, has triumphed over her enemies. That palace, in the erection of which the Romans spared no expense, that magnificent abode whence issued those bloody edicts against Christ's members, what now remains of all its splendor? A reservoir and a conduit which leads from this reservoir to the aqueduct—that is all. The palace of the Cæsars has vanished from off the face of

the earth, while the dismal dungeon, in which the first Bishop of Lyons expired, remains intact. The 2d of June is regarded as the day on which the martyr Bishop received his crown.

St. Pothinus was succeeded in the See of Lyons by St. Irenaeus, who faithfully followed in the footsteps of his saintly predecessor, imitating him in his love for Mary and in his ardent zeal for the propagation of her worship. Twenty years after the death of St. Pothinus Irenaeus, too, sealed his faith with his blood. During these persecutions thousands of all ages and of both sexes laid down their lives for Christ. Christian blood flowed in torrents, consecrating for all time the hill of Fourvière. But the God of Justice avenged the death of His saints. The proud Roman city was doomed to destruction. The gorgeous temples crumbled into dust, and when the last and most famous of all—the Forum of Trajan—lay prostrate, the Chapel of Fourvière rose upon its ruins.

The little colony founded by St. Pothinus grew and prospered in the shadow of Mary's altar, which he had consecrated. The remains of this first oratory are still preserved for the veneration of the faithful in the crypt, recently restored, of the Church of St. Nizier. The pagan city, destroyed by the persecutors themselves, was destined to have a new and Christian birth in the plain at the foot of the hill which had been the seat of its pagan splendor. Septimus Severus reduced the city to a heap of ashes, after which the imperial palace was never rebuilt. In 357, and again in 413, Lyons was seized by the Germans and the Burgundians, who in the fifth century became masters of the city. In 732 the Saracens completed the work of destruction, and in 840 the remains of the majestic porticoes which had hitherto defied the efforts of the destroyers suddenly fell to the ground.

We read the following in a portion still remaining of a manuscript written by St. Benignus of Dijon: "In that year the famous monument called *Forum vetus*, built by Trajan in Lugdunum, fell in the beginning of autumn after having lasted seven hundred years." These ruins were called by the people the old forum or foro vetere, which then became Forverium, Forviel and finally in the sixteenth century the place became known as Forvière or Fourvière.

The chroniclers of Lyons agree in fixing the ninth century as the date of the construction of Our Lady's Chapel. Pieces of marble and stone belonging to the Roman buildings are still to be found in the foundations, but this early shrine was a very humble effort. A very small enclosure, an altar built into the wall facing the east and a door opening to the north, such was the simple plan of this primitive sanctuary. But, although the exact date of its origin is wrapped in obscurity, it is impossible to doubt that the shrine is of great



antiquity. Abundant proof of this is to be found in the charter of the foundation of the collegiate church written in 1192.

Our Lady of Good Counsel was the title under which Our Lady was at first honored on the hill of Fourvière. Some chaplains were appointed for the service of the altar and vines were cultivated to defray the expenses. For three centuries the shrine remained humble and unpretentious. Numerous other shrines of greater renown attracted the devotion of the people of Lyons, who in their love and gratitude multiplied Mary's altars everywhere. The most celebrated of those were the crypt of St. Pothinus Notre Dame des Graces, a l'Ile Barbe, and the basilica of Ainay, which last can boast the happy privilege of being the first place in Gaul where the Immaculate Conception was honored.

But the chapel of Fourvière was destined to emerge from its poverty and insignificance. The hill which the blood of martyrs had sanctified formed the first patrimony of the Archdiocese of Lyons, it being recorded in the archives that the Emperor Lothaire in 850 bestowed it upon the Church. In 1168 Olivier de Chavannes, canon of the Chapter of Lyons, conceived the desire of enlarging the humble oratory. Accordingly in 1160 we find him beginning to build a long nave, which was to be dedicated later to St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Regarding this dedication there is an old tradition which is mentioned repeatedly in the archives of the old chapter. When St. Thomas à Becket quitted England at the command of the tyrannical Henry he took refuge in the monastery of Pontigny, of which Guichard was abbot. Shortly afterwards Guichard was raised to the See of Lyons and persuaded the exiled Archbishop to accompany him thither and to take up his abode in the cloister of St. Jean, where the chapter had generously offered him an asylum. The tradition is that à Becket and de Chavannes were one day walking together. The conversation turned on the building then in course of construction at Fourvière. The exile raised his eyes and fixed them on the hill. "Who will be the patron of the new cathedral?" he asked, turning to his hosts. "The first martyr who sheds his blood in defense of the Church," was the answer. Was it some prophetic instinct as to the fate of the illustrious guest which evoked this answer? If so, its verification was not long delayed.

Very shortly all Europe thrilled with horror to hear of the murder of the saintly Archbishop at the foot of the altar, in the very shadow of the sanctuary. The miracles worked at the martyr's tomb, the marvelous sanctity of his life, Henry's remorse and penitence, all combined to hasten the decision of the Church. In 1173 the Supreme Pontiff declared Thomas à Becket blessed.

Faithful to their promise, Guichard and Oliver dedicated the nave which was just finished to the sainted Archbishop. Our Lady of Fourvière was pleased to permit that henceforth the name of him who from infancy had been the object of her maternal care should be associated with her own sweet name—her faithful son whose last words when struck by the assassin's dagger had been: "I recommend my soul and the cause of the Church to God and to Mary."

Devotion to the martyr spread rapidly. Ex-voto offerings multiplied, amongst the first being one from Louis VII. in gratitude for the recovery of his son from a dangerous fever which had brought him to the gates of death.

Jean de Bellesme, who succeeded Archbishop Guichard, completed the work of the latter by erecting a collegiate church at Fourvière. The provost of the Chapter of St. Jean was also provost of Fourvière. On great festivals the clergy of Fourvière were always present at the ceremonies in the cathedral. In turn the chapter ascended to the sanctuary on the 29th of December to assist at the celebration of the feast of St. Thomas à Becket.

In an old charter of 1263, bearing the signature of Philip of Savoy, then Archbishop of Lyons, we find mention of innumerable rich offerings to the shrine at Fourvière. The devoted clients of Mary, in the fullness of their gratitude for her intercession, laid upon her altar the most costly offerings. Vessels of gold for the use of the sanctuary, rich stuffs, precious jewels, all were brought to Our Lady's feet.

In 1244 Pope Innocent IV. sought refuge in Lyons from the continued persecution of the Emperor Frederic. For six years the exiled Pontiff found an asylum amongst the faithful at Lyons. It was at the Council convoked by this Pope, during his stay in the latter city, that an octave was decreed to the feast of Our Lady's Nativity. By order of the Pope the feast was celebrated for the first time at Lyons with the greatest magnificence. Thus the inhabitants can claim for the ancient city the privilege of being the first place in Gaul where the feast of Mary's birth was celebrated, just as it was at the shrine of Ainay that her Immaculate Conception was first honored.

Innocent IV. in various bulls repeatedly acknowledges the generous hospitality which he received from the people of Lyons, and he testified his grateful recognition of their devoted loyalty by conferring upon them innumerable favors.

In 1336 Philippe le Bel formally confirmed the magistrates of Lyons in their office and bestowed upon them great privileges. The magistrates, whose duty it was to administer the affairs of the

city and to provide for its defense, desired by public act to acknowledge Our Lady as their suzerain and to render her their homage. One of the city gates was at Fourvière, and they gave the keys of this gate into the hands of the chapter, only reserving the right to appoint the sentinel, who from an elevated tower kept vigilant watch. It was also the duty of this sentinel to open and close the gate at Fourvière, and he it was who sounded the reveille and rang the curfew for the citizens. At 8 o'clock in the evening one of the bells at St. Jean tolled twice; then the bells of the cathedral and of St. Nizier pealed forth during a quarter of an hour, at the end of which the sentry on guard at Fourvière blew a loud blast on his trumpet; this was the signal to all that the city was closed for the night.

In the thirteenth century Lyons was a prey to the horrors of civil war. Fourvière suffered considerably from the efforts of the rival combatants to seize a place of such great strategical importance. The arrival of Pope Gregory X. in Lyons at last put a stop to the struggle. The Pope ordered the citizens to pay seven thousand pounds to the monasteries of St. John and Fourvière in compensation for the damages inflicted during the conflict. In 1274 Gregory convoked a Council at Lyons to celebrate the reunion with the Greek Church. During this Council the holy Cardinal Bonaventure died. The sixteenth century proved a period of mourning for the Church. Heresy, led by Luther, the apostate monk, reared its hydra head in the greater part of Europe. France did not escape the pestilential invasion. Our Lady's city was too near Geneva, the very centre of religious dissension, not to be disturbed. The fanatical hatred of the so-called Reformers displayed itself in its most violent form at Lyons. In 1551 sacrilegious hands forced open the tabernacle in the church at Fourvière and carried off the Blessed Sacrament, together with the sacred vessels. This was the beginning of the abomination of desolation which swept over Lyons. In April, 1562, the Comte de Sault, Governor of the city, either through weakness or treachery, delivered the city into the hands of the Reformers. All the churches were pillaged, many of them being utterly destroyed, among the number being the ancient basilica of St. Irenaeus. The church at Fourvière was the first to be destroyed, the walls alone being left standing. The church at St. Just, which the passage of a thousand years had left uninjured, was also leveled to the ground.

In 1563, order having been restored, the exiles returned to their beloved sanctuary, or rather to the hallowed spot where it had once stood. It was a sad homecoming. All was ruin and desolation. No part of the shrine had escaped the destroyers' vengeance. Even the bells had been melted for the construction of cannons.

For ten years Fourvière was left destitute of church or chapel.

The chapter of the cathedral, which had suffered terribly at the despoilers' hands, had no means to help their brethren at Fourvière. By degrees, however, the church was roofed, the belfry restored and the altar of Our Lady reërected. The restoration of the sanctuary caused universal joy. The people flocked in daily increasing crowds to the altar of their dear patroness. As many as twenty-five Masses were said daily at the shrine, and the offerings became more numerous and costly than ever. But days of terrible calamity were in store for the people of Lyons.

In 1628 the plague, which had on several previous occasions nearly decimated the city, reappeared with more appalling violence than ever. In fifteen days ten thousand people perished. The members of the various religious orders worked with the most heroic devotion and self-sacrifice, tending the dying, burying the dead and endeavoring to calm the panic-stricken. It was calculated that three hundred persons died in the space of an hour. Prayers and supplications were offered unceasingly that God might have mercy on the stricken city. The magistrates deputed two friars to carry a silver lamp to the shrine of Loretto. It was with difficulty that the religious accomplished their pilgrimage owing to the terror inspired by their presence everywhere on their journey. At the end of eight months the awful visitation ceased. It was calculated that thirty-five thousand persons perished, including seventy-two doctors.

The mourning city turned its tear-dimmed eyes to Our Lady of Fourvière. The crowds which thronged to the shrine became so great that in 1630 another door had to be made, which was afterwards walled up when the chapel was enlarged. As late as 1838 the position of the door was plainly visible, and the inscription over the arch, "Notre Dame de Bon Conseil," could be easily deciphered.

In 1643 Lyons was again visited by the plague. This time the outbreak was even more appalling in its ravages than the preceding one. In their dire extremity the people turned once more to Our Lady of Fourvière. The magistrates of Lyons resolved in council to proceed in solemn procession to Fourvière and there by public vow consecrate their city forever to the Mother of God. The text of this resolution is still preserved in the archives at the Hotel de Ville. The solemn consecration took place on the 8th of September, 1643. Mary accepted the trust, the plague ceased and never again appeared in Lyons.

A beautiful white marble statue of Our Lady was placed on the bridge crossing the Saone, bearing on the pedestal an inscription which recorded the gratitude of the people of Lyons to their great patroness for their deliverance from the awful scourge. This statue was seriously damaged by an accident and was taken nearly two

hundred years ago to the Church of the Hotel Dieu, where it is still preserved in a niche above the altar in the rosary chapel. Another statue was erected on the Place de Change at the same time, but the stone of which it was formed was too perishable to resist the ravages of the climate, and it had to be removed.

In faithful fulfillment of the vow made in 1643, the magistrates of Lyons went every year to Fourvière. Amongst other offerings they invariably presented a gold crown piece as token of vassalage. This pious custom was continued until 1789, when the first mutterings of the awful storm of bloodshed and Godlessness so soon to burst over France was heard.

Mary proved herself the faithful liege lady of her devoted servants. Since the city was thus solemnly placed under Mary's protection no contagious epidemic has ravaged Lyons. The cholera, which scourged the greater part of France, stayed its course several times almost at the very gates of Our Lady's city. Now that the civic authorities no longer fulfill their sacred obligations two delegates from each of the thirty-six parishes of Lyons proceed to Fourvière on the 8th of September annually and kneel at Our Lady's altar while the priest pronounces in their name the ancient act of consecration.

Fourvière experienced the full force of the revolutionary storm. Sacrilegious hands despoiled the altars and carried off all the rich offerings which for centuries had been laid at the shrine by the grateful clients of the Queen of Heaven. The chapel was then closed. It seems a special intervention of heaven that the sanctuary escaped destruction at the hands of Couthon and the band of ruthless destroyers who left Lyons a heap of ruins.

The chapter having refused to take the oath imposed by the impious legislators, were obliged to seek safety in exile. M. Groboz, vicar of Sainte Croix, was peremptorily ordered to leave Lyons on the 30th of August, 1793. The good priest, unwilling to abandon the fold wherein were still to be found so many faithful souls, sought refuge on the hill of Fourvière, where he remained concealed for several months in the house of two pious ladies. During this time he celebrated daily Mass and heard confessions in the bare and desolate sanctuary. One morning two commissioners presented themselves at the shrine, their errand being to make a valuation of the sacred vessels which still remained. M. Groboz calmly finished the Mass he was just saying when thus disturbed. The emissaries of the Revolution then demanded the key of the tabernacle that they might ascertain the weight of the sacred ciborium. The priest trembled with horror. Stricken he refused to comply. No hand should touch the sacred vessel until he had first removed the Holy of Holies. One of the miscreants swore a fearful oath that they would carry

out their design without giving the priest time to effect the removal of the Blessed Sacrament. The sacrilegious wretch would have carried his threat into execution but for the intervention of his Protestant companion. M. Groboz was denounced to the Committee of Public Safety and obliged to fly.

In spite of threats and dangers dauntless pilgrims still braved all to kneel in prayer at the gates of the deserted chapel, though by doing so they ventured into the jaws of death, for the neighborhood of the shrine was carefully watched by infamous spies.

During the darkest days of the reign of terror faithful priests contrived to celebrate Mass in secret in the houses of the faithful, who joyfully opened their doors to give them shelter. Thus did pastors and people assemble in far more danger of their lives than were the early Christians in the Catacombs. More than once both priests and people paid the forfeit of their blood for their faithfulness to God.

The death of Robespierre in 1794 caused a slight lull in the storm. The chapel of Fourvière was reopened, but, alas! only to suffer fresh profanations. On the 11th of July, 1796, it was sold for £29,000 to a lady who devoted all her efforts to the establishment of the constitutional form of worship. The ancient statue of Our Lady having disappeared, another was purchased and set up in its place, while two constitutional priests were appointed to the care of the chapel. Well might the faithful regret the days when the chapel was closed and the grass grew in the deserted sanctuary. Far better so than to behold it in sacrilegious hands. But the love of Mary was too deeply rooted in the hearts of the people of Lyons to be destroyed by the fiercest persecution.

In 1799 two priests, brothers, M. M. Caille, opened a school on their own estate not far from Fourvière. The drawing room of the mansion was converted into a chapel, where Mary's faithful clients came to offer their Queen the worship which they were forbidden to offer at her ancient shrine. In 1803 Abbé Fesch, Archdeacon of Ajaccio and uncle of Napoleon, who had been appointed first consul, was consecrated Archbishop of Lyons. In 1804 Pope Pius VII. passed through Lyons on his way to Paris. He was received most enthusiastically by the faithful of Mary's city. The people seized the opportunity to plead for the restoration of their liege lady's chapel, which had, indeed, been rescued from the hands of the schismatics, but which had not been yet reopened from prudential motives. Cardinal Fesch and the clergy of Lyons were equally anxious for the restoration of Mary's sovereignty over the city. A subscription was opened. Money flowed in from all sides. The work of restoring the shrine was at once begun. To the great joy

of all the statue of Our Lady, so long missing, was found uninjured beneath a heap of ruins. Some of the former canons of Fourvière testified to its authenticity. During the days of terror a pious gardener had contrived to carry away the sacred image, which he carefully concealed, thus saving it from destruction at the hands of the demons of the Revolution and later from the profanation of schismatical worshippers.

On his return (1805) from Paris Pius VII. halted a second time at Lyons. At Cardinal Fesch's request the venerable Pontiff in person performed the ceremony of reopening the doors of the church at Fourvière, after which he celebrated the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. An inscription placed on the principal door of the church recorded the reopening of the shrine by the Sovereign Pontiff and also the numerous indulgences wherewith it was enriched. This inscription is now in the interior of the new church. Pius VII. gratefully ascribed his deliverance from captivity and his safe return to the Eternal City to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and to commemorate these favors, he instituted the feast of Our Lady Help of Christians, which is observed on the 24th of May.

During the revolution of 1830 the shrine narrowly escaped destruction from the firing of the insurgents' cannon, some parts of the church being struck by the balls, one of which penetrated the wall just below the niche wherein stood Our Lady's statue. In addition to the horrors of the insurrection, Lyons was threatened with another scourge. The dreaded cholera morbus once more invaded Europe and had already attacked Paris. The second city of France trembled before the approach of the dread destroyer. Stringent sanitary measures were adopted and every precaution taken to avert the threatened danger. But it was to the holy hill of Fourvière that the people of Lyons turned their eyes, imploring of their sovereign Lady that help which she had so often accorded them in the hour of danger. A public novena was begun at the altar of Our Lady of Fourvière, at which it was calculated ten thousand persons assisted daily. Their confidence was not in vain. Once more Mary spread the ægis of her protection over her loyal subjects and the destroying angel passed by, not venturing to enter the city shielded by the Queen of Heaven.

In 1835 the pestilence reappeared, ravaging the south of France and Piedmont and advancing as far as Valence. Again the people of Lyons poured forth their supplication at the shrine of Fourvière, and again the destroying angel sheathed his sword at the very gates of Mary's city. A marble tablet with the following inscription records the gratitude of the people:

"Lyons to Our Lady of Fourvière, in gratitude for having been

preserved from the cholera in the years MDCCCXXXII. and MDCCCXXXIV."

In 1838 the Sovereign Pontiff accorded to the church at Fourvière the same privileges as those bestowed by his predecessors upon the holy house of Loretto—a great and glorious privilege and a striking testimony to the veneration felt for the ancient shrine by the head of the Church. In 1839 the Confraternity of the Most Holy Heart of Mary was established in the church at Fourvière and was affiliated to that already existing in the Church of Notre Dame des Victoires, at Paris.

In November, 1839, great inundations devastated Lyons, many houses and several bridges collapsed, and for days locomotion was only possible in boats. There was but one refuge in those days of dire calamity. The Archbishop, the priests and the people ascended to Fourvière and fervently invoked the aid of their Queen. At the intercession of Mary God's wrath was appeased. The angry floods rapidly subsided, and but two or three lives were lost. A painting which was placed in Our Lady's chapel recorded the people's gratitude. In 1848 the people solemnly renewed the consecration of their city to the Blessed Virgin.

On the 21st of November, 1848, Cardinal de Bonald, at that time Archbishop of Lyons, celebrated Mass in the Lady Chapel, and then in the presence of an enormous crowd of the faithful read aloud the act consecrating the city to Our Lady of Fourvière. In accordance with ancient custom representatives from all the parishes attended, each offering a gold piece and a wax candle. In the evening a solemn blessing was pronounced on the city from the top of the holy hill. This act of consecration is repeated annually on the 8th of September, and in the evening the Blessed Sacrament is carried outside the church and raised in solemn benediction over the city. Beneath an enormous crowd gathers on the quays, and at the moment when the appointed signal announces the raising of the Blessed Sacrament all prostrate themselves in adoration.

After twelve years' absence the cholera again appeared in France, and this time a few cases occurred in the military hospital. As before, the people had recourse to Mary, who once more came to the assistance of her subjects. The progress of the plague was stayed and no further cases occurred.

On the 8th of December, 1852, the city of Lyons celebrated by general illuminations on a scale of grandeur hitherto unprecedented the placing of Our Lady's statue in the new tower which had been built and which dominated all the buildings by which it was surrounded.

In 1870, as we have seen, danger and death once more threatened



Lyons. The horrors of war were devastating the fair land of France. Three time had a regiment of the enemy received orders to march on Lyons, and three times did the foe turn aside as if some invisible hand had stayed their march. Then it was in the hour of the most imminent danger that, as of old, the Archbishop, the priests and people gathered round the altar at Fourvière and there bound themselves by solemn vow to erect a new sanctuary if Our Lady would intercede to protect the city and Diocese of Lyons from the hands of the enemy. The gracious Queen of Heaven accepted her children's vow. The invading armies were stayed at the very gates of the city, which, as we have seen, was not once molested during the whole course of the war. The magnificent basilica which to-day dominates the city is a glorious proof of how nobly the people redeemed their vow. In all France there is no grander temple than that raised by the faithful of Lyons to the glory of God and to testify to all time their gratitude to God's Immaculate Mother for the protection so signally accorded to their city.

There is no shrine in France held in higher veneration than that of Fourvière. From all parts pilgrims turn their steps to this favored spot. The sick, the sorrowful, weary wayfarers on the thorny high road of life, fainting beneath their loads, those who are starting forth on an untried career, filled with hope, all alike go to lay their griefs, their pains, their hopes and fears at the feet of her who is the Sweet Mother of Mercy. And Mary is pleased by the wondrous favors she accords to manifest how pleasing to her is the homage which her children render to her at the ancient shrine of Fourvière.

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## ST. THOMAS OF AQUIN AND THE EUCHARISTIC SACRIFICE.

THE object of the present paper is to set before the reader a plain statement of the teaching of St. Thomas (1) concerning the nature of sacrifice and (2) concerning the relation of the Holy Mass to the Sacrifice of the Cross.

### I.

It is admitted on all hands that the Angel of the Schools holds a place of preëminence among Catholic theologians. In loftiness of intellect, depth and subtlety of thought, logical cogency of reasoning,

clearness and precision of statement, he stands quite alone, at least since the days of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Basil, the Gregories and the great Augustine. Coming after these, he absorbed their learning, and it is scarce too much to say that he shines among the lesser luminaries of his own age, and of every age since his own, like the sun among the planets which borrow from him their radiance. He has done more than any other one man to build up on enduring lines the stately superstructure of Catholic theology. Even on questions that he does not treat of professedly we can turn to him with confidence for light and guidance, so far reaching and fruitful are his principles and so rich in suggestion his remarks by the way.

St. Thomas treats of sacrifice in the *Summa*, 2a, 2ae, q. 85. It is a dictate of reason, he there observes, that man should, after the manner that befits his nature, profess his dependence upon the Supreme Being and do Him homage. Now an instinct of his nature prompts man to express his feelings by means of sensible signs, for it is from sensible things that he derives his knowledge. Hence reason itself bids him take certain of the things that belong to the world of sense and offer them to God in token of subjection and worship due, just as vassals pay tribute or render homage to their liege lords in recognition of his lordship over them. Such offering as this has the character of a sacrifice, and therefore the law of nature dictates the offering of sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> But the law of nature does not determine what sacrifice is to consist in, or how it is to be offered. It is custom, or positive divine enactment, that determines this.<sup>2</sup>

Next the saint proceeds to give precision to the notion of sacrifice. The offering of sacrifice, he says, is an act that takes its moral worth from the fact of its being done in honor of God. It is thus referred to a special virtue, religion, to wit. The acts of the other virtues, too, may be directed to the honor of God, as when one gives of his goods in alms for God's sake, or for the honor of God submits to bodily suffering; and so far forth as this they may be called sacrifices. But it is only such acts as derive their whole moral worth from their being performed in honor of God that are called sacrifices in the proper sense.<sup>3</sup>

The distinction here made is a very helpful one. It enables us to see that what is often quoted as St. Augustine's definition of sacrifice, "every good work done with a view of uniting us with God in holy fellowship," is not, and indeed was not meant to be, a definition at all. For such good works as almsgiving, fasting, etc., have a moral value of their own apart from their being performed for the honor

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<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* a. 1, c.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ad 1um.

<sup>3</sup> A. 3, c.

of God, and are not special acts of the virtue of religion, but of charity and penance. Sacrifice, on the other hand, is a special act of the virtue of religion, and has no moral value save such as accrues to it from the end to which it is directed. We are enabled to see, in the next place, why the distinctive note of sacrifice lies in the destruction of the thing offered. To make an offering to God of that which has worth in itself is not an act of religion, strictly speaking, but of justice, or liberality. Religion may dictate the act, but it is justice or liberality that elicits it. On the contrary, the destruction of the thing offered, while liberality may prompt or justice dictate it, is an act elicited by the virtue of religion and possesses no value or meaning save such as it has from the purpose for which it is done. Add to this that, as sacrifice symbolizes the feelings proper to man in presence of his Sovereign Lord and Judge, the distinctive note of sacrifice is to be found in that which most aptly symbolizes these feelings. Now an offering as such is the symbol of esteem or friendship. Destruction alone fittingly expresses man's sense of his own nothingness and of the extreme penalty which his sins deserve.

St. Thomas, as any one who has studied him knows, often opens his mind more fully in his answers to the objections which he is in the habit of stating against his own thesis than he does in establishing the thesis. And so in the present instance we have this bit of luminous exposition, ad 3um a. 3, q. 85, in answer to the objection that many things are offered to God, such as devotion, prayer, tithes, first fruits, gifts, and that therefore sacrifice does not appear to be the distinctive act of the virtue of religion: "Sacrifices are properly so called when something is done to the thing offered, as when animals were slain and burnt, and bread is blessed, broken and eaten. And this the word itself implies, for sacrifice gets its name from the fact that man does something sacred. On the other hand, when something is offered to God and nothing is done to it, it is called an offering simply; as money, or bread is said to be offered when placed on the altar and nothing is done to it. Hence every sacrifice is an offering, but not conversely. As for first fruits, they are offerings, in that they are handed over to God, as we read in Deut. xxvi. But they are not sacrifices, since nothing is done to them. Tithes, again, are neither sacrifices nor offerings, properly speaking, for they are not given to God directly, but to those who minister at His altars."

Here we have a clear distinction between "sacrifice" and "oblation," or "offering." Something must be done to the thing offered before it can be called a sacrifice. What it is that must be done to it is pretty plainly shown by the examples given in the text—it must be destroyed or consumed in the worship of God. But if there can be

any doubt on this score, it is set at rest by the words of the saint in the first article of the question that follows. "Everything that is handed over for the worship of God," he there says, "is known as an *offering*. When the thing so handed over has to be consumed in the sacred rite of which it is the material element, it is both an offering and a sacrifice. . . . But if it remains intact, to be employed in the worship of God, or is given over to those who serve at the altar for their own use, it is an offering, not a sacrifice."<sup>4</sup>

Sacrifice, then, according to St. Thomas, may be defined as a sacred rite in which the thing offered to God is consumed in token of man's total dependence upon Him and to pay Him the supreme homage that is due to Him. Immolation, not oblation, is the essential note of it. And it belongs to religion as its distinctive act, as something wholly and peculiarly its own. Religion alone gives to destruction as such a moral value and a meaning. This doctrine of sacrifice, which is the doctrine taught down to our own day in all text-books of theology, was not invented by St. Thomas, as some recent writers have alleged. He did but set it up on a philosophical foundation and formulate it more distinctly. In the light of his teaching we can see that the "offering" theory exhibits only the generic concept of sacrifice. Sacrifice in its initial stage is an offering. On the other hand, the "banquet" theory confounds sacrifice proper with the feast upon the sacrifice. In the sacrificial rite as a whole we may thus distinguish a beginning, middle and end. It begins as an offering, takes on its specific character as an immolation and ends as a banquet.

## II.

St. Thomas treats only in an incidental way of the inner nature of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and its relation to the Sacrifice of the Cross. To eyes of faith the Mass is simply the Sacrifice of Calvary continued in the Church, renewed in mystery, and St. Thomas lived in the ages of faith. "As in the Fathers, so in the theologians of the Middle Ages," remarks an Anglican writer who made a special study of the subject, "there is no fully developed and accurately defined theory of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and this absence of specific definitions is found together with belief that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, that it is commemorative of the Passion and that it is offered in union with the heavenly offering of Christ. Underlying the statements of this belief was the evident conviction that there is one abiding sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, offered on the Cross in the life surrendered unto death, presented in His risen and ascended majesty by our Lord in heaven, and pleaded at the altar

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<sup>4</sup> Q. 86, a. 1, c.

by the Church on earth in union both with the Passion and Death of our Lord and with His heavenly offering."<sup>5</sup> So, too, another Anglican writer builds on quoted testimonies of the Fathers his affirmation that "in the first six centuries of the Church's life the Eucharist was looked upon as a sacrifice because it renewed the Sacrifice of the Cross."<sup>6</sup> That St. Thomas accepted, simply and literally, this faith of the Fathers, without any attempt at a rational analysis of it, must be plain to any one who has read him carefully.

We have seen that he finds the distinctive note of sacrifice in the destruction of the thing offered. Now will anything short of real destruction satisfy the requirements of his definition, for the thing offered has to be "consumed" in the worship of God? This is the principle which he expressly lays down, and everything that he says of the Sacrifice of Christ must be read in the light of it. Conformably to this principle he makes the Sacrifice of Christ consist in His Passion and death. "It is manifest," he concludes in one place, "that the passion of Christ was a true sacrifice."<sup>7</sup> "Though the passion and death of Christ," he elsewhere says, "is not to be repeated, the virtue of that sacrifice, once offered, endures forever."<sup>8</sup> From the fact that Christ's passion is not to be repeated he infers the oneness of His Sacrifice, and quotes the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, c. x.: "By one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified."<sup>9</sup> That the offering in the Eucharist does not at all take from the unity of Christ's Sacrifice he plainly implies, where he says that "the sacrifice daily offered in the Church is not other than that which Christ Himself offered, but is the commemoration of it."<sup>10</sup> By these words he does not mean merely that the victim is the same; he is speaking of the sacrifice itself, not of the Victim. And this is put beyond the possibility of cavil by what we read in the sixth article of the same question, where he inquires, "Whether the priesthood of Christ was after the order of Melchisedec?" If he regarded the Mass as a distinct sacrifice from that of the Cross, here surely was the place for him to say so. But far from saying so, he says, at least by necessary implication, the very opposite. The passage must be given word for word:

"In the priestly office of Christ two things are to be considered, namely, Christ's Sacrifice and the participation of it. As far as regards the sacrifice itself, the priesthood of Christ was in a more

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<sup>5</sup> "The Holy Eucharist: an Historical Inquirer" (*The Church Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1901, p. 97).

<sup>6</sup> "The Eucharistic Sacrifice," by the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, p. 228.

<sup>7</sup> 3a, q. 48, a. 3, c.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* q. 22, a. 5, ad 2um.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ib.* a. 3, ad 2um.

marked way prefigured by the priesthood of the Mosaic Law, through the shedding of blood, than by the priesthood of Melchisedec, in which there was no blood-shedding. But as far as regards the participation of the sacrifice, and its effect, in which the preëminence of Christ's priesthood over that of the law is especially manifested, it was more distinctly foreshadowed by the priesthood of Melchisedec, who offered bread and wine, figuring, as St. Augustine observes, the unity of the Church, which springs from the participation of Christ's Sacrifice. *Hence also it is that in the New Law the true Sacrifice of Christ is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine.*"<sup>11</sup>

The meaning of this passage, of which I have italicized the last sentence, is plain. The bearing of it on the question in hand is likewise obvious. St. Thomas here teaches that the priesthood of Christ is one and the Sacrifice of Christ is one. This one priesthood and one sacrifice were foreshadowed in the foregoing time by a twofold priesthood and a twofold sacrifice. The Mosaic sacrifices foreshadowed the Sacrifice of Calvary; the Melchisedec sacrifice foreshadowed the Eucharist. But the Eucharist, viewed by itself and apart from the bloody immolation on Calvary, is not a sacrifice, but the participation of the One Sacrifice once offered. For "in the New Law the true Sacrifice of Christ is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine." This means, if words have any definite meaning at all, (1) that the Eucharist as a sacrifice is not other than "the true Sacrifice of Christ," which is the Sacrifice of the Cross, and (2) that the Eucharist reproduces and is "the true Sacrifice of Christ," else those who partake of the Eucharist would not be partaking of "the true Sacrifice of Christ."

The teaching of St. Thomas concerning the Eucharist as a sacrifice might be summed up in the words in which St. Cyprian expresses the faith of the primitive Church: "The Passion of Christ is the sacrifice that we offer." What is offered in the Mass is "the Blood of the Passion of Christ."<sup>12</sup> "In the consecration of the Blood mention is made of the effect of the Passion, rather than in the consecration of the Body, which is the subject of the Passion. And this is indicated by the fact that the Lord says, *which shall be delivered for you*, as if He said, *which shall be subjected to the Passion for you.*"<sup>13</sup> So again: "The effect (of the Eucharist) is to be reckoned by that which it represents, which is the Passion of Christ. Hence the effect which the Passion of Christ produced in the world this sacrament produces in the individual man."<sup>14</sup> And again: "The paschal lamb

<sup>11</sup> *Loc. cit.* ad 2um.

<sup>12</sup> Q. 78, a. 3, ad 8um.

<sup>13</sup> *Ib.* ad 2um.

<sup>14</sup> Q. 79, a. 1, c.

was the most striking figure of this sacrament, in regard of the Passion of Christ, which is represented by this sacrament."<sup>15</sup> And once more: "It may be said, in short, that the consecration of this sacrament, and the acceptance of this sacrifice, and the fruit of it, proceed from the virtue of the Cross of Christ, and therefore wherever mention is made of any of these the priest makes the sign of the cross."<sup>16</sup> One other passage of the *Summa* must be given at length:

"In a twofold way the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ. It is so called, in the first place, because, as St. Augustine says to Simplicianus, 'Images are usually called by the names of those things of which they are images, as when looking at a picture or wall painting we say, This is Cicero, and this is Sallust.' Now the celebration of this sacrament, as has been said before, is a sort of image representative of the Passion of Christ, which is the true immolation of Him. Hence the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ. Because of this St. Ambrose says, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'In Christ the sacrifice was offered once, fraught with an everlasting power to save. What, then, do we? Do not we offer sacrifice every day? Yes, but for a memorial of His death.' In another way (the celebration of this sacrament is called the immolation of Christ), so far as regards the effect of the Passion of Christ, because by this sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Lord's Passion. Wherefore in a certain sacred prayer of the Mass for Sunday it is said, 'As often as the commemoration of this sacrifice is made, the work of our redemption is carried on.' So far as concerns the first way, then, it may be said that Christ was immolated even in the typical sacrifices of the Old Testament. And so it is said in the Apocalypse, *whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb, who was slain from the foundation of the world.* But so far as concerns the second way, it is peculiar to this sacrament that in the celebration of it Christ is immolated."<sup>17</sup>

It will be observed that the saint here speaks of the "immolation," not of the "offering" of Christ, and this, as it would appear, for two reasons; first, because with him immolation, not offering, is the essential note of sacrifice; secondly, because the offering of Christ in the Eucharist can be in no way doubtful, assuming the Real Presence, whereas the immolation of Him is not obvious and might even be open to question. To ask whether Christ is immolated in the Eucharist is to ask whether He is offered in sacrifice there. And

<sup>15</sup> Q. 80, a. 10, ad 2um.

<sup>16</sup> Q. 83, a. 5, ad 3um.

<sup>17</sup> Ib. a. 1, c.

the answer of the saint is, Yes, in a twofold way; first, in that the Mass is a symbolic representation of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and secondly, in that the Mass applies to men the fruit of Christ's Passion, and so carries on the work of our redemption. Thus it is the real immolation of Christ that makes the Mass the distinctive Sacrifice of the New Law, for there was a mystical immolation of Him in the sacrifices of the Old Law as well. But the real immolation of Him took place on Calvary, and Christ having risen from the dead, dieth no more. Therefore it is the bloody immolation on the Cross, of which the sacrificial efficacy is everlasting, that is still operative in the Mass and makes the Mass a real sacrifice. Hence the Mass, not being really other than the Sacrifice of the Cross, has no sacrificial fruits of its own, and does but apply to men the fruits of the sacrifice once offered on Calvary. One has but to glance at the decree of the Council of Trent, sess. 22, to see how closely the Tridentine Fathers followed this teaching of St. Thomas concerning the Holy Mass.

In his commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews the saint insists upon the oneness of the Sacrifice of the New Law, and declares expressly that the Mass is one with the Sacrifice of the Cross. On c. 9, v. 23 he writes: "In like manner the Apostle says *with sacrifices*, in the plural number. On the contrary, the Sacrifice of Christ is but one, for *by one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified* (c. 10, v. 14). I answer, Though it is one in itself, it was foreshadowed in the Old Law by many sacrifices." Again, v. 26, he identifies the Sacrifice of the New Law with the Sacrifice of Calvary: "First the Apostle gives two reasons why the sacrifice is not repeated in the New Law; then he explains them, *And as it is appointed unto men once to die . . . so Christ was offered once*. He says, then: *But now once at the end of the ages He hath appeared to take away sin by the sacrifice of Himself*." Once more, on c. 10, v. 1, he comments as follows:

"Hence in c. 9, v. 12 the Apostle, discoursing on the efficacy of the Sacrifice of Christ, attributes to it everlasting efficacy, saying, *having obtained eternal redemption*. Now that which has everlasting efficacy suffices to take away all sin, future as well as past; and therefore is not to be repeated. Hence Christ by one sacrifice cleansed forever them that are sanctified, as will presently be said. And if it be objected to this that we offer daily, I reply that we do not offer other than that which Christ offered for us, His Blood, to wit. Hence ours is not another sacrifice, but is the commemoration of that sacrifice which Christ offered, as we read in Luke, xxii., 19: 'This do for a commemoration of Me.'

One other point must be touched on which reveals under another



form the persuasion of St. Thomas that the Mass is not a distinct sacrifice from that of Calvary, but the self-same. It is the prominence which he gives to an aspect of the Eucharist that has become greatly obscured since the sixteenth century. "The Eucharist," he says, "is the perfect Sacrament of the Lord's Passion, containing as it does Christ who suffered (*Christum passum*)."<sup>18</sup> Again, "Christ who suffered is contained in this sacrament."<sup>19</sup> The words have been already cited in which he speaks of it as "the participation of the Sacrifice of Christ," and says that "the true Sacrifice of Christ," *i. e.*, the Sacrifice of the Cross, "is communicated to the faithful under the forms of bread and wine." The Mass, therefore, reproduces the Sacrifice of Christ on Calvary under the appearances of bread and wine in order that the faithful may partake of it. This aspect of the Eucharist St. Paul also sets in clear relief where he says: "The chalice of benediction, which we bless, is it not the communion of the Blood of Christ? And the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the Body of the Lord? . . . Behold Israel according to the flesh; are not they that eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? . . . You cannot be partakers of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils." (I. Cor. viii., 16-21.) The same is presented by St. Augustine, too, in a striking way when he says of his mother that she "never for one day absented herself from the altar, whence she knew that victim to be dispensed by which the handwriting that was against us is blotted out,"<sup>20</sup> and no less strikingly by St. Chrysostom: "Hence (from the wounded heart of Christ on the Cross) the mysteries have their origin; so that you should draw near the wondrous cup as if you were going to drink from the Saviour's opened side."<sup>21</sup>

The Victim of the Eucharist is thus the Victim of Calvary, not the victim of some other sacrifice. How, indeed, where Priest and Victim are numerically one, can there be two sacrifices? And surely this is a great and consoling fact, to be deeply pondered and to be duly thankful for and to be preached in season and out of season, that God's gift to us in the Eucharist is no other than the Victim by which the handwriting that was against us is blotted out.

"I can imagine nothing that speaks to one's life's need more than the conception of being associated with the perpetual pleading of the eternal sacrifice; it is there that the importance of the Eucharist comes in. In the Eucharist we have the assurance of the divinely appointed pledge and symbol of being identified with the eternal

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<sup>18</sup> 3a q. 73, a. 5, ad 2um.

<sup>19</sup> Q. 74, a. 6, c.

<sup>20</sup> "Confessions," c. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Hom. 84, in cap. 19 Joannis.

Sacrifice of the Lamb of God. And so I cannot conceive of it as being a mere commemorative rite. It is in some mysterious sense a real sharing of the Body and Blood of a living Christ, who is the eternally perfect Sacrifice.”—Rev. C. G. Lang (Anglican) at the Fulham “Round Table” Conference.

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## WITHIN THE PENUMBRA OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE SINCE THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.  
By *Johannes Janssen*. Translated by A. M. Christie. Vols. IX. and X.  
London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. Price of both volumes, \$6.25 net.

THESE two volumes, representing volume fifth of the original German edition, bring down the great history of Janssen to the goal which he had set himself, viz., the opening of the Thirty Years' War. The remaining three volumes are devoted to the study of the social conditions of Germany during the century following the Lutheran insurrection. For the first time, therefore, the English-speaking public have now at hand a thoroughly reliable history of this most important epoch, written dispassionately by a master hand. Nothing now remains except to see to it that Janssen's History be placed in every public library throughout the land. This must be demanded in the interest of historical truth and fair play. Any one who is familiar with the German historical literature of the past thirty years knows how powerfully, if gradually and silently, Janssen's work has influenced and enlightened Protestant public opinion in the Fatherland as to the true nature of the so-called Reformation.

The translation of a work like Janssen's, swarming as it does with long quotations of sixteenth century writings and documents, is by no means an easy task, and requires an intimate acquaintance not only with the language, but also with the religious, political and social conditions of that age. We cannot, therefore, be surprised if at times the talented translator fell short of that ideal perfection which we could have wished to find in a strictly scientific work. But we deem it our duty to testify that, as a general rule, Miss Christie has acquitted herself of her difficult task in a way that challenges our admiration. We regret that a contrary impression has gone abroad, and we can assure our readers that, with solitary exceptions here and there, they will find in this rendition Janssen's thought put accurately

into elegant English. A close scrutiny of both volumes has revealed very few additions to be made to the list of *Errata* which stands at the beginning of each. For the benefit of the publishers in future editions, we shall insert them here:

In Volume IX.—Page 66, line 88, *for with, read against*; page 83, *read the Palatinate and Bavaria*; page 133, line 22, *for Teutonic Order read their German brothers*; page 138, line 4, *for wise, read wrong*; page 183, line 6, *for his, read its or their*; page 244, line 12, *for to the Turks, read against the Turks*; page 284, line 21, *for Turkish soldiers read Turkish money*; page 342, line 12, *read Father John Chrysostom*; page 342, note 3, *read spoke to*; page 468, line 22, *for shelter read shatter*; page 485, line 5, *for Count read Elector*; page 517, line 17, *for Count read Elector*; page 520, note *for Count Palatine read the Palatine Electorate*.\*

In Volume X. add the following corrections: Page 268, line 20, *for second Easter day read Easter Monday*; page 362, line 2, *for Juan read Carlos*; page 398, line 6, *for impute read dedicate*; page 406, line 5 from below, *for Grau read Gran*; page 428, line 12, *for Count Palatine read the Palatinate*; page 422, line 3, *for work of justice read Aulic Council*; page 470, last line, *for Count read Elector*; same correction next page; page 512, line 11, *for Electors read Archdukes*; page 535, line 5 from end, *for the Estates, etc., read from the Estates was, etc.*; page 541, line 6, *for uninformed read informed*; page 589, line 6, *for of read for*; page 624, line 7, *for electors read Catholic electors*.

The period dealt with by the historian in these volumes extends from the proclamation of the Formula of Concord, in 1580, to the formal opening of the disastrous Thirty Years' War in 1618. The "Religious Peace" patched up at the Diet of Augsburg in 1555 had permanently divided Germany into two hostile religious camps, with nothing in common except the shadowy authority of the Emperor; the attempt of the Lutheran princes to establish German Protestantism on the basis of strict Lutheran tenets served but to emphasize the fact that a third religion, Calvinism, bitterly hostile alike to Catholicism and to Lutheranism, had to be reckoned with. The internecine quarrel between these two main factions of Protestantism, which became ever more bitter as time went on, was a providential blessing to the true Church, and at more than one critical moment saved German Catholicity from complete extinction. From the time when Luther, dismayed by the excesses of the insurgent peasantry,

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\* All the cadets of the Palatine House were styled Counts Palatine. The head of the house was the Elector Palatine. Janssen, of course, kept this distinction steadily in view. The failure to do so in this translation more than once obscures the sense.

had placed the leadership of his revolutionary movement in the hands of the secular princes, constituting each petty lord the supreme master of the consciences of his subjects, Lutheranism had subsided into a loose alliance of territorial churches. "Theologians" might rave and wrangle; but the people were held in check by the strong hand of the temporal prince. No affectation of religious tolerance was made by these numerous Pontifices Maximi. To those of their subjects who refused to accept their interpretation of the "word of God," nothing was left but the boon of selling out their property at a sacrifice and migrating to other climes. The Germans of the sixteenth century were not a migratory race; hence, we are not surprised that the vast majority preferred to remain at home, passively acquiescing in the shifting religious dogmas of their official teachers. So thoroughly had the Catholic religion been rooted out, that in a generation or two nothing further was known about Popery by the mass of German Lutherans than that it had once existed as an idolatrous and blasphemous form of worship, but now, thanks to the light of the "gospel," was as extinct as the ancient heathenism of their forefathers. The very completeness of the extirpation of Catholicity in the Lutheran principalities was a pledge of peace between the Lutheran and the Catholic sections of the Fatherland. The Lutheran princes, gorged with the confiscated wealth of the churches and monasteries within their domains, and slightly interested in the spiritual concerns of religion, rested like sated lions in their dens and manifested no great interest in the religious turmoil of other territories. They had been taught a valuable lesson in prudence on the field of Mühlberg, and since that turning point had all but abandoned any serious effort at propagating the "gospel" by force of arms. To the present day Lutheranism remains as the local religion of certain German and Scandinavian territories, known to outsiders only through their colonists. Left to themselves without extraneous disturbing influences, Catholicism and Lutheranism would have gone on peacefully enough, dividing the Fatherland on the confessional and territorial lines marked out in the Religious Peace of Augsburg.

This "bear's truce" between the two recognized confessions was rudely disturbed by the injection of a new element of discord imported from foreign parts and destined to plunge the ill-fated nation into the horrors of a thirty years' war. That form of Protestantism which first appeared in crude shape in Switzerland and was called Zwinglianism, but was later refined by Calvin and identified with his name, was, whether we view it from a doctrinal or a political standpoint, essentially subversive both of Lutheranism and of Catholicism. It would be a great mistake to fancy that Lutheranism and Calvinism differed only on the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist.

The cleavage was deeper and more radical. Luther had drifted into heresy gradually and, one might say, almost unconsciously. He had retained as many of the venerable rites and traditions of the ancient Church as could be at all considered compatible with his novel theory of justification by faith alone. Where changes were made they were accomplished in so insidious a manner that the Reformer in a famous passage could boast that the eye of the ordinary layman could perceive little or no difference between the Lutheran service and the Catholic Mass. As a consequence of this perfidious manoeuvre, the German populace were defrauded of their ancestral religion without comprehending the enormity of the change which had taken place. Quite different was the case with Zwinglianism and Calvinism, which invariably began with wild iconoclastic riots, in which every vestige of Catholic worship was ruthlessly annihilated. Here there was no hypocritical pretense of continuity between the new and the old; no idiot could become a Calvinist without feeling that he was formally abjuring the religion of his fathers as the very incarnation of blasphemy. Equally marked was the contrast between Lutheranism and Calvinism, viewed from the standpoint of politics. Whilst the Lutheran tendency was to settle down in orderly territorial Churchism, little concerned with happenings beyond the boundaries of the petty principality which housed it, Calvinism everywhere took on the character of an active international propaganda, similar to Mohammedanism, to which it was frequently compared, or to the Nihilism of our own days. A religion so gloomy in its dogmas and in its political principles so radically subversive of existing order was extremely repulsive to the instincts of a people so fond of cheer and at the same time so conservative as the German. Calvinism in the Empire was mainly the importation of French and Dutch exiles and was banned equally with Anabaptism, Socinianism and other despised sects. It is very unlikely that it would have played a prominent part in German history were it not for the pernicious energy of the Palatine House. The religious vagaries in the Rhenish Palatinate form an instructive commentary on the depth and sincerity of the Protestant Reformation. It was forcibly Lutheranized by the Elector Otto Henry (1566-1569); still more brutally Calvinized by his successor and cousin, Frederick III. (1569-1576); again Lutheranized by Frederick's son, Louis V. (1576-1583); once more Calvinized by John Casimir, Regent for Louis' child, Frederick IV.

The conversion to Calvinism of Frederick III. was an event fraught with disastrous consequences to the German Empire. In the person of this Electoral Prince not only did the German Calvinists receive a leader after their own heart, a man whose whole life was devoted to the total annihilation of the last relics of "Popish

idolatry," but, moreover, owing to the geographical position of the Palatinate, the Huguenots of France and the insurgents in the Netherlands were now assured of a powerful protector and of a safe refuge in case of distress. In contrast to the Lutherans the international revolutionists were held together by the sense of a common danger and by the very fact that their religion of negation had retained so few dogmas worth quarreling about. Frederick's Heidelberg Catechism was generally accepted, even outside his domains, as a satisfactory exposition of Calvinist faith. With no patriotic scruples to worry him, Frederick was free to enter into any sort of foreign alliance which seemed best calculated to attain his end of establishing "the Gospel" on the ruins of Popery and of its chief support in Germany, the House of Hapsburg.

The spectacle of a downright Calvinist seated on the most venerable electoral throne of the Empire and crushing out Lutheranism as well as Popery within his dominions with an iron heel, was viewed by the Lutheran princes with disgust and dismay, and dire threats of ban and deposition were launched against the recalcitrant elector. But when, in a Diet at Augsburg, 1566, the Emperor Maximilian II. made an effort to carry these threats into effect, the Protestant estates, after a futile attempt to convert or cow the elector, unanimously resolved that "they would not agree to a general condemnation of those persons, whether in German or in foreign lands, who were at variance with them respecting some few articles, even though they should be forced to allow that the said persons were themselves Calvinists or had Calvinist teachers in their employment. . . . To help in the extension of the Papacy was by no means their wish or intention." This (Janssen, Vol. VII., page 374, English edition) decision practically established the principle that Calvinists could be considered *bona fide* Augsburg Confessionists and, consequently, sheltered under the terms of the Religious Peace. In other words, men who proclaimed it the highest duty of Christian princes to root out "Popish idolatry" wherever found, and who regarded all compromises with Popery as virtual acts of apostasy from the Gospel, were permitted to claim the protection of a document which guaranteed to Catholic and Protestant princes an equal right to dictate the religion of their subjects. The first great stride towards the Thirty Years' War was thus made. From this time forward, until the great-grandson of Frederick III., the Elector Frederick V., paid the full penalty, by loss of domains and dignity, of the hereditary Palatine intrigues, the Heidelberg Court remained the focus of all the revolutionary movements in Germany, France and the Netherlands. Here, with the aid of Queen Elizabeth's gold, were levied those savage German hordes which, under the leadership of Fred-

erick's favorite son, John Casimir, spread devastation through the fair fields of France. Frederick fomented the troubles in the Netherlands, "supported the Prince of Orange with enormous sums of money," and opened (Janssen, Vol VIII., 61) an asylum in his territories to fugitives of all countries. It was Frederick who first conceived the plan of a gigantic "league against the Papists for the protection of the evangelical faith," to be formed by England, Denmark, Sweden and the Protestant Estates of the Empire. This daring project, rejected at the time by the conservatism of Saxony and Brandenburg, was destined to become a disastrous reality later on, assuming, through the "statesmanship" of Richelieu and the genius of Gustavus Adolphus, proportions far beyond the anticipations of the Palatine Elector.

Germany was not ripe for a religious war in the days of Frederick III. Though the imperial authority was reduced to a shadow; though the judicial machinery of the Empire was out of gear; though the Diets invariably broke up in disorder; though sectarian bitterness grew from day to day, still there was enough of the "alte Ehrenhaftigkeit" left in the nation to prevent a general outbreak of hostilities for above a generation; and it is curious to remark that the spark which finally lighted up the Thirty Years' War was fired, not in Germany, but in Bohemia.

The "Cologne War" (1582-1584) seemed to possess all the qualifications needed to set all Germany on fire. Gebhard Truchsess, the unworthy nephew of Cardinal Otto of Augsburg, had been elected Archbishop of Cologne in 1577, notwithstanding his loose morals. He was living in concubinage with the Countess Agnes of Mansfeld, and when forced by her brothers to promise to marry her, announced his determination to resign his see. This, however, did not suit the views of the Protestant "party of action," which was desirous of making a further breach in the Peace of Augsburg. By the terms of that treaty any ecclesiastical prince who apostatized from the Catholic Church, *ipso facto* resigned all the spiritual and temporal privileges of his benefice. Since many of the Bishops and Abbots held extensive territories as fiefs of the Empire and were empowered to prevent the propagation of Protestantism within their jurisdiction, this so-called *reservatum ecclesiasticum* was viewed by the sectarians as an intolerable grievance, which they made unremittent efforts to remove. The defection of Gebhard was particularly opportune for their cause, not merely on account of the importance of Cologne and the large extent of the Westphalian territories of the see, but still more because the substitution of a Protestant for a Catholic vote in the Electoral College would secure the election of a Protestant Emperor. Gebhard was, therefore, persuaded to take ad-

vantage of his "Christian liberty" by marrying his concubine whilst retaining his see. The Protestants were unanimous in applauding his decision; but here, fortunately for the Catholic cause and the peace of Germany, their unanimity ended. Deprived of his bishopric and excommunicated by the Pope, deposed from his temporal dignities by the Diet of his province, Gebhard was obliged to look around for outside support. Here he met the formidable difficulty of deciding whether he should become a Lutheran or a Calvinist. In the first case he could claim no aid from the Lutheran princes; in the second he would have to forfeit the aid and sympathy of the Palatine House, the Dutch insurgents and the French Huguenots. After a long course of duplicity, he threw in his lot with the Calvinists. The Cologne chapter gained the aid of Bavaria by electing Ernest, a prince of the House of Wittelsbach, as Elector. Days of gloom and devastation followed for the territory of Cologne and Westphalia, but in the end the Catholics triumphed and the opportunity of abolishing the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* on the field of battle was lost. It continued, however, to disturb the quiet of the nation at the imperial Diets and episcopal elections. In Catholic days the bishoprics, canonries and rich abbacies had furnished comfortable livings for the cadets of the princely houses, and it seemed to the Protestant princes a grievance beyond endurance and a public slight and humiliation that this easy method of providing for their offspring should now be closed to them. In the Protestantized North they evaded the difficulty by having their sons elected as "Administrators," and this was a fresh apple of discord, since the Emperor and the Catholic Estates refused to these "Administrators" seats and votes in the Diets. But there still remained vast territories in the Empire, such as the three electoral domains of Mainz, Cologne and Trier, the bishoprics of Würzburg, Spire and Augsburg and the great abbacy of Fulda, in the hands of spiritual princes, who were as defenseless as kittens if some bold hand would strike the blow. In the abnormal conditions of the Empire it is most remarkable and accrues greatly to the credit of the German character that a full century elapsed from the first appeal of Luther to the nobles of Germany to wipe out Popery in blood until actual recourse was made to arms. Even then the war was an accident, and mainly attributable to the greed of that *bête noir* of those times, the Palatine House.

For a detailed, lucid and impartial exposition of the events which led up to the Thirty Years' War, we refer the reader to Janssen.

J. F. LOUGHLIN.



ENCYCLICAL OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE  
FRENCH BISHOPS, CLERGY AND PEOPLE.\*

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X.  
AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSUMQUE  
CLERUM ET POPULUM GALLIAE.

DILECTIS FILIIS NOSTRIS FRANCISCO MARIAE S. R. E. PRESB. CARD.  
RICHARD ARCHIEPISCOPO PARISENSI, VICTORI LUCIANO S. R.  
E. PRESB. CARD. LECOT ARCHIEPISCOPO BYRDIGALENSI, PETRO  
HECTORI S. R. E. PRESB. CARDIN. COVLLIE ARCHIEPISCOPO  
LVGDVNENSI, IOSEPHO GVILELMO S. R. E. PRESB. CARD. LABOVRE  
ARCHIEPISCOPO RHEDONENSI, CETERISQVE VENERABILIBVS  
FRATRIBVS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS ATQVE VNIVERSO  
CLERO ET POPVLO GALLIAE.

PIVS PAPA X.

*Venerabiles Fratres et Dilecti Filli, Salutem et Apostolicam Bene-  
dictionem.*

**V**EHEMENTER Nos esse sollicitos et praecipuo quodam dolore  
angi rerum vestrarum causa, vix attinet dicere; quando ea  
perlata lex est, quae quum pervetustam civitatis vestrae cum  
Apostolica Sede necessitudinem violenter dirimit, tum vero indignam  
miserrimamque Ecclesiae in Gallia conditionem importat. Gravis-  
simum sane facinus, idemque, ob ea quae civili societati allaturum  
est aequae ac religioni detrimenta, omnibus bonis deplorandum.  
Quod tamen nemini arbitramur inopinatum accidisse, qui quidem  
postremis temporibus, quemadmodum sese adversus Ecclesiam rei  
publicae moderatores gerent, attenderit. Vobis certe nec subitum  
accidit nec novum, Venerabiles Fratres, quibus ipsis testibus, chris-  
tiana instituta plagas tam multas tamque magnas, alias ex aliis,  
acceperere publice. Vidistis violatam legibus christiani sanctitudinem  
ac stabilitatem coniugii; dimotam de scholis de valetudinariis publicis  
religionem; abstractos a sacra studiorum et virtutum disciplina  
clericos et sub arma compulsos; disiectas spoliatasque bonis religiosas  
Familias, earumque sodales ad inopiam plerumque redactos rerum  
omnium. Illa etiam decreta nostis: ut aboleretur consuetudo vetus  
vel auspicandi, propriiatio Deo legumlatorum ac iudicum coetus, vel  
ob memoriam mortis Christi lugubria induendi navibus; ut sacra-  
mentis in iure dicendis forma speciesque abrogaretur religiosae rei;

\* For the English translation, see AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY RE-  
VIEW for April, 1906.

ut in iudiciis, in gymnasiis, in terrestribus maritimisque copiis, in rebus denique omnibus ditionis publicae, ne quid esset aut fieret, quod significationem aliquam christianae professionis daret. Iamvero ista quidem et id genus cetera, quum ab Ecclesia sensim rem publicam seiungerent, nihil fuisse aliud apparet, nisi gradus quosdam consulto iactos ad plenum discidium lege propria inducendum: id quod ipsi harum rerum auctores profiteri plus semel et prae se ferre non dubitarunt. Huic tanto malo ut occurreret Apostolica Sedes, quanto in se habuit facultatis, totum eo contulit. Nam ex una parte admonere atque hortari gubernatores Galliae non destitit, etiam atque etiam considerarent, hunc quem instituissent discessionis cursum, quanta esset incommodorum consecutura moles; ex altera autem suae in Galliam indulgentiae benevolentiaeque singularis illustria duplicavit documenta; non absurde confisa, se ita posse, qui praeerant, tamquam iniecto officii gratiaeque vinculo, retinere in declivi, atque ab incoeptis demum abducere. At huiusmodi studia, officia, conata et Decessoris et Nostra recidisse ad nihilum omnia cernimus; siquidem inimica religioni vis, quod contra iura catholicae gentis vestrae ac vota recte sentientium diu contenderat expugnavit. Hoc igitur tam gravi Ecclesiae tempore, ut conscientia Nos officii sanctissimi iubet, Apostolicam vocem tollimus, et mentem animumque Nostrum vobis, Venerabiles Fratres et dilecti Filii, patefacimus: quos quidem universos omnes semper consuevimus peculiari quadam caritate prosequi, nunc vero, uti par est, eo vel amantius complectimur.

Civitatis rationes a rationibus Ecclesiae segregari oportere, profecto falsissima, maximeque perniciosa sententia est. Primum enim, quum hoc nitatur fundamento, religionem nullo pacto debere civitati esse curae, magnam infert iniuriam Deo: qui ipse humanae societatis non minus quam hominum singulorum conditor et conservator est; proptereaque non privatim tantummodo colatur necesse est, sed etiam publice. Deinde, quidquam esse supra naturam, non obscure negat. Etenim actionem civitatis sola vitae mortalis prosperitate metitur, in qua consistit causa proxima civilis societatis; causam ultimam civium, quae est sempiterna beatitudo extra hanc brevitatem vitae hominibus proposita, tamquam alienam reipublicae, plane negligit. Quod contra, ad adeptionem summi illius absolutique boni, ut hic totus est fluxarum rerum ordo dispositus, ita verum est rempublicam non modo non obesse, sed prodesse oportere. Praeterea descriptionem pervertit rerum humanarum a Deo sapientissime constitutam, quae profecto utriusque societatis, religiosae et civilis, concordiam requirit. Nam, quoniam ambae, tametsi in suo quaeque genere, in eisdem tamen imperium exercent, necessitate fit, ut causae inter eas saepe existant eiusmodi, quarum cognitio et diiudicatio utriusque sit.

Iamvero, nisi civitas cum Ecclesia cohaereat, facile ex illis ipsis causis concertationum oritura sunt semina, utrinque acerbissimarum; quae iudicium veri, magna cum animorum anxietate, perturbent. Postremo maximum importat ipsi societati civili detrimentum; haec enim florere aut stare diu, posthabita religione, quae summa dux ac magistra adest homini ad iura et officia sancte custodienda, non potest.

Itaque Romani Pontifices huiusmodi refellere atque improbare opiniones, quae ad dissociandam ab Ecclesia rem publicam pertinerent, quoties res tempusque tulit, non destiterunt. Nominatim Decessor illustris, Leo XIII., pluries magnificeque exposuit, quanta deberet esse, secundum christianae principia sapientiae, alterius societatis convenientia cum altera: inter quas: “quaedam, ait, intercedat necesse est ordinata colligatio, quae quidem coniunctioni non immerito comparatur, per quam anima et corpus in homine copulantur.” Addit autem: “Civitates non possunt, citra scelus, gerere se tamquam si Deus omnino non esset, aut curam religionis velut alienam nihilque profuturam abiicere. . . . Ecclesiam vero, quam Deus ipse constituit, ab actione vitate excludere, a legibus, ab institutione adolescentium, a societate domestica, magnus et perniciosus est error.”<sup>1</sup>

Iamvero si contra omne ius fasque agat quaevis christiana civitas, quae Ecclesiam ab se seget ac removeat, quam non est probandum, egisse hoc ipsum Galliam, quod sibi minime omnium licuit! Galliam dicimus, quam longo saeculorum spatio haec Apostolica Sedes praecipuo quodam ac singulari semper amore dilexerit; Galliam, cuius fortuna omnis et amplitudo nominis et gloriae religioni humanitatisque christianae cognata semper fuerit! Apte idem Pontifex: “Illud Gallia meminerit, quae sibi cum Apostolica Sede sit, Dei providentis numine, coniunctio, actiorem esse vetustioreque, quam ut unquam audeat dissolvere. Inde enim verissimae quaeque laudes, atque honestissima decora profecta. . . . Hanc velle turbari necessitudinem idem foret sane, ac velle de auctoritate gratiaque nationis Gallicae in populis non parum detrahi.”<sup>2</sup>

Accedit autem quod haec ipsa summae necessitudinis vincula eo sanctiora iubebat esse sollemnis pactorum fides. Nempe Apostolicam Sedem inter et Rempublicam Gallicam conventio eiusmodi interceserat, cuius ultro et citro constaret obligatio; cuiusmodi eae plane sunt, quae inter civitates legitime contrahi consueverunt. Quare et Romanus Pontifex et rei Gallicae moderator se et suos quisque successores sponsione obstrinxere, in iis quae pacta essent, constanter permansuros. Consequabatur igitur, ut ista pactio eodem iure, ac ceterae quae inter civitates fiunt, regeretur, hoc est, iure gentium;

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Enc. *Immortale Dei*, date de 1 Nov., au. MDCCLXXXV.

<sup>2</sup> In alloc, ad peregr. Gallos, hab. die xiii. apr., an. MDCCLXXXVIII.

ideoque dissolvi ab alterutro dumtaxat eorum qui pepigerant, nequaquam posset. Apostolicam autem Sedem summa semper fide conditionibus stetisse, omnique tempore postulasse, ut fide pari staret eisdem civitas, nemo prudens suique iudicii homo negaverit. Ecce autem Respublica pactionem adeo sollemnem et legitimam suo tantum aribitrio rescindit; violandaque religione pactorum, nihil quidquam pensi habet, dum sese ab Ecclesiae complexu amicitiaque expediat, et insignem Apostolicae Sedi iniuriam imponere, et ius gentium frangere, et ipsam commovere graviter disciplinam socialem et politicam; siquidem nihil tam interest humani convictus et societatis ad secure explicandas rationes popolorum mutuas, quam ut pacta publica sanctae inviolateque servantur.

Ad magnitudinem autem iniuriae, quam Apostolica Sedes accepit, accessionem non mediocrem factam esse liquet, si modus inspiciatur, quo modo Respublica pactum resolvit. Est hoc ratum similiter iure gentium atque in moribus positum institutisque civilibus, ut non ante liceat conventa inter civitates solvi, quam pars altera, quae hoc velit, alteri se id velle clare aperteque ipsi legitime denuntiarit. Iamvero hic voluntatis huiusmodi apud Apostolicam ipsam Sedem legitima, non modo denuntiatio, sed ne ulla quidem significatio intercessit. Ita non dubitarunt gubernatores Galliae adversus Apostolicam Sedem communia urbanitatis officia deserere, quae vel minimae cuique minimique momenti civitati praestari solent; neque iidem veriti sunt, quum nationis catholicae personam gerent, Pontificis, summi Ecclesiae catholicae Capitis, dignitatem potestatemque contemnere; quae quidem potestas eo maiorem ab iis verecundiam, quam civilis ulla potestas postulabat, quod aeterna animarum bona spectat, neque ullis locorum finibus circumscribitur.

Sed iam ipsam in se legem considerantibus, quae modo promulgata est, novae Nobis multoque gravioris querelae nascitur causa. Principio Respublica quum revulsis pactionis vinculis ab Ecclesia discederet, consequens omnino erat, ut eam quoque missam faceret et concessa iure communi frui libertate sineret. At nihil minus factum est: nam plura hic videmus esse constituta, quae, odiosum privilegium Ecclesiae irrogando, eam civili imperio subesse cogant. Nos vero cum graviter molesteque ferimus, quod hisce sanctionibus civilis potestas in eas res invasit, quarum iudicium et aribitrium unius est sacrae potestatis; tum etiam eoque magis dolemus, quod eadem, aequitatis iustitiaeque oblita, Ecclesiam Gallicam in conditionem ac fortunam coniecit duram incommodamque maxime, atque eam sacrosanctis ipsius iuribus adversissimam.

Nam primum huius decreta legis constitutionem ipsam offendunt, qua Christus Ecclesiam conformavit. Scriptura enim eloquitur et tradita a Patribus doctrina confirmat, Ecclesiam mysticum esse

Christi corpus *pastorum* et *doctorum* autoritate administratum;<sup>3</sup> id est societatem hominum in qua aliqui praesunt ceteris cum plena perfectaue regendi, docendi, iudicandi potestate.<sup>4</sup> Est igitur haec societas, vi et natura sua, *inaequalis*; duplicem scilicet complectitur personarum ordinem, pastores et gregem, id est eos, qui in variis hierarchiae gradibus collocati sunt et multitudinem fidelium: atque hi ordines ita sunt inter se distincti, ut in sola hierarchia ius atque auctoritas resideat movendi ac dirigendi consociatos ad propositum societi finem; multitudinis autem officium sit, gubernari se pati, et rectorum sequi ductum obedienter. Praeclare Cyprianus Martyr: "Dominus noster cuius praecepta metuere et servare debemus, Episcopi honorem et Ecclesiae suae rationem disponens, in Evangelio loquitur, et dicit Petro: *Ego dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus*, etc. Inde per temporum et successionum vices episcoporum ordinatio et Ecclesiae ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem praepositos gubernetur;" idque ait: "divina lege fundatum."<sup>5</sup> Contra ea, legis huius praescripto, administratio tuitioque cultus publici non hierarchiae divinitus constitutae relinquitur, sed certae cuidam defertur consociationi civium: cui quidem forma ratioque imponitur personae legitimae, quaeque in universo religiosi cultus genere sola habetur civilibus uti instructa iuribus, ita obligationibus obstricta. Igitur ad consociationem huiusmodi templorum aedificiorumque sacrorum usus, rerum ecclesiasticarum tum moventium tum solidarum possessio respiciet; ipsi de Episcoporum, de Curionum, de Seminariorum aedibus liberum, licet ad tempus, permittetur arbitrium; ipsius erit administrare bona, corrogare stipes, pecuniam et legata percipere, sacrorum causa. De hierarchia vero silentium est. Statuitur quidem, istas consociationes ita conflandas esse, quemadmodum cultus religiosi, cuius exercendi gratia instituuntur, propria disciplina ratioque vult; verumtamen cavetur, ut si qua forte de ipsarum rebus controversia inciderit, eam dumtaxat apud *Consilium Status* diiudicari oporteat. Perspicuum est igitur ipsas consociationes adeo civili potestati obnoxias esse, nihil ut in eis ecclesiasticae auctoritati loci relinquatur. Quantopere haec omnia sint Ecclesiae aliena dignitati, contraria iuribus et constitutioni divinae, nemo non videt: eo magis, quod non certis definitisque formulis, verum tam vagis tamque late patentibus perscripta lex est in hoc capite, ut iure sint ex eius interpretatione peiora metuenda.

Praeterea nihil hac ipsa lege inimicius libertati Ecclesiae. Etenim, si prohibentur sacri magistratus, ob interiectas consociationes quas diximus, plenam muneris sui exercere potestatem; si in easdem con-

<sup>3</sup> Ephes. iv., II. seqq.

<sup>4</sup> Matth. xviii., 18, 20; xvi., 18, 19; xviii., 17; Tit. ii., 15; II. Cor. x., 6; xii., 10 et alibi.

<sup>5</sup> St. Cypr. Epist. xxxiii. (ad xxvii. ad lapses), n. 1.

sociationes summa vindicatur *Consilio Status* auctoritas, eaeque parere alienissimis a iure communi statutis iubentur, ita ut difficile coalescere, difficilius queant consistere; si data divini cultus exercendi copia, multiplici exceptione minuitur; erepta Ecclesiae studio vigilantiaeque, custodia templorum Reipublicae attribuitur; ipsum coercetur Ecclesiae munus de fide ac morum sanctitate concionandi, et severiores irrogantur clericis poenae; si haec et talia sanciantur, in quibus multum etiam libido interpretandi possit, quid hic aliud agitur, quam ut Ecclesia in humili abiectaque conditione locetur, et pacificorum civium, quae quidem est pars Galliae multo maxima, per speciem conservandi publici ordinis, sanctissimum ius violetur profitendae, uti velint, religionis suae? Quamquam Civitas non comprimenda solum divini cultus professione, qua totam vim rationemque definit religionis, Ecclesiam vulnerat; sed eius etiam vel virtuti beneficae intercludendo aditus ad populum, vel actionem multipliciter debilitando. Igitur satis non habuit, praeter cetera, Ordines submovisse religiosorum, unde in sacri ministerii perfunctione, in institutione atque eruditione adolescentis aetatis, in christianae procuracione beneficentiae praeclara adiumenta suppetebant Ecclesiae: nam humanis eam opibus, id est necessario quodam ad vitam et ad munus subsidio, intervertit.

Sane, ad ea quae conquesti sumus damna et iniurias, hoc accedit, ut ista de discido lex ius Ecclesiae sua sibi habendi bona violet atque imminuat. Etenim de patrimonii, magnam partem, possessione, probatissimis quibusque titulis quaesiti, Ecclesiam, alte iustitia reclamante, deturbat; quidquid rite constitutum sit, addicta pecunia in divinum cultum aut in stata defunctorum solatia, tollit atque irritum iubet esse; quas facultates catholicorum liberalitas christianis utique scholis aut variis christianae beneficentiae institutis sustinendis destinarat, eas ad instituta laicorum transfert, ubi plerumque aliquod catholicae religionis vestigium frustra quaeras: in quo quidem patet, una cum Ecclesiae iuribus, testamenta voluntatesque apertas auctorum everti. Quod vero per summam iniuriam edicit, quibus aedificiis Ecclesia ante pactum conventum utebatur, ea posthac civitatis ut provinciarum aut municipiorum fore, singulari Nobis est sollicitudini. Nam si consociationibus divino cultui exercendo usus templorum, ut videmus, gratuitus nec definitus conceditur, concessum tamen huiusmodi tot tantisque exceptionibus extenuatur, ut reapse templorum arbitrium omne civiles magistratus obtineant. Vehementer praeterea timemus sanctitati templorum: neque enim cernimus abesse periculum, ne augusta divinae maiestatis domicilia, eademque carissima memoriae religionique Gallorum loca, profanas in manus quum deciderint, profanis ritibus polluantur. In eo autem, quod Rempubli-  
cam lex officio solvit suppeditandi annuos sacrorum sumptus, simul

fidem sollemni pacto obligatam, simul iustitiam laedit gravissime. Etenim nullam dubitationem hoc habet, quod ipsa rei gestae testantur monumenta, Rempublicam Gallicam quum pacto convento sibi suscepit onus praebendi Clero unde vitam decenter ipse agere, ac publicam religionis dignitatem curare posset, non id fecisse comitatus benignitatisque gratia; verum ut eam, quam proximo tempore Ecclesiae passa esset publice direptionem bonorum, saltem ex parte aliqua sarciret. Similiter eodem convento, quum Pontifex, concordiae studens, recepit, se successoresque suos nullam molestiam exhibituros iis ad quos direpta Ecclesiae bona pervenisset, sub ea conditione constat recepisse, ut per ipsam Rempublicam perpetuo esset honestae et Cleri et divini cultus tuitioni consultum.

Postremo, ne illud quidem silebimus, hanc legem, praeterquam Ecclesiae rebus, vestrae etiam civitati non exiguo futuram damno. Neque enim potest esse dubium quin multum habitura sit facultatis ad eam labefactandam coniunctionem et conspirationem animorum, quae si desit, nulla stare aut vigere queat civitas; et quam, his maxime Europae temporibus, quisquis est in Gallia vir bonus vereque amans patriae, salvam et incolumen velle debet. Nos quidem, exemplo Decessoris, a quo exploratissimae erga nationem vestram caritatis eximiae cepimos hereditatem, quum avitae religionis tueri apud vos integritatem iurium niteremur, hoc simul spectavimus semper et contendimus, communem omnium vestrum pacem concordiamque cuius, nullum vinculum arctius quam religio, confirmare. Quapropter intelligere sine magno angore non possumus, eam auctoritate publica patratam esse rem, quae, concitatis iam populi studiis funestarum de rebus religiosis contentionum faces adiiciendo, perturbare funditus civitatem posse videatur.

Itaque, Apostolici Nostri officii memores, quo sacrosancta Ecclesiae iura a quavis impugnatione defendere ac servare integra debemus. Nos pro suprema, quam obtinemus divinitus, auctoritate, sancitam legem, quae Rempublicam Gallicanam seorsum ab Ecclesia separat, reprobamus ac damnamus; idque ob eas quas exposuimus causas: quod maxima afficit iniuria Deum, quem sollemniter eiurat, principio declarans Rempublicam cuiusvis religiosi cultus expertem; quod naturae ius gentiumque violat et publicam pactorum fidem; quod constitutioni divinae et rationibus intimis et libertati adversatur Ecclesiae; quod iustitiam evertit, ius opprimendo dominii, multiplici titulo ipsaque conventionem legitime quaesitum; quod graviter Apostolicae Sedis dignitatem ac personam Nostram, Episcoporum Ordinem, Clerum et Catholicos Gallos offendit. Propterea de rogatione, latione, promulgatione eiusdem legis vehementissime expostulamur; in eaque testamur nihil quidquam inesse momenti ad infirmanda Ecclesiae iura, nulla hominum vi ausuque mutabili.

Haec ad istius detestationem facti vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, Gallicano populo, atque adeo christiani nominis universitati edicere habuimus. Equidem molestissime, ut diximus, afficimur, mala prospicientes quae ab hac lege dilectae nationi impendent, maximeque commovemur miseriis, aerumnis, laboribus omne genus, in quibus fore vos, Venerabiles Fratres, Clerumque vestrum cernimus. Attamen, ne his tantis curis affligi Nos frangique patiamur prohibet divinae benignitatis providentiaeque cogitatio, atque exploratissima spes, nunquam fore ut Ecclesiam Iesus Christus ope praesentiaeque sua destituat. Itaque longe id abest a Nobis, ut quidquam formidemus, Ecclesiae causa. Divina est virtutis eius stabilitas atque constantia, eaque satis, opinamur, tot saeculorum experimento cognita. Nemo enim unus ignorat, asperitates rerum hac temporis diuturnitate in eam incubuisse et plurimas et maximas; atque, ubi virtutem non humana maiorem deficere necesse fuisset, Ecclesiam inde validorem semper auctioremque emersisse. Ac de legibus in perniciem Ecclesiae conditis, hoc ferme usuvenire, historia teste, scimus, ut quas invidia conflaverit, eas postea, utpote noxias in primis civitati, prudentia resolvat: idque ipsum in Gallia haud ita veteri memoria constat contigisse. Quod insigne maiorum exemplum utinam sequi inducant animum, qui rerum potiuntur: matureque religionem, effectricem humanitatis, fauricem prosperitatis publicae, in possessionem dignitatis libertatisque suae, omnibus plaudentibus bonis, restituant.

Interea tamen, dum opprimendi exagitandi libido dominabitur, filii Ecclesiae, si unquam alias, oportet, *induti arma lucis*,<sup>6</sup> pro veritate ac iustitia, omni qua possunt ope nitantur. In quo vos, magistri auctoresque ceterorum, profecto, Venerabiles Fratres, omnem eam studii alacritatem, vigilantiam, constantiamque praestabitis, quae Galliae Episcoporum vetus ac spectatissima laus est. Sed hoc potissime studere vos volumus, quod maxime rem continet, ut omnium vestrum in tutandis Ecclesiae rationibus summa sit sententiarum consiliorumque consensio. Nobis quidem certum deliberatumque est, qua norma dirigendam esse in his rerum difficultatibus operam vestram arbitremur, opportune vobis praescribere; nec dubitandum quin praescripta vos Nostra diligentissime executuri sitis. Pergite porro, ut instituistis, atque eo etiam impensius, roborare pietatem communem; praeceptionem doctrinae christianae promovere vulgatioremque facere; errorum fallacias, corruptelarum illecebras, tam late hodie fusas, a vestro cuiusque grege defendere; eidem ad docendum, monendum, hortandum, solandum adesse, omnia denique pastoralis caritatis officia conferre. Nec vero elaborantibus vobis non se adiutorem strenuissimum praebabit Clerus vester; quem

<sup>6</sup> Rom. xiii., 12.

<sup>7</sup> Act. v., 41.



quidem, viris affluentem pietate, eruditione, obsequio in Apostolicam Sedem eximiis, promptum paratumque esse novimus, se totum vobis pro Ecclesia sempiternaque animarum salute dedere. Certe autem qui sunt huius Ordinis, in hac tempestate sentient sic se animatos esse oportere, quemadmodum fuisse Apostolos accepimus, *gaudentes . . . quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Iesu contumeliam pati.*"<sup>7</sup> Itaque iura libertatemque Ecclesiae fortiter vindicabunt, omni tamen adversus quempiam asperitate remota: quin imo, caritatis memores, ut Christi ministros in primis addecet, aequitate iniuriam, lenitate contumaciam, beneficiis maleficia pensabunt.

Iam vos compellamus, catholici quotquot estis in Gallia; vobisque vox Nostra tum testimonio effusissimae benevolentiae, qua gentem vestram diligere non desinimus, tum in calamitosissimis rebus quae imminet, solatio sit. Hoc sibi destinasse pravas hominum sectas, cervicibus vestris impositas, imo hoc denuntiasset insigni audacia se velle, nostris: delere catholicum in Gallia nomen. Eam nempe contendunt extrahere radicibus ex animis vestris fidem, quae avis et maioribus gloriam, patriae prosperitatem verendamque amplitudinem peperit, vobis levamenta aerumnarum ministrat, pacem tuetur tranquillitatemque domesticam, viam munit ad beatitatem adipiscendam sine fine mansuram. In huius defensionem fidei summa vi incumbendum vobis putatis esse scilicet: sed hoc habete, inani vos nisu laboraturos, si dissociatis viribus propulsare hostiles impetus nitemini. Abiicite igitur, si quae insident inter vos, discordiarum semina: ac date operam, ut tanta omnes conspiratione voluntatum et agendi similitudine coniuncti sitis, quanta esse decet homines, quibus una eademque est causa propugnanda, atque ea causa, pro qua quisque non invite debeat, si opus fuerit, aliquam privati iudicii iacturam facere. Omnino magna generosae virtutis exempla detis oportet, si, quantum est in vobis, vultis, ut officium est, avitam religionem a praesenti discrimine eripere: in quo benigne facientes ministris Dei, divinam peculiari modo benignitatem vobis conciliabitis.

At vobis ad patrocinium religionis digne suscipiendum, recte utiliterque sustinendum, illa esse maxima arbitremini: christianae sapientiae praeceptis vosmetipsos conformari adeo, ut ex moribus atque omni vita professio catholica eluceat; et arctissime cum iis cohaerere, quorum propria est religiosae rei procuratio, cum sacerdotibus nimirum et Episcopis vestris et, quod caput est, cum hac Apostolica Sede, in qua, tamquam centro, catholicorum fides et conveniens fidei actio nititur. Sic ergo parati atque instructi, ad hanc pro Ecclesia propugnationem fidenter accedite; sed videte, ut fiduciae vestrae tota ratio in Deo consistat, cuius agitis causam: eius idcirco opportunitatem auxilii implorare ne cessetis. Nos vero, quamdiu ita vobis erit periclitandum, vobiscum praesentes cogitatione ani-

moque versabimur ; laborum, curarum, dolorum participes : simulque prece atque obsecratione humili ac supplici apud Auctorem Statoremque Ecclesiae instabimus, ut respiciat Galliam misericors, eamque tantis iactatam fluctibus celeriter, deprecante Maria Immaculata, in tranquillum redigat.

Auspiciem divinorum munerum, ac testem praecipuae benevolentiae Nostrae, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres ac dilecti Filii, Apostolicam Benedictionem amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die XI. Februarii anno MDCCCXVI., Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIVS PP. X.

  
**In Memoriam.**  

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THE REV. REUBEN PARSONS, D. D.

Catholic historical literature has sustained a serious loss by the death of the Rev. Reuben Parsons, a doctor of divinity and general man of letters, well known to the world by his careful writings for many years. Dr. Parsons belonged to the Archdiocese of New York, and for the past dozen years he acted as chaplain to St. Joseph's Hospital, at Yonkers, N. Y. It was there that he found his death on the 13th of April last, after many months of battling with an enfeebled condition brought on originally from that treacherous malady, pleurisy. Despite his feeble health, the deceased priest contrived to put forth an immense body of work in the field of history—especially Catholic history. To our readers it will be unnecessary to indicate the character or value of his work. He was a frequent contributor to this magazine, and whatever he sent forward was marked by solid erudition as well as that painstaking care about dates and details that are as the mortar and cement that give endurance and cohesion to a great architectural creation. There are some who appear to think that these are the only valuable elements in a historian's work, and that the philosophic deductions of the thoughtful and learned commentator are so much redundancy, entailing a waste of valuable time in an age that has no leisure or taste for either serious reflection or the elegance of form that marks the art of *belles lettres*. Minds so constructed cannot properly distinguish between such works as Haydn's Dictionary of Dates and Carlyle's French Revolution; an almanac compiler is to these more serviceable, in the field of reference, than Gibbon or Macaulay. Dr. Parsons' work was valuable for its general accuracy, considering the immense quantity of it which came from his pen; and his style was conspicuous for its clarity, directness and careful regard to chronological or argumentative sequence in the presentation of a multiplicity of facts more or less related and not seldom bewildering to the mind that tries to unravel the tangled skein of human action in many and diverse regions of the globe. During the past ten or twelve years of his life he produced several ponderous volumes on

Church history and other subjects, the most valuable, perhaps, of these being his "Studies in Church History" and a "Universal History." These are highly esteemed as sources of information for the busy ecclesiastical student. His literary industry attracted the attention of the late great Pontiff, Leo XIII., who forwarded to Dr. Parsons a brief in commendation of his zeal and diligence in defense of the Church and the Holy See.

Dr. Parsons was 65 years old when death came. He was born in New York in 1841, the son of a mixed marriage, his father Protestant, his mother one of the old faith. At Emmitsburg (Mount St. Mary's) he received his early education, and at the American College at Rome he brought his ecclesiastical studies to a close. He was the first prefect of that institution and one of the first batch of thirteen students with which it was opened. He was one of those chosen for the honor of reading addresses to Pope Pius IX. when the inauguration ceremony took place (December 8, 1859). A truly fine tribute was paid to the worth of the deceased as an historian and as a zealous priest by one most competent to judge of the value of his work and character, the Rev. Dr. Henry Brann. R. I. P.

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#### BRYAN J. CLINCH.

Readers of this magazine have long been familiar with the signature "Bryan J. Clinch" to articles on historical and literary subjects interesting to the Catholic world. We deeply regret to say that it will now have to disappear from its pages, for the writer is with us no longer. He died on the 17th of May last at Oakland, California, in a somewhat unexpected way. Mr. Clinch had passed unscathed through the horrors of the earthquake and the resultant conflagration in San Francisco. But he had undoubtedly sustained a shock from these dreadful experiences, for he had, along with several others, been pent up for a couple of hours cooped in by encircling walls of flame and awaiting the moment when the building which gave them temporary shelter would be swallowed up along with the neighboring ones. It was an appalling situation. At last the wind shifted and the advancing flames took a different direction; and for the time Mr. Clinch and his fellow-refugees were safe. He wrote in quite a cheerful spirit about the dreadful affair to one of his fellow-contributors in Philadelphia a couple of days afterward; and the next his friend heard about him was that the buoyant-hearted writer was dead. He had been attacked by footpads on the street and robbed of his watch and money; and this new shock proved too

much for a system never the most robust. This was on the 12th of May, and on the 17th of the same month he was no more. On the morning of the 12th he had been at Santa Clara College, giving directions for repairs needed there in consequence of the earthquake. He was then in the best of spirits, chatting pleasantly about his recent adventures; and the next thing the principal, Rev. Father Gleeson, S. J., heard about him was the news of his untimely end. It was a heavy blow, for Mr. Clinch was a dear friend and a most familiar figure in the Santa Clara institution, which a short time previously had conferred on him, because of his great services in literature, the degree of doctor in philosophy.

A couple of years before his death Mr. Clinch had made a very extensive European tour, some results of which were the papers on the conditions in France, Belgium and Italy, as he found them, which appeared in this REVIEW soon after his return. He was a good linguist, and was thus enabled to make himself easily at home in the various beautiful regions which he visited during his sojourn in Europe.

Mr. Clinch was by profession an architect and civil engineer. He was intrusted with the erection of many fine churches and colleges in California, and the style in which they were finished under his direction gives proof of rich taste and scientific skill as a builder and designer.

Mr. Clinch was a native of Dublin, Ireland. He was a relative of the Kenrick family that gave to the United States two of its greatest Archbishops, besides to Ireland some beloved and learned priests. He studied at the Catholic University of Dublin—probably for some time under its renowned rector, Dr. Newman, afterwards Cardinal. He had for fellow-students there some notable Irish spirits, like the late Edmund O'Donovan, full of ardor and enthusiasm, as he himself always was, for the liberation of their country from the heavy English yoke. To the last hour of his life Mr. Clinch cherished the hope to behold these youthful dreams realized. He took up the cause of the Gaelic revival with eagerness and zeal, and an admirable article on the subject in the *Messenger* was almost the last of his literary tasks.


With all his varied talents and accomplishments Mr. Clinch never thrust himself before the world, as it is the general custom in the United States now to do. In all his articles—and they were many—it would be very hard to find the personal pronoun used of himself, unless perhaps by way of quotation. Like all true scholars and students, he was modest as to his own claims or deserts. His range of study was very great, and yet this fact was not easily discoverable in his talk; one would have to go in quest of it by direct methods

in order to ascertain it. He was a charming talker, sprightly and versatile, and this gift was aided by a very retentive memory and a keenly observant habit. No truer Catholic ever breathed, yet his piety was of the same unostentatious kind as his mental conscientiousness.

One magnum opus Mr. Clinch has left, and it is a valuable one. It is a "History of the Californian Missions." It is highly prized for its painstaking character and the purity of its literary style. He left another work in MS.—a "History of Santa Clara College," which may soon be published, it is to be presumed. To write it was to the author a very labor of love, for he and many in Santa Clara were the dearest of friends for many years.

California had been Mr. Clinch's home for about thirty years, and he was warmly attached to it, for its beauties of scene and charms of climate, as well as because of early friendships. He had traveled much of its surface and made many friends among its early settlers. He had many interesting notes of these to regale the conversation. He loved to tell in especial of an old Irish pair on a ranch who kept open house, all the year round, for all who passed that way. Down to the time when Mr. Clinch last met this hospitable pair they had furnished a meal and often a bed to as many as fourteen thousand wayfarers; and they never had to lock a door night or day or refuse a traveler their kindly Irish hospitality. Mr. Clinch was very proud of these humble but sturdy fellow Irish exiles.

To Archbishop Ryan and all the staff of the QUARTERLY Mr. Clinch was a dearly cherished friend. His sad taking off was to them a most painful shock. His eternal happy repose will be to them a heartfelt hope.



## Scientific Chronicle

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### THE SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE.

Like many another great catastrophe resulting from some sudden convulsion of nature, the calamity in San Francisco has by its suddenness and its magnitude diverted men's minds from its physical cause to its effects in the destruction of life and property. We have heard this earthquake described as one of the greatest of modern times, and the truth of this statement cannot be doubted if we confine our attention to its relations to ourselves. If, however, this phenomenon had occurred in a thinly populated area, we should have heard very little of it. It was an earthquake of the first magnitude, but one that was not unlooked for by students of geology and kindred sciences. Its cause is known with a fair degree of certainty. Perhaps a brief *résumé* of what has been ascertained in regard to it up to the present will prove acceptable to readers of the Chronicle. It will be necessary as a preliminary to give a synopsis of the conclusions of the new seismology, as that branch of earth physics dealing with earth movements which has had its great development during the last thirty years has been not inappropriately called.

We must realize at the outset that the earth is a very elastic mass, a veritable *terra infirma*. Its sensitiveness is analogous to that of a living organism, and under the impulse derived from stresses and strains which result from various geologic forces, an elastic vibration is set up within the earth from some point or some locus which may be considered as a point, which vibration propagates itself according to the laws of elastic wave motion in a solid medium. This point from which the earth waves move in all directions is situated somewhere beneath the surface of the ground and is called the *centrum*. A point vertically above this on the surface is called the *epicentrum*, and a line joining the two is called the seismic vertical. The epicentrum may be a considerable area, just as the centrum may be, but both are considered as points to avoid complexity and consequent obscurity in description. At the epicentrum the effects of the quake at the surface are most pronounced, and they fade away as the horizontal distance from the epicentrum increases. If we suppose the earth to be perfectly homogeneous, then the intensity of the earthquake, that is, the degree of vigor with which the surface is shaken, will die out in such a way as to be equal at all points equidistant from the epicentrum. Lines joining points of equal intensity are called *isoseismals*, and these lines, on the supposition of the earth's homogeneity, would form circles. As a matter of fact, they are any-

thing but circles, except very rarely, when they approach a circle roughly. The reason is obviously the great want of uniformity in the material of the earth's crust. Finally, the area within which the shaking is most forcible is called the *meizoseismic area*.

An earthquake is a wave or series of waves started from some point or locus beneath the surface of the earth, the depth of which point being probably never more than ten miles, and is probably generally less than five. These waves reaching the surface cause the motions of the soil and rocks which are merely secondary movements resulting from the original vibrations, and are felt much more vigorously in made ground or in alluvial or loose soil than in solid masses of rock. It must not be thought from what has been said that the earth is ever at complete rest. On the contrary, the crust of the globe is pervaded almost constantly with minute tremors, called *microseismic tremors*, whose cause may differ widely from the cause of a true earthquake, such causes being, among others, the rolling of railway trains and the impact of water falling in large volume over a precipice.

Earthquakes have been variously classified. Seismologists recognize two classes now, the volcanic and the tectonic or dislocation quakes. The former are associated in some way with volcanoes. They are less frequent than those of the second class, are restricted to a relatively small area and their centra can be determined with a fair degree of definiteness. After-quakes are absent in earthquakes of this class, which originate, according to the best authorities, at depths of less than two miles. The characteristics of earthquakes of the second class are just the opposite of those of the first, for their depth of origin may be greater, their centra are usually indefinite or elongated, their radius of activity is larger and after-quakes usually follow the principal disturbance. The vibrations of the volcanic quakes may be set up by the sudden intrusion of molten rock into fissures or between strata or it may result from the opening of such fissures preparatory to the intrusion and it may be extension of lava on the surface. The tremors in dislocation quakes arise from the fracture of rocks and the slipping of strata on each other as the rocks are faulted. A fault, it will be remembered, occurs when a crack arises across a stratum or a number of strata, and one side is moved up or down relatively to the other. The friction of one huge mass on another would give rise to a vibration which would be propagated as an earth wave. The earthquake at San Francisco was a tectonic earthquake.

Such earthquakes are frequent in California. In the interval between the years 1850 to 1886 254 were recorded in San Francisco and 514 during the same period in other parts of California, most



of them exhibiting the features of tectonic disturbances. The region about San Francisco Bay has been especially favored. The reason for this, in the opinion of students of the geology of the region, lies in the fact that the region is part of the Coast Range, which is young compared with the mountains to the east of it and which is still growing. The Coast Range is as a consequence one of the great seismic regions of the globe.

Now, in the course of this growth the familiar geological processes of upheaval and subsidence, folding and faulting, of erosion and sedimentation are exceedingly active. Recent studies have shown that the San Francisco peninsula alone, to say nothing of the rest of the region, is traversed by three great faults with a prevailing north-northwest trend. The meizoseismal area, as far as determined, is a band about three hundred miles long and thirty miles parallel to these faults and to the Coast Range. This makes it very probable that some one of these faults or of others parallel to these had much to do with the earthquake. President Jordan, of Leland Stanford Junior University, ascribes it to frictions along the line of a famous old fault called Portolá, about five miles from the university, which is thirty miles south of San Francisco. One writer thinks that the epicentrum was submarine and at some little distance off the coast, while another suggests that the great San Bruno fault, which just touched the city on the southwest, may be responsible. The first shock came at 5.13 A. M. Pacific time, and lasted 28 seconds. Another, less violent, came in five minutes. Tremors were almost continuous meanwhile. A third strong shock came about 8.15 A. M. Others came shortly before 10 A. M. and about 1.30 and 7 P. M. Seismographs in various parts of the world soon recorded the earthquake.

These seismograph records are of great interest. The tremors thereon registered are of two kinds, preliminary and main tremors. The preliminary tremors travel through the earth, the main tremors along the surface. The former traveled at a speed of about 5.4 miles per second; in the case of the latter the speed varied from 2.2 miles to 3.1 miles per second. It is known that these earth waves traveled a distance along the surface of at least 30,000 miles, for they made two successive records on the seismograph at Birmingham, in England. This fact alone points to the San Francisco earthquake as to one of the first magnitude.

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#### RECENT PROGRESS IN NITROGEN FIXING.

We have already referred in these pages (see QUARTERLY for Jan-

uary, 1905) to the experiments of Dr. Moore, of the United States Department of Agriculture, which resulted in a commercial production of nitrogen fixing bacteria. It is a pleasure to record their continued success in use. We wish to draw attention at present to some other methods of nitrogen fixing, one of which is an improvement on one already well known and the other a comparatively new process. Some years ago Messrs. Bradley and Lovejoy succeeded in uniting the oxygen and hydrogen of the air in small amount by passing air into a chamber cylindrical in shape and having a smaller moveable cylinder within. By a special arrangement of points within one and outside the other cylinder sparks of high intensity pass across an open space and bring about the chemical union of the nitrogen and oxygen. The combined gases were to be absorbed by water and nitric acid formed from which to make nitrates. But the method was not a success, and the machine has been dismantled. The same principle has, however, been retained by several European experimenters. Professor Birkeland and Dr. S. Eyde, of Christiana, in Norway, use a high-pressure flaming electric arc which is made to move rapidly through a considerable space under the influence of a powerful magnet. They seem to have met with commercial success. An Italian investigator, E. Rossi, oxidizes air when under heavy pressure by means of an incandescent substance, while Messrs. Siemens and Holske use a single arc of great size formed by an enormous current at a low voltage instead of a number of small sparks resulting from a current of high potential.

The second process alluded to is one perfected by Dr. Adolf Frank, of Charlottenburg. Calcium carbide is familiar as the substance that interacts with water to form acetylene gas. Professor Frank found that if he passed nitrogen over red-hot calcium carbide a reaction took place by which the carbide was transformed into carbon and a substance called calcium cyanamide. This last substance proved to be an almost ideal fertilizer. First of all, if it were heated with high pressure steam it passed easily into limestone and ammonia. It evolved besides this latter gas slowly on being merely spread out in moist air. The force of its action seems to lie in the fact that it breaks down in the soil into a substance called cyanamide, and that this passes further into ammonia. The ammonia then goes over by oxidation into nitric acid, which interacts with the lime to form calcium nitrate. The calcium cyanamide is used further for the manufacture of ammonia, for the case hardening of steel, for the manufacture of mica, for pharmaceutical preparations and for the making of guanidine. The substance sarcosin unites with cyanamide and gives creatine, a substance found in the human muscle. Altogether Professor Frank has made a wonderful discovery and has made

besides the best step forward as yet towards the free utilization of the inert nitrogen of the atmosphere.

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### ELECTRICAL MUSIC.

That music fit for the gods and men may be produced by vibrating strings has been familiar to mankind for centuries. It remained for the twentieth century to show that music could be produced by a vibrating electric current. Dr. Thaddeus Cahill has perfected an instrument at his laboratory at Holyoke, Mass., by means of which he not only produces music electrically, but sends it over miles of wire to listeners at distant points. The principle of the instrument, called the telharmonium, is simple enough. The performer is seated at a keyboard like that of an organ. Within the instrument are a large number of small dynamos generating alternating currents. These alternating currents are real vibrations, and they are thrown into circuit by depressing the proper keys, and the vibrating impulses are sent along the wires causing vibrations in the diaphragm of the receiving telephone. The apparatus whereby this is effected is not as simple as the physical principle. Its present perfection came as the result of the labor of years on the part of the inventor.

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### GENERAL NOTES.

A NEW OXIDE OF CARBON.—Messrs. O. Diels and B. Wolf working in E. Fischer's laboratory have discovered a new oxide of carbon. It is described as one of the two possible anhydrides of malonic acid, and is formed when the vapor of diethyl malonate is passed over phosphorus pentoxide, whereby it loses two molecules of alcohol, which is immediately converted into ethylene and water, with a resulting oxide of carbon of the formula  $C^3 O^2$ . The new oxide is a colorless, very volatile liquid which boils at a temperature of 7 degrees.

A LONG AERIAL FLIGHT.—Those who remember the description given in the Chronicle some time ago of the experiments of the Wright brothers with an aeroplane will be interested to know that as a result of their continued labors they succeeded on October 5 last in flying a distance of 25 1-5 miles in 38 minutes 3 seconds, and stopped only because of exhaustion of fuel. It is rumored that the French Government are after the option on the machine.

NEW YORK OBSERVATORY AND NAUTICAL MUSEUM.—New York is to be no longer behind other great cities, but will soon have a splendidly equipped observatory for research in astronomy, navigation and kindred subjects, with a great photographic and visual telescope and instruments for the study of astrophysics, magnetism and seismology. A museum will be attached wherein will be exhibited models and instruments of every kind that have relation to navigation. Opportunities will be given to those qualified to do research work in nautical astronomy and allied branches.

OXYGEN FROM LIQUID AIR.—Liquid air has not done all that writers in popular magazines would have us believe it was going to do. It is utilized commercially now for the production of pure oxygen. Since liquid air is practically nothing more than a mixture of liquid air and liquid nitrogen, when the temperature of the liquid is raised the nitrogen will vaporize first because its boiling point is lower than that of liquid oxygen. The reduction of temperature caused by this evaporation is used to cool the air that is going to be liquefied in turn. M. Georges Claude has informed the French Academy that he has in operation a plant capable of turning out 1,000 cubic metres of oxygen, 96 to 98 per cent. pure, in twenty-four hours.

M. J. AHERN, S. J.

Boston, Mass.

## Book Reviews

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THE LAW OF THE CHURCH. A Cyclopaedia of Canon Law for English-speaking Countries. By *Ethelred Taunton*, priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, \$6.75.

"My aim," says Father Taunton, "has been throughout to provide a practical work upon the canon law with special reference to English-speaking countries. Questions which more directly concern dogma, liturgy, morals and ceremonial are passed over; also all questions concerning regulars, except where they come into contact directly or indirectly with the episcopal authority. Much of this book may be found in the many volumes of the *Bibliotheca Canonica, Iuridica*, etc., of Ferraris, a work which, appearing first about the middle of the eighteenth century, has received so many additions from various hands that, so to say, it has become difficult to see the wood on account of the trees. I have also put most of the later and modern-day writers under direct contribution; I have also attempted to keep pace with the latest decisions. It is also well to point out clearly that I first treat of the common law on each point and then give the particular law which sometimes will be found to modify the former. It is quite likely that, in a book treating of so many subjects, errors—not grave ones, I hope—may have crept in unwittingly. I shall be truly grateful if those competent for the task will point them out to me, so that they may receive attention should other editions be wanted. The work has been cheerfully submitted to two strict revisions by independent censors, and everything has been done to secure an exact Roman spirit throughout the pages."

No priest's library is supposed to be complete without containing one or other edition of the *Prompta Bibliotheca* of Ferraris. *Prompta* is a strange appellation for that immense work; for, owing to the vast scale on which the subjects are treated, one feels, when hunting up anything in it, that he is searching for a pin in a ten-acre field. It takes an expert, moreover, to determine what legislation is still in force and what has become obsolete, what is of universal force and what has been modified in particular countries. Father Taunton, by wonderful power of condensation, has boiled down Ferraris into one volume, and has placed in our hands a badly needed digest of the canon law as it exists *hic et nunc*. We shall leave to professional canonists the task of examining the book with a microscope to test its absolute accuracy in petty details. We opine that very few flaws will be thus detected.

As an example of Father Taunton's precision, lucidity and thoroughness we shall take the word "Motu Proprio."

1. A Motu proprio is a kind of apostolic letter (q. v.), generally in the form of a decree issued by the Roman Pontiff on his own initiative. The style is that of a breve (q. v.), *e. g.*, Pius PP. X., motu proprio, with a clause giving the object of the legislation.

2. It differs from breves in that it is not given sub annulo Piscatoris, and it bears at the end the Pope's name, *e. g.*, Pius PP. X. It is not countersigned by any official.

3. It may be in any language, generally in Latin or Italian.

4. Motu proprio is also a phrase which occurs in many Papal documents, and it has, amongst many meanings, the following senses:

1. This clause presumes that the Pope wishes to use the fullness of his power.

2. This clause, in dispensations, interprets them in the widest sense.

3. It has sometimes the effect of the clause non obstantibus.

4. A rescript accorded motu proprio produces its effect even when it would be contrary to laws.

5. What a Pope does motu proprio in favor of a person is valid, although it be contrary to his own decrees.

6. A rescript so granted produces its effect in favor of the other even before he presents it.

7. The clause motu proprio deviates even from expressed reservations.

8. It excludes all subreption (q. v.).

9. It does not imply a dispensation of irregularity or other incapacity.

10. It never takes away the rights of a third person.

11. It is never to be presumed if it be not expressed.

12. It does not give faith to what is narrated.

We were particularly well pleased with the genuinely "ultramontane," that is, Catholic proclamation of principles by the author in his introduction. The concluding words are worthy of St. Bernard: "Writing these lines beneath the shadow of that glorious dome that hangs over the tomb of Blessed Peter, I submit ex animo this, as well as all my other works, to the supreme judgment of Holy Mother Church. Beforehand I reject everything that she may judge requires correction. For she is the pillar and ground of the Truth, and her word is life and law."

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THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By *Rev. Horace K. Mann*. Vol. II., 795-858. B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$3.00, net.

We have read this second (third) volume of Rev. Mr. Mann's

"Lives of the Popes" with much pleasure. The period dealt with extends through nine Pontificates, that is, from the accession of Leo III. in 795 to the death of Benedict III. in 858. The next volume will begin with the glorious reign of St. Nicholas I. It was a period during which the influence of the Papacy upon the world advanced by leaps and bounds. As the learned author justly observes, we perceive through the energetic action of the Popes of those times how little the later False Decretals had to do with the establishment of the Papal jurisdiction. Nearly every problem which was to confront the Church and the Papacy during the Middle Ages is seen in germ during this Carolingian period. The relations, amicable and otherwise, between the Papacy and the new Empire founded by it, the unruly factions of the Roman nobility, fated to play so disturbing a part in the local history of Rome, the growing estrangement between the East and the West, soon to issue in the schism of the Greeks, the opening combat between the Cross and the Crescent on Italian soil, the long struggle of the Popes to uphold the inviolability of the marriage tie, are clearly seen, pointing out the lines along which the Church and society are destined to move. The name of Leo III., the founder of the Holy Roman Empire, occupies an important place in the history of the world, whilst the heroic figure of St. Leo IV., the victor of the Saracens in the land and sea fight at Ostia, has extorted the admiration of Voltaire and Gibbon. Gibbon's tribute is extraordinarily eloquent. "This Pontiff," he says, "was born a Roman; the courage of the first days of the Republic glowed in his breast; and, amidst the ruins of his country, he stood erect, like one of the firm and lofty columns that rear their heads above the fragments of the Roman forum."

Though Father Mann disclaims any attempt at rhetoric, nevertheless we notice with satisfaction that there is a great improvement in his literary style. We feared, when we read his first volumes, that he was about to write the "Lives of the Popes" in a very dull way; and we, therefore, are much pleased to testify that he is warming up to his theme and that the present volume, whilst displaying the wide erudition of the former volumes and the author's scrupulous love of accuracy, has been made very readable. If Father Mann is not a Gregorovius, still a work like his is badly needed to correct the mistakes and exaggerations of that great historian of Rome.

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J. REUTER, S. J. NEO-CONFESSARIUS PRACTICE INSTRUCTUS. Editio nova, cura Augustini Lehmkühl, S. J. Herder: Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo. Price, \$1.35, net.

The position of the young priest in the confessional is one of peculiar solemnity. Called upon, from the earliest days of his min-

istry, to exercise that "art of arts, the direction of souls," he would be exposed, through inexperience, to the danger of making fatal mistakes of judgment were it not for the solicitude of Holy Church to equip him with the wide experience of older heads. One of the most valuable of practical guides for young confessors is this little book of Father Reuter's, which has been a beacon light to thousands of priests for a century and a half, and which now reappears enlarged and brought down to date by no less a master of moral theology than the world-renowned Father Lehmkuhl. Out of reverence for the original writer the modern editor has taken care to distinguish carefully his own additions and the modifications made necessary by recent legislation through typographical signs. Needless to say, this little book, though written primarily for the benefit of young confessors, can be read and reread with advantage by every priest who has charge of souls.

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THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By *Mgr. E. Le Camus*, Bishop of La Rochelle, France. Translated by William A. Hickey, priest of the Diocese of Springfield. Vol. I, xxix.+450. New York: The Cathedral Library Association, 534-536 Amsterdam avenue. Price, \$1.50 per volume, net.

In reviewing an earlier edition of this work we said:

"This fruit of twelve years' constant labor is in every way a history so complete and so satisfying that it leaves nothing wanting either for the reader who seeks to criticize or for him who is in search of piety. To sum up our impression, this is a work destined to *assume a very high rank*, or rather a *place of honor*, among the most remarkable literary productions of our age."

Now made accessible in English, we can but repeat our previous opinion. Father Hickey in the volume before us has accomplished well his aim. His translation is worthy of the original, the beauty of the latter not having suffered, its method followed and its eloquence preserved.

The work will appear in three volumes, divided again into parts and books, to correspond with the main periods of the life of our Lord. In this, the first volume, is taken up "the earlier life of Jesus," the appearance of the Messiah in Israel, the immediate preparation of Jesus for His public life; the public life itself, His revelation of Himself to His disciples and the result thereof, and the gathering together of the first elements of the Church. A lengthy introduction treats of the necessity for the coming of the Saviour and adds a description of Palestine and its people.

A wide circulation among the laity should be expected for the work. Written in an easy and attractive style and yet with all atten-



tion to scholarly finish, it should form, with the *Imitation of Christ* and the *Holy Bible*, a complete library for a devout Catholic family.

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- GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN VOLKES vom dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von *Emil Michael, S. J.*
- Erster Band: Deutschlands wirtschaftliche, und rechtliche Zustände während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Dritte, unveränderte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XX. u. 368). Price, \$2.00, net.
- Zweiter Band: Religiös-sittliche Zustände, Erziehung und Unterricht während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXXII. u. 450). Price, \$2.25, net.
- Dritter Band: Deutsche Wissenschaft und deutsche Mystik während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXXII. u. 474). Price, \$2.40, net.
- Vierter Band: Deutsche Dichtung und deutsche Musik während des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts. Erste bis dritte Auflage. gr. 8vo. (XXVIII. u. 458). Price, \$2.40, net. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis.

We purposely refrained from giving a mere book notice of Father Michael's great work on mediæval Germany, confidently expecting that one or other of our contributors would before now have dealt with the important publication in an extended paper. We still hope that some one who has the time to digest the enormous mass of materials collected by the industry of the learned Jesuit will make it accessible to our readers. Meanwhile, with due apologies to author and publisher for our delay, we take pleasure in recommending the four volumes which have already appeared to all lovers of history. The work is inspired by Janssen and dedicated to that immortal investigator. It designs to do for the Germany of the Middle Ages that which he accomplished for the Reformation period. When we add that it is in every way worthy of a disciple of Janssen, we have pronounced an all-sufficient eulogy. It means not only that Father Michael has made an exhaustive study of all the materials and literature of his vast subject, but that, moreover, he has so well mastered it that he is able to present it in a facile, readable manner. The drudgery has been entirely his; to the reader is left the pleasure of following him step by step through all the phases of German mediæval life. One departure he has made from the customary writing of history, in that he presents the social life of the nation before treating of the political history. We do not regard this as a defect. The public history of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation" has often enough been written up, and there remains but little that is new to be said about it. Moreover, the Holy Roman Empire is a thing of the past, and interest in it is mainly antiquarian. As the author wisely remarks, it is social questions that occupy men's attention to-day; and the roots of all our social problems are to be sought in the Middle Ages.

To show on how extended a scale the author has mapped out his work, we shall give a brief synopsis of the contents of the four

volumes. He begins with a description of the agricultural conditions of the age, the gradual amelioration of the life of the peasantry and the German colonization of the Eastern provinces. Then the growth of city life, with its trades and commerce, and the spread of the Hansa. Next a study of knighthood with its lights and shades. Finally the development of law and constitution. This forms the matter of Father Michael's first volume. The second volume is occupied with the religious and moral conditions of the thirteenth century; the life of the clergy, secular and religious; works of faith and charity; conflicts with heresies; education and elementary schools. By an easy transition the author, in volume third, deals with the higher education in the great age of Albertus Magnus and Aquinas; the preparation and sale of books; scholasticism; mysticism; the study of Holy Scripture; moral and pastoral theology; canon and civil law; the study of the classics and language; historical writings; physics; mathematics and medicine. The fourth volume passes to consider the creations of German mediæval art, poetry, novels, music and the beginnings of the drama. It is announced that the fifth volume will be mainly busied with the study of mediæval German architecture, which will form a fitting climax to the whole exposition of Germany's ante-Reformation "Kultur." The political history will follow. The reader will see at a glance what an important contribution to historical science the Innsbruck professor has given to the world. If translated into English, even in condensed form, it would go far to dissipate many prejudices, begotten of ignorance, concerning the ages of faith.

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MATILDA, COUNTESS OF TUSCANY. By *Mrs. Mary E. Huddy*. With four photogravure plates from drawings by George M. Sullivan. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. London: John Long. Price, net, \$3.25.

When we consider the important rôle assumed by Tuscany's "Great Countess" in the regeneration of Christendom in the eleventh century, we are surprised that, before the appearance of this biography by Mrs. Huddy, no attempt had been made by an English writer to set out her heroic personality in relief. Her name is familiar enough; for no history of her age, sacred or profane, could be written without repeated allusions to the woman who was Hildebrand's right arm. But there are a great number of details concerning the personal life and character of great men and women which lie outside the framework of general history and can be treated satisfactorily only in a biography. Hence it is with great pleasure that after having viewed Matilda so often amidst a group of Popes, saints, Emperors and warriors, we can now behold her, as it were,

isolated, or as much isolated, as was possible in the case of so active a ruler. The Countess Matilda is the eternal glory of the Catholic Church, which moulded her virtues, and she well deserves the distinction of being the only woman, except Christina of Sweden, whose remains are interred in St. Peter's at Rome. Mrs. Huddy has performed her labor of love remarkably well and merits the gratitude of all English-speaking Catholics.

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**A MODERN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.** With an introduction by *Henry Sebastian Bowden*, of The Oratory. 12mo., cloth, xvi.+284. Burns & Oates, London, England. Benziger Brothers, New York. Price, \$1.60.

"This work is in no way an echo or adaptation of Bunyan's allegory, but a narrative of experiences gained in search for the Truth." Thus the author, who states in addition that the history was written at the wish of a very intimate friend, for whom alone it was intended. It is a narrative of the religious life and perplexities of one setting out in life from the "City of Confusion," of all the doubts and difficulties met and vanquished before arriving at the "City Beautiful" of the Church.

Those who have traveled the road as well as those who still linger at the wayside will find much to interest them and probably much to help them in extending comfort and aid to other weary pilgrims. Since Cardinal Newman's "Apologia" many accounts have appeared of the various ways in which souls have been led into the Church; none seem exactly alike and all are interesting both to those who have traveled home and those children of the Church standing at the gates of the city to welcome their lately separated brethren.

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**EXEMPEL-LEXICON FÜR PREDIGER UND KATECHETEN**, der Heiligen Schrift, dem Leben der Heiligen und andern bewahrten Geschichtsquellen entnommen. Herausgegeben von *P. A. Scherer*, Benediktiner von Flecht. Zweite, vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage, besorgt von *P. Johannes Bapt. Lampert*, Doktor der Theologie und Kapitular desselben Stiftes, unter Mitwirkung mehrerer Mitbrüder. Erster Band: Arbitte bis Festtage (der "Bibliothek für Prediger" neue Folge, erster Band; des ganzen Werkes neunter Band). Freiburg and St. Louis: B. Herder. price, net, \$3.60.

The purpose of this "Exempel-Lexicon," the first volume of which lies before us, is to supplement the eight volumes of Herder's "Preacher's Library" with a vast storehouse of historical illustrations grouped under the headings of the different topics of discourse. The idea is certainly an original one and will enable the preacher to add vivacity to his sermons. Nothing so takes the fancy of the audience as a judicious blending of anecdotes with the solid matter of the discourse. Scherer has drawn his illustrations from all sorts

of sources; principally, of course, from Holy Writ; next, from the Lives of the Saints, the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church; in fact, from every source, sacred and profane, which suited his purpose. There are few more brilliant examples of German industry.

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ENCHIRIDION SYMBOLORUM ET DEFINITIONUM. Quae de Rebus Fidei et Morum. A Conciliis Oecumenicis et Summis Pontificibus emanarunt. In Auditorum Usum edidit *Henricus Denzinger*, Wirceburgensis Professor. Editio IX. Aucta et Emendata ab *Ignatio Stahl*, Parocho et in Univers. Wirceb. Theol. Professore. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net, \$1.50.

Denzinger's classical little "Hand-book of Symbols and Definitions in Matters of Faith and Morals," which went through five large editions during the author's lifetime and was known and loved throughout the length and breadth of Christendom, now appears in a ninth edition under the supervision of Professor Stahl, aided by the critics of all Germany. The greatest care has been taken by editor and printer to make the book as perfect as possible. Denzinger's "Enchiridion" is a little book which no theologian can get on without. The *Index Systematicus* at the end is extremely valuable.

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SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-DISCIPLINE. By *B. W. Maturin*, formerly of Cowley, St. John, Oxford. 12mo., pp. 301. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and Bombay.

Father Maturin's book has already had a flattering reception from his friends and admirers in the United States, and their name is legion. It is many years since he left this country, and something from his pen seems to bring him back again. It does indeed in thought if not in person. This book might have been called "A New Growth in Holiness." Its purpose is to make men holy. But the purpose is worked out in a very practical manner. The author addresses every-day men and women, in the midst of modern environments. He speaks plain, direct language, and he draws his illustrations from the immediate surroundings. The result ought to be very good and lasting.

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CHRIST, THE PREACHER. Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. D. S. Phelan*, author of "The Gospel Applied to Our Times." B. Herder, 17 South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. Price, net, \$2.00.

The sermons in this second volume of Father Phelan possess the same praiseworthy qualities which we noticed in the previous volume.

They give the pith of the Sunday's Gospel without much affectation of rhetoric. If we had any suggestion to make it might be that a sermon ten pages in length is, to the average layman, a trifle too much for his ordinary Sunday diet. It is the short Gregorian chant, with a sermon not exceeding fifteen minutes, that is steadily increasing the popular attendance at the High Mass. A gifted preacher like Father Phelan might safely be permitted to extend the limit to twenty minutes.

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**STUDIES FROM COURT AND CLOISTER.** Being Essays, Historical and Literary, Dealing Mainly with Subjects Relating to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By *J. M. Stone*. London and Edinburgh: Sands & Co. St. Louis: B. Herder. Price, net, \$3.50.

Under this caption Miss Stone has gathered together thirteen essays which have appeared in various magazines, one of them in our own. The talented writer wields a facile pen, and her articles, especially on Reformation subjects, are always accepted and read with pleasure. We are glad to see them once more in permanent form, thoroughly revised and enlarged, and bespeak for them a benevolent reception.

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**CHRIST THE PREACHER.** Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year. By *Rev. D. S. Phelan*. St. Louis, Mo.: B Herder. Price, \$2.00.

This is a second volume of sermons by the distinguished author of "The Gospel Applied to Our Times," which has been received with marked favor throughout the country and was lately commended in these columns. The present series maintain Father Phelan's reputation as a ready, practical and, though he affects no rhetoric, eloquent preacher.

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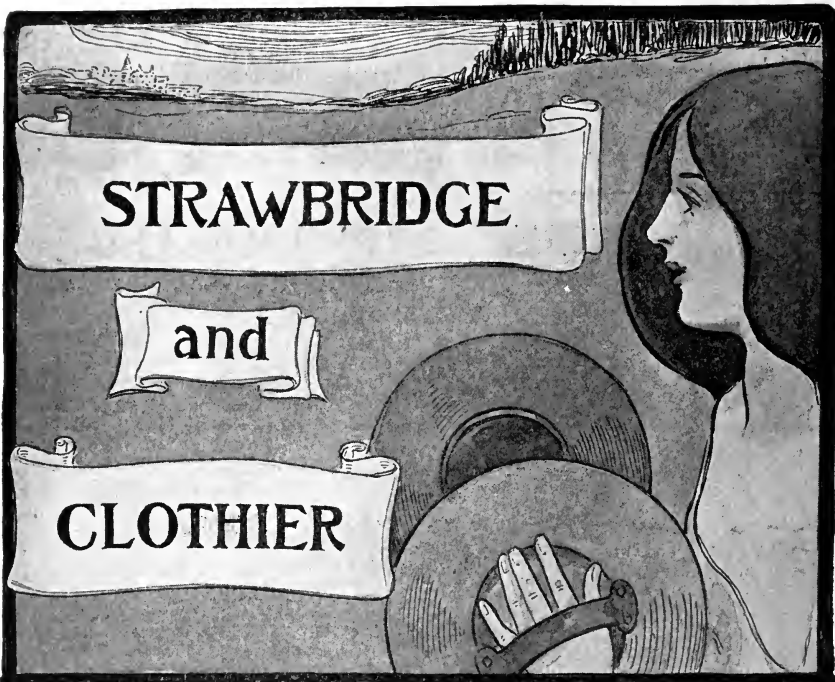
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VOL. XXXI.—OCTOBER, 1906—No. 124

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PIUS VI. AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

### III.

PIUS VI. had been deeply afflicted by the invasion of the rights and liberties of the Church, of which so many Catholic sovereigns and their ministers, acting under the inspiration of the doctrines of Voltaire and his disciples, had been guilty; but these trials were only the forerunners of the still greater sufferings which were to befall the Church when the same doctrines attained their full development in the French Revolution. That insane revolt against civilization and religion which swept away the historic institutions of France and deluged Europe with blood was not, indeed, the work merely of the philosophers and the Freemasons; many of its causes must be sought for back in the past; but it is certain that the flood of atheistical literature which was poured forth over France by d'Alembert, Diderot, Condorcet and their associates from the club which met at the house of Baron Holbach had as its result the demoralization of the nation by the destruction of all religious belief and of all respect for the authority of the Crown.

In combination with this diffusion of irreligious and scurrilous pamphlets the continually increasing influence exercised by the Freemasons must be taken into account. Owing to their skillful policy of enlisting in their ranks members of the aristocracy, to whom the more subversive doctrines of the sect were not confided, and whose social position might disarm the suspicions of the government, they had multiplied their lodges throughout France and her colonies until

in 1789 they amounted to 689, of which over 150 were in Paris, and the number of persons enrolled was calculated at 500,000.<sup>1</sup> At their head since the end of 1773 was the lodge known as the *Grand Orient* of Paris, the grand master of which was the Duke of Orleans. It was formed by representatives of all the other lodges; it was supported by their contributions; acted as arbiter in the disputes which arose between them and issued every six months a fresh password to its affiliated lodges. Not less important than the *Grand Orient* were the *Club de la Propagande*, an association directed by Condorcet and Sieyès, the object of which was to spread the principles of the Revolution, and the *Comité Régulateur*,<sup>2</sup> formed by a society known as "*Les Amis des Noirs*," which, under the pretext of taking steps for the abolition of Negro slavery, served as a rallying point for all those who aimed at overthrowing the monarchy, and which reckoned among its members many of the men who played a conspicuous part in the stormy times which followed.

The state of disorder into which the finances of the kingdom had fallen gave the conspirators the opportunity which they sought. The annual deficit had been rising for many years, and when, in 1786, it amounted at last to 120,000,000 of francs [24,000,000 of dollars], and the Parliament of Paris refused to register any more edicts of taxation or to assist the government to contract a loan, de Caloune, the Minister of Finance, advised Louis XVI. to summon an Assembly of Notables, an ancient French institution composed of the most distinguished persons of the kingdom and intended to enlighten the sovereign with its advice in times of danger or distress and diminish his responsibility by sharing it. The persons chosen for that purpose,

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<sup>1</sup> Barruel, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme," Londres, 1797-1798, Vol. II., p. 427: "De ces Loges reproduites partout, multipliées dans les villas, répandues dans les bourgs, jusque dans les villages, le même régime et les ordres du Comité Central, pouvaient au même jour, au même instant, faire sortir tous ces essaims d'adeptes . . . portant subitement partout, tous à la fois, la terreue et le disastre; sachant d'avance les victimes à sacrifier, les châteaux à bruler, les têtes à couper pour le triomphe de l'égalité et de la liberté . . . paralysant tout à la fois, et la justice et la force publique; désorganisant tout, bouleversant tout; et pour s'organiser eux-mêmes dans le nouvel empire, ne faisant que changer les Loges souterraines en Clubs de Jacobins, les adeptes en Municipies; montrant enfin la Révolution irrésistible, consommée, irréparable, dès l'instant où elle paraîtrait, et avant même qu'on or eût pensé à l'arrêter."

<sup>2</sup> Barruel, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme," Londres, 1797-1798, Vol. II., p. 460: "Le Club Régulateur comptait au moins dès-lors (en 1789) sur cinq cents mille Frères, tous pleins d'ardeur pour la Révolution, répandus dans toutes les parties de la France, tous prêts à s'élever au premier signal d'insurrection, et par la violence d'une première impulsion, capablés d'entraîner avec eux la plus grande partie du peuple. Les Sophistes dès-lors disaient assez hautement, qu'on ne triomphe pas aisément de trois millions de bras."

to the number of 157, met at Versailles on February 22, 1787, but the only result of their deliberations was to establish free trade in corn; to abolish "*la corvée*," or forced labor on the lands of the nobles and to replace de Caloune by Cardinal de Loménie de Brienne. As the resistance of the Parliament still continued, the King yielded to the demands proceeding from all parts of France for the convocation of *Les États Généraux*, or the States General, which had not met since 1614, and meetings were at once held for the election of 1,200 representatives of the clergy, the nobility and the "*tiers-état*," or the citizens, in which more than two millions of persons took part. It is a remarkable fact that the *Cahiers*, or books of instruction drawn up for the guidance of the Deputies, though demanding many reforms in the existing institutions, manifested in general the attachment of the nation to the Catholic Church and to the family of Bourbon.

The *États Généraux* were opened at Versailles on May 5, 1789, by a speech from the King, in which he alluded to the sacrifices of their ancient privileges which the clergy and the nobility were willing to make for the welfare of their fellow-countrymen; but when, on the following day, the deliberations of the Deputies began, the *Tiers-État*, which was equal in numbers to both the others, and in many of the members of which there was already a spirit of hostility to the Church and to the aristocracy, demanded that the three orders should meet and vote together instead of separately, as had always been the custom. Five weeks were wasted in tedious negotiations on this question, until the *Tiers-État*, acting under the guidance of Mirabeau and of Sieyès, proclaimed itself the sole representative of the nation under the title of *L'Assemblée Nationale Constituante*, and after some slight resistance on the part of the feeble and irresolute Louis XVI., the clergy and the nobility were allowed to join them, although such were not the instructions which the Deputies had received from their electors.

A dangerous state of discontent had long existed among the people of Paris, caused chiefly by the high price of bread, but which the Duke of Orleans and the faction which aspired to raise him to the throne were accused of fomenting. The gardens of his palace, which he had thrown open to the public, were every day the scene of tumultuous popular assemblies, where agitators, assured of impunity owing to his protection, excited the people against the court and sought to drive it to commit acts of violence. It broke out at last into open rebellion. On July 13 the Monastery of St. Lazare, founded by St. Vincent de Paul, was attacked by the mob and plundered and its library of 50,000 volumes destroyed. On the same day 20 pieces of cannon and some thousands of muskets were carried off from the

Hôtel des Invalides. A National Guard was formed, each of the sixty electoral divisions into which Paris was divided furnishing a battalion, and on the following day the Bastille was taken and its Governor and most of its defenders murdered.

An extraordinary panic then seized the entire nation, which can only be ascribed to the secret machinations of the network of revolutionary lodges which covered all France. There appeared suddenly on all the main roads of France messengers bearing the news that bands of brigands were coming to destroy the crops and to plunder the towns.<sup>3</sup> The people immediately flew to arms; national guards were formed and committees, which took the place of the local authorities, and the villagers in their mad terror attacked and burned many of the castles of the nobles, the owners of which were in many cases put to death with the utmost cruelty.

Instead of adopting efficacious means for the repression of these disturbances, the Assembly spent its time in metaphysical discussions about the rights of man and in sweeping away one after the other the ancient institutions of France. In the celebrated sitting of the night of the 4th of August, 1789, when most of these reforms were enthusiastically adopted by acclamation and without discussion, the clergy and the nobles not only offered no opposition to the abolition of their privileges, but helped it by their spontaneous sacrifices. It had then been proposed to redeem the tithes, but on August 11 the Archbishop of Paris, speaking in the name of all the clergy, voluntarily consented to their abolition; and in September the same prélate made the sacrifice, for the good of the nation, of all the church plate except what was necessary for the Divine service; but this generosity met with little gratitude from men whose sole aim was to ruin and, if possible, to destroy the Church, for on October 10 Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, a prelate who had adopted the ideas of the philosophers, proposed that the nation should take possession of all the property of the Church and pay the members of the clergy pensions by way of compensation. This suggestion was supported by Mirabeau, and after a long and violent discussion the Assembly, which was surrounded by bands of armed men for the purpose of intimidating those who defended the cause of the Church, ratified it by a decree on November 2, and this was followed by another on December 19, which

<sup>3</sup> François Pages, "Histoire Secrète de la Révolution Française, depuis la convocation des notables jusqu'à ce jour (11er Nov., 1796)," A Paris, An V. (1797), t. I., p. 171: "On bruit général se répand dans tout le royaume à la fois, et avec la rapidité de l'éclair, que les princes fugitifs se proposent d'attaquer la France; on ajoute que des milliers de brigands vont arriver . . . qu'il n'y a pas un moment à perdre pour se mettre en défense . . . Suivant quelques-uns, ces bruits furent répandus par le conseil de Mirabeau . . . D'autres attribuent cette idée . . . à la faction d'Orléans."

ordered the immediate sale of church property to the amount of 400,000,000 of livres [80,000,000 of dollars].

But it was not enough to deprive the secular clergy of independence and reduce them to the position of paid functionaries of a State Church, as a preliminary to that total abolition of all religion which the disciples of Voltaire aimed at, but could only hope to attain by degrees; the existence of the monastic orders and their close connection with Rome would have rendered such an institution impossible, and their suppression was accordingly decided on February 13, 1790, when it was enacted that all orders and congregations of men were thenceforth to cease to exist, and that the religious who wished to return to the world should be freed from their vows. Certain houses, however, were to be reserved for those who preferred to remain in their order. The congregations employed in teaching or in caring for the sick were to be provisionally spared, and the nuns were still to be allowed to reside in their convents. It was in vain that many of the Bishops, that the monastic orders and the Catholics of almost every province protested against these decrees. No heed was given to their remonstrances by an Assembly in which the hatred of the Church predominated over every other sentiment, and which took hardly any notice of the disturbances in the south of France, where the exasperation caused by the seizure and the plunder of the churches brought on a state of civil war, with the result that at Nimes in June, 1790, over 300 Catholics were massacred by bands of Protestants from the mountains of the Cevennes.

The Assembly then proceeded to introduce a measure which had been drawn up by its ecclesiastical committee, most of the members of which were Jansenists and were very probably glad to have at last the opportunity of abolishing the authority of the Pope in France and establishing a schismatical church. In the early part of the century the Jansenists had assisted the Voltairians to destroy the Jesuits, and this was the last service they were destined to render them before being swept away themselves by the Revolution.

This law was known as *la Constitution Civile du Clergé*, and it was the cause of the most ruthless and sanguinary persecution which has afflicted the Church since the days of the Roman Emperors. It began by suppressing the 135 sees then existing in France, and enacted that each of the newly created 83 departments should form a diocese, and these were to be grouped in ten metropolitan *arrondissements* or circuits. The boundaries of all the parishes were also to be reconstructed, some being suppressed and other enlarged; and wherever a portion of the diocese of a foreign Bishop extended across the frontier into France, it was to be incorporated with a French diocese and the authority of the foreign prelate rejected. All chapters of

canons, chaplaincies, prebends were to be abolished; the Bishop was to be the parish priest of his cathedral; the other priests of the same church his curates, and they, along with the superiors and the directors of the diocesan seminary, were to form a council, without whose advice the Bishop could not exercise any jurisdiction. Both the Bishops and the parish priests were to be elected by the people, the former by the electors who were qualified to vote for the nomination of the administrators of the department, the latter by those who voted for the choice of the administrators of the districts, and all of whom might be Protestants, Jews or atheists.

The election was to take place on a Sunday; in the principal church of the capital of the department, if it was for a Bishop; or of the chief town of the district if it was for a parish priest, and after the Parochial Mass, at which the electors were bound to assist. The result of the elections was to be announced in the same church, also on a Sunday, in presence of the people and of the clergy, by the president of the electoral assembly, and to be followed by the celebration of Mass. The Bishop thus elected was to be consecrated by the metropolitan of that *arrondissement*, or if he refused to do so, by the senior Bishop; and he was not to apply to the Sovereign Pontiff for the confirmation of his election, but merely to write to him as to the head of the Universal Church to inform him of the fact and as a testimony of his desire to remain in communion with him. The parish priests were to receive their canonical institution from their Bishop, and if he refused it, they could apply to the civil court of their district, which would decide the question. Before, however, either the Bishop or the priests could exercise their functions they had to swear to be faithful to the nation, the law and the King and to uphold the constitution decreed by the Assembly and accepted by the King. The law fixed also the salaries of the clergy, assigning 50,000 *livres* (10,000 dollars) to the Bishop of Paris and from 20,000 to 12,000 to the others, while the parish priests received from 6,000 to 1,200 in Paris and from 2,400 to 700 in the country.

Pius VI. had until then kept silence lest any remonstrances on his part should irritate the revolutionists and provoke them to commit still greater crimes; but while this law was being discussed Louis XVI., foreseeing the dangers with which it menaced the Church, asked him whether, in view of the difficult situation in which he was placed, he might not make some concessions to the will of the Assembly and accept the law, at least provisionally. The answer of the Holy Father left no excuse for indecision on the matter. He warned the King that by his approbation of the law he would run the risk of leading his kingdom into a schism or a religious war, and that though he was free to renounce his royal prerogatives, he had not the



right to abandon what was due to God and to the Church. He advised him, therefore, to consult the prelates who were in his council, Mgr. Lefranc de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne, and Mgr. de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux, as well as the other Bishops of France, and be guided by their decision.<sup>4</sup> In spite, however, of this warning the irresolute and pusillanimous monarch, without waiting for the opinion of a congregation of Cardinals which had been specially summoned by Pius VI. to examine the question, and with the concurrence of at least Mgr. de Cicé, the keeper of the seals, yielded to the threats of the Assembly and signed the *Constitution Civile* on August 24, 1790.

It remained inoperative for some time, as no vacancy among the higher clergy or the parish priests, which would have necessitated its application, occurred just then, and the Bishops continued to exercise their functions without heeding its regulations; but in their pastoral letters they enlightened their flocks as to its errors. Those who sat in the Assembly published a protest in which they pointed out the incompetency of the civil power to legislate on questions of ecclesiastical discipline, and with the exception of Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens; of Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun; of de Savine, Bishop of Viviers; of de Jarente, Bishop of Orleans, and of Gobel, Bishop of Lydda (*in partibus infidelium*), a suffragan of the Diocese of Bâle, all the prelates of France and seven foreign Bishops whose sees extended into France announced their adhesion to this declaration.

As, therefore, in the ordinary course of events many years might

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<sup>4</sup> Rev. Augustin Theiner, "Documents relatifs aux affaires religieuses de la France, 1790 à 1800; extraits des Archives secrètes du Vatican," Paris, 1857-1858, Vol. I., p. 1. S. D. N. Pii Divina Providentia Papæ VI. Allocutio habita in Consistorio secreto die 29 Martii 1790. "Actum illic primo fuit de publica œconomia ordinanda, cumque ea dirigenda esset ad populorum levanda onera, ad nostras apostolici ministerii curas nequaquam pertinere videbatur. Sed . . . gradus repente factus est ad religionem ipsam, tanquam politicis negociis subijci ac inservire deberet . . . Per decreta, quæ a generalibus nationis comitiis prodierunt, ipsa impetitur, perturbaturque religio; hujus apostolicæ sedis usurpantur jura; solemnia pacta et conventa violantur . . . Videmus profecto, quam grave Nobis impositum sit loquendi, monendi, hortandique munus; sed novimus etiam non solum inanem futuram vocem nostram, quod uteremur, ad efferatam populî in omnem licentiam effusi multitudinem, qua proruit ad incendia, ad rapinas, ad supplicia, interfectionesque civium, neque ullum reliquit humanitati locum; verum etiam verendum esse, ne magis magisque ad alia facinora irritetur et accendatur. . . . Interea hanc nostram allocutionem, ut testem, adhibendam duximus, quod agnoscamus scilicet, quanta inferatur injuria religioni, quantum ab hujus apostolica sedis juribus detrapatur, unaque declaramus taciturnitatem nostram non ad incuriam, multo minus ad approbationem esse referendam, at necessarium esse pro hoc tempore silentium, donec per alias rerum vicissitudines, quas Deo protegente proximas propitiasque speramus, utiliter loqui possimus."

elapse before the Church of France could be brought under the rule of the *Constitution Civile*, it became necessary to amend the law so as to render it immediately efficacious, and although among the "Rights of Man," which had been so recently discussed and proclaimed, was that of "religious liberty," according to which every citizen was to be free to profess whatever form of worship he pleased, the Assembly now sought to impose on France a religion which it had just constructed, in which the majority of its members, who were Voltairians, did not believe, and which had been rejected almost unanimately by the Bishops of France. Another law was therefore presented to the Assembly on November 26, which enacted that the Bishops and parish priests whose sees and parishes had not been suppressed by the recent reorganization, their curates as well as the superiors of the seminaries, who were all considered as functionaries of the State and to whom a little later were added the chaplains of public establishments, should take the oath to the *Constitution Civile* under pain of being prosecuted as rebels against the law, deprived of their salaries and of their rights as citizens and replaced in their dignities by others who would be more submissive. Moreover, all ecclesiastics or laymen who should combine to refuse to obey the decrees voted by the Assembly and accepted by the King should be severely punished as disturbers of the public tranquillity. The intolerance of the majority in the Assembly hardly allowed this law to be discussed; it was voted on November 27, and on December 26, 1790, the unfortunate Louis XVI., terrorized by a popular demonstration under his windows and made to believe that his refusal might be the cause of a massacre of the clergy, yielded after a long resistance and signed it.

Thenceforth every Bishop or priest who refused to take the oath to this schismatic organization, and every layman who assisted at their Mass or received the sacraments from them, was liable to be considered as an enemy of the State and to be prosecuted for rebellion against its authority; but to the honor of the French Church it can be said that all the prelates, with the exception of the four already named, and by far the great majority of the secular and regular clergy preferred to undergo exile and death rather than consent to take the oath.

As for those who consented, it must be observed that great uncertainty prevailed for some time with regard to the views of the Holy Father, and false reports were spread that he did not intend to interfere in the affairs of France; for the two Archbishops who sat in the King's Council had not published the letter which he had received from Pius VI., as they still hoped to make some compromise with the Assembly. Many also took the oath conditionally and with the re-

striction that it should not apply to anything contrary to ecclesiastical discipline. The Assembly then sought to form a hierarchy for this official Church. After some hesitation Talleyrand, Bishop of Autun, consented to give his services, and on February 24, 1791, assisted by Gobel and Mirondet, the Bishops *in partibus* of Lydda and Babylon, he consecrated at the Church of the Oratory in Paris two priests, Expilly and Marolles, as Bishops of Guimper and Soissons. Other consecrations speedily followed, the movement being largely aided by the Jacobin clubs of each locality,<sup>5</sup> who selected as candidates those members of the clergy who had most distinguished themselves by their advocacy of the principles of the Revolution, and in a few months all the newly created sees were occupied. One hundred and twenty of these schismatic prelates were elected and consecrated between 1791 and 1801, when the *Constitution Civile* was officially abolished.

A Papal brief appeared at last on March 10, 1791, addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops who sat in the Assembly. Though it did not as yet pass any definite sentence on the law, it blamed severely the pretension of the Assembly to legislate in matters belonging to the discipline of the Church and requested the hierarchy to express their opinions on the subject. This was followed on April 13 by a brief to all the clergy and the faithful of France in which the *Constitution Civile* was formally condemned as heretical in many parts, in others schismatic and contrary to the laws of the Church and having no other object than the destruction of the Catholic religion. The elections which had taken place to episcopal sees or to parish churches were declared to be unlawful and null, the consecrations of Bishops sacrilegious; all those who had any share in them were suspended from every ecclesiastical function, and those who had taken the oath were ordered to retract it within forty days under pain of suspension in case of noncompliance.

<sup>5</sup> The Jacobins derived their origin from "Le Club Breton," or "Société des Amis de la Constitution," founded at Versailles in 1789 by the Deputies of the Tiers Etat from Brittany to the Etats Généraux. Other Deputies also joined them, such as the Duc d'Orléans, Talleyrand, Miraband, Sieyès, Pétion, Robespierre. When the Assembly removed to Paris, the club hired as a meeting place the refectory of the Dominican monks in the Rue St. Honoré, who were known as "les Jacobins," because their first convent in Paris had been founded in 1217 near the Porte Saint Jacques. They were at first constitutional and monarchical, and represented the liberal middle class, but expelled the moderate members after August 10, 1792, and became republican, taking after September 21, 1792, when royalty was abolished, the name of "Société des Jacobins, amis de la liberté et de l'égalité." They formed innumerable affiliated societies over all France to spread the ideas of the Revolution, and by their organization and discipline, their fanaticism and intolerance they became the moving power in the State and imposed their will on the Assemblies which governed France.

As soon as the condemnation of the *Constitution Civile* by the Sovereign Pontiff became known large numbers of the clergy who through fear or ignorance had complied with the law and taken the oath hastened to retract their error, and before long there remained among the schismatics only the least recommendable members of the French Church—priests who had been previously interdicted, unfrocked monks who had been the disgrace of their order and men who had been dismissed from the seminaries as incapable, but whom the intruding Bishops did not scruple to ordain. On the other hand, many ecclesiastics who until then had led frivolous and worldly lives were recalled to a sense of their duty in presence of the dangers which menaced the Church, and they underwent the persecution which ensued with dignity and courage.

On the part of the laity, the adhesions to the Constitutional Church were mostly confined to the citizens of the towns and large villages where Voltairian doctrines had been long disseminated and where the Jacobin clubs affiliated to that of Paris; the National Guard, which after the fall of the Bastille had been formed out of the more turbulent elements of the populace, and the municipal officials, among whom the Jacobins predominated, were always ready to seize on any pretext for molesting the clergy. The peasantry, however, generally remained faithful to their legitimate pastors. They abandoned the parish churches where the clergy appointed by the State had been installed, in most cases forcibly and only with the assistance of troops, and they assembled to assist at the Masses said by non-juring priests in monastic houses or, as in Brittany, at night in the depths of the forests. It was also still possible for the Catholics living in towns to hear Mass and frequent the sacraments in the oratories of the religious orders of women, which had not as yet been suppressed, for they steadfastly refused to acknowledge the authority of the schismatic Bishops, and their chaplains were not as yet bound to take the oath. The fury of the people was therefore stirred up against them in the great cities. In Paris a crowd of men and women collected from the dregs of the populace broke into several of the convents on April 8, 1791, not sparing even those of the Sisters of Charity, and flogged the nuns with the utmost brutality, while no attempt was made on the part of the authorities to take their defense, and though on the following day the municipality published a proclamation reproving those who had been guilty of this crime, it took care to throw the blame upon the nuns, accusing them of having provoked it by their refusal to accept the constitution, and it ordered their churches to be thenceforth closed to the public. The same outrage was shortly after repeated at Nantes, Rennes, Bordeaux and other provincial towns, where both the nuns and many ladies

who had come to hear Mass were the victims of the ferocity of the rioters.

These cowardly aggressions, however, produced a feeling of shame even among the Voltairians then in power, and by a decree (May 7, 1791) of the Directory of the Department of the Seine, which was ratified by the Assembly, the Catholics were allowed to hire the churches which had been taken from them and closed and have Mass said by priests who had refused to take the oath; but these churches were to bear an inscription to distinguish them from those of the State, and it was strictly forbidden to make any manifestation there against the laws or the authorities, that is to say, to preach against the *Constitution Civile* or the schismatic clergy.

The slight relief granted to the Catholics by this decree was soon withdrawn from them in Paris by the violence of the mob which continued to insult and ill treat those who ventured to assist at Mass, and in the provinces by the action of the local authorities, who in many places were terrorized by the Jacobin clubs. Under their influence the administrators of the departments and of the districts frequently exceeded their powers and went much further than the Assembly had intended. They even deprived of all civic rights those who refused to take part in the elections of Bishops and parish priests, for they accused them of combining to disobey the law, and they therefore denied them the right to vote at any other election or to exercise any public function. They also condemned those priests who had refused to take the oath or who had retracted it to reside far from their parishes, and an open persecution of the clergy soon existed throughout France. Thus in the department of the Côtes-du-Nord, by a decree of June 18, 1791, every unsworn priest was obliged to leave his parish and go to live at a distance of six leagues from it as soon as his officially named successor arrived; and any priest who administered the sacraments was condemned to six years in prison and those who received them to six months. In the departments of Illa-et-Vilaine and Finistère the clergy who refused the oath were sent to reside at four leagues from their parishes, but in those of Morbihan, Mayenne, Cloire Inférieure and many others they were seized in their dwellings at night and, to the number of several hundreds, brought by the National Guards to the chief town of the departments to be there imprisoned.

The dissolution of the *Assemblée Constituante* on September 3, 1791, and the amnesty granted on that occasion for all political offenses set free the clergy who had been arrested or banished and gave the Church a short respite from persecution, but without any guarantee for the future, and as the members of the *Constituante* could not be reëlected, the *Assemblée Législative*, which succeeded

it on October 1, was composed in a large measure of functionaries who had already persecuted the Catholics in their respective districts and were inclined to be still more hostile to the Church than their predecessors. The new Assembly showed the spirit which animated it by issuing a decree on November 29 which made a slight change in the oath of the *Constitution Civile*, but which did not change its schismatic character, and deprived those priests who refused to take it of the right to exercise any civil or religious functions, condemning them also to banishment if they could be accused of causing any disturbance, and to imprisonment if they remained in the country. Louis XVI. refused to sanction this decree, but it was immediately enforced with the utmost rigor in no less than forty-two departments, and in the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout France, especially in the south, the National Guards and the Jacobin clubs in many localities burned the castles of the aristocracy and plundered the houses of the smaller landowners who were accused of being hostile to the Revolution without any effort being made to repress them.

Some congregations had been tolerated until then—the Brothers of the Christian Doctrine, the Oratorians, the Seminary of St. Sulpice and of St. Lazare as well as most of the religious orders of women. But by the law of May 2, 1792, they were suppressed and their property sold; and thus were swept away the treasures of art and monuments of antiquity accumulated in the course of centuries in their monasteries and churches. A small pension was promised to the members of these orders, but only on condition of taking an oath to be faithful to the nation and to support liberty and equality or to die in defending them. Some orders which cared for the sick in the hospitals were provisionally spared, but the wearing of the dress of the secular or regular clergy was prohibited. A still more drastic law, described as a measure for the public safety, was enacted on May 27, namely, that every priest who had not taken the oath or who had retracted after having taken it should be expelled from the country if a request to that effect were made by twenty citizens; but for those who could be accused of having caused any disturbance the demand of one citizen would suffice; and in case of their return to France the penalty would be ten years in prison. As it was in the power of any Jacobin club to make the celebration of Mass or the administration of the sacraments a pretext for a noisy demonstration, it would not be difficult under this law to put a stop to all public worship. The fact that Louis XVI. refused his signature to this decree did not prevent it from being put into execution, and it was rendered obligatory after the attack on the palace of the Tuileries on August 10, 1792, when the faithful Swiss Guards were massacred

at their posts; and the King, who had taken refuge in the Assembly, was deprived by it of his authority and imprisoned in the temple together with the other members of the royal family.

At the same date a rising of the populace established the *Commune*, that revolutionary municipality of Paris which played such an important part in subsequent events and was responsible for most of the bloodshed and of the hideous crimes of that epoch. It was composed of 192 commissioners chosen from among the most fanatical Jacobins by the 48 sections into which the city was divided; it was led by Marat and Robespierre and countenanced by Danton, who was Minister of Justice, and it imposed its will by terrorism not only on the Assembly, but also on all France. Thenceforward the decrees against the clergy followed each other still more rapidly than before. On August 13 the wearing of the clerical dress was again prohibited; on the 14th all the bronze monuments in the churches were ordered to be melted down for cannon, and all the sacred vessels of gold and silver still remaining in the sacristies were sent to the Mint; and another, aimed not only at those priests who had not yet been expelled from their parishes, but also at the schismatical clergy, imposed on all persons who received any salary from the State the same oaths of fidelity to the nation that had been demanded from the monks and nuns who had been pensioned off.

The law of May 27, severe as it was, does not seem to have given satisfactory results or to have been found sufficiently swift in its action, for on August 28, by a still more arbitrary decree, the Assembly enacted that all priests who, being bound to take the oath, refused to do so, or who, having taken it, had retracted, should leave France within fifteen days, and if they refused to comply, they were to be sent to Guyana. Any priest who returned from exile should be condemned to ten years in prison, and those who, though not bound to take the oath, should perform any act of public worship might be deported by the local authorities on being denounced by six citizens; those who were too infirm to be deported were to be assembled in the chief town of the department under the supervision of the municipality.

These decrees gave a fresh impulse to the persecution and excited still more the fury of the Jacobins against the clergy, for though in some cases the priests who were thus forced to abandon their country were given their passports quickly and allowed to depart, they had generally to undergo many insults from the officials of the municipalities or of the districts before they could obtain them. Many were also arrested while on their way by the National Guards, searched and plundered of the little they carried with them, then chained two by two and led to the frontier by soldiers, only too happy

to escape with their lives from the brutality of the rabble of the towns through which they passed.

But it was in Paris that the slaughter of those members of the clergy who had refused the schismatical oath was carried out on the largest scale. There, after the storming of the Tuileries, the *Commune* had imprisoned in the Convent of the Discalced Carmelites, in the rue de Vangirard, over two hundred ecclesiastics, almost all men distinguished by their learning and their piety, amongst whom were the Archbishops of Arles, the Bishops of Beauvais and of Saintes, the professors of the Seminary of St. Sulpice and the aged and infirm priests who resided in the house of St. Francis de Sales, and on September 2, with the exception of a few who succeeded in escaping or who were rescued by some courageous citizens, they were murdered by hired assassins. Thirty others were killed in the cloisters of St. Germain des Près, sixty in the neighboring prison of l'Abbaye and seventy-nine out of the ninety-six who were confined in the Seminary of St. Firmin.<sup>6</sup> All these victims might have saved their lives if they had consented to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile* or even to declare that they had. Then, under the pretext of wishing to save the republic from its enemies who were said to be about to betray Paris to the allied armies on the frontiers, or impelled by an insane mania for bloodshed, the same bands of assassins attacked the other prisons, where besides the ordinary criminals between 3,000 and 5,000 persons were detained who had been arrested on suspicion during the domiciliary visits which the *Commune* had ordered to be made in every house in Paris on the 29th and 30th of August, and slaughtered the greater number of the prisoners. These massacres lasted until September 6; many women and children perished in them, and altogether, according to the official return, which is probably very much less than the truth, 1,458 persons, though some historians bring the number up to 12,000. Many provincial towns followed the example of Paris, and the Jacobin mob showed the same sanguinary instincts. At Meaux seven priests were murdered; at Rheims, six; at Lyons, eight officers and two priests, and at Versailles, a convoy of forty-four prisoners coming from Orléans, among whom were the Bishop of Mendes and nine priests.

The Legislative Assembly whose cowardly connivance had allowed the *Commune* of Paris and the Jacobin clubs to perpetrate such crimes with impunity ended its existence on September 21, 1792, after having on the previous day passed a law to sanction divorce. Its successor, the Convention, whose creation had been decided on

<sup>6</sup> Abbé J. N. Jager, "Histoire de l'Eglise de France pendant la Révolution," Paris, 1852, t. III., p. 522: "Suivant un compte rendu le 27 Novembre, 1792, le Comité de surveillance avait dépensé 84,664 livres (about \$16,932) pour les journées de Septembre" (Archives de la Préfecture de Police).



August 10, was still more frankly revolutionary, for although the more moderate party had obtained a strong majority in the provinces in spite of the efforts of the Jacobins to intimidate the electors, in Paris, the victory of the clubs was complete, and as 491 of the 750 members of the Convention were new to Parliamentary life, and a large number were incompetent and irresolute, they were easily dominated and guided by the ardent and unscrupulous minority. But though the Jacobin party in the Convention, known as *la Montagne*, was bitterly hostile to *les Girondins*, or Moderates, whom they ultimately sent to the scaffold, both factions always united to make war on the Church and to persecute the clergy.

The anti-Christian fanaticism of the Convention became still more violent after the execution of Louis XVI. on January 21, 1793, for by the law of March 10 it was decreed that every citizen was bound to denounce within eight days the returned emigrants and the priests liable to deportation, and that all such who should be arrested should be tried by a military tribunal and shot within twenty-four hours. There were, however, many priests who had not as yet been required to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, such as the members of chapters and of religious orders, though some of them had thought it allowable to take that of fidelity to the nation; but on April 23 another law prescribed that ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, who should refuse to take that oath should be at once deported to Guyana, as well as those whom six citizens should denounce as guilty of *incivisme*. At once in all parts of France the priests who could not succeed in evading the local authorities were arrested and brought to the western seaports to be embarked. Those who were sent to Rochefort were thrust into two vessels which had been employed as slavers, the *Washington* and *les Deux Associés*, but the vigilance of the English fleet prevented them from sailing for America. There for nearly two years, until the beginning of February, 1795, they underwent incredible sufferings. By day they were exposed without shelter to the burning heat of summer and to the inclemency of winter; at night they were crowded together in a narrow space between decks; their clothes were not replaced when they fell into rags; their food was repulsive; they were devoured by vermin and the sailors and officers took pleasure in insulting them in the coarsest language. It is not surprising that out of 827 ecclesiastics sent to Rochefort, only 285 survived these prolonged tortures. At Bordeaux and in the neighboring citadel of Blaye at least 900 priests were imprisoned and underwent nearly the same sufferings until three months after the fall of Robespierre, at which time 250 had already perished. The survivors were then embarked on three vessels for deportation, but were finally set free in the course of the years 1795 and 1796.

It would be impossible to enter into the details of the merciless persecution which in the meanwhile had been excited throughout France by the representatives of the people whom the Convention, at the instigation of the Jacobins, sent two by two into each department to insure the triumph of the Revolution. Invested with absolute power, they raised the guillotine in every city and executed without distinction of age or sex or social rank whoever was suspected of hostility to the republic or of fidelity to the faith of their fathers. Every department of France was drenched with blood; the priests, who hid in the forests and the mountains, were hunted like wild beasts; those who concealed a priest if discovered were punished with death;<sup>7</sup> the Catholics who refused to assist at a Mass said by one of the clergy who had accepted the *Constitution Civile* were imprisoned. Wherever resistance was offered and a town rose against this tyranny, as at Lyons and Toulon, the victims were to be reckoned by hundreds, and the sentences of the military tribunals were carried out by grape shot as being more expeditious than the guillotine. This was especially the case in *la Vendée*, where the heroic peasantry, fighting for their faith and their King, after inflicting many defeats on the troops of the Convention, were crushed at last by superior numbers and by the *colonnes infernales*, which laid the country waste with fire and sword, and in their blind fury did not spare even the partisans of the Revolution, but massacred indiscriminately all whom they met.

The Convention continued to render its legislation against the clergy still more relentless so as to leave its victims no outlet for escape. Thus the law of October 20, 1793, whilst consolidating some of those which preceded, decreed that all priests liable to be deported, that is, who had not taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, or who had retracted, were to be shot within twenty-four hours if found on the frontiers, while carrying passports from the leaders of the *émigrés*.<sup>8</sup> or "counter-revolutionary emblems," that is to say, crucifixes, rosaries or breviaries; or if arrested in the interior of France after returning from emigration or deportation. The testimony of two witnesses would suffice to prove the liability to deportation, and any one who should conceal a priest coming within the scope of the law should

<sup>7</sup> Picot, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique pendant le XVIII. e Siècle," Paris, 1856, t. VI., p. 295: "On a compté 117 personnes condamnées par divers tribunaux, pour avoir caché ou assisté des prêtres insermentés."

<sup>8</sup> The *émigrés*, or emigrants, were the nobles and other persons hostile to the Revolution who fled from France to take refuge in foreign countries. The emigration began after the taking of the Bastille (July 14, 1789) by the departure of the King's brother, the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Condé, the Duc de Bourbon, followed by many nobles. They always entertained the hope of returning and of restoring the monarchy.

undergo the same punishment. By the same decree any priest who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile* and who, on the denunciation of six citizens, might be found guilty of "*incivisme*," a very vague term which could be made to include any act or expression of opinion opposed to the principles of the Revolution, was to be immediately deported. This clause placed the schismatic Church still more under the authority of the State and confirmed another decree which had been voted on June 19 and which sentenced to deportation any Bishop or priest who should offer any opposition, directly or indirectly, to the marriage of a priest. For many of the suspended priests and of the unfrocked monks from among whom the hierarchy and the clergy of this Jansenist institution had been recruited had married; their conduct had been highly approved of by the Convention, and it was resolved to treat opposition to the marriage of priests or of divorced persons as "*incivisme*."

The introduction of the Republican Calendar on October 25 was another step towards the abolition of Christianity, for by the division of the months into decades instead of weeks, and the substitution of the names of plants, animals and agricultural instruments for those of saints, it was hoped that the observation of Sunday would be rendered impossible; that the feasts of the Church would be soon forgotten, and that thus all trace of religion would be obliterated from the minds of the people. One of the chief duties of the representatives sent into the departments as missionaries of the Revolution was to insist on the acceptance of this calendar, and the number and violence of the decrees which they issued on the subject in every part of France is a proof of the tenacity with which the people, and especially the peasantry, clung to their faith in spite of the terrorism exercised by the Jacobins.

It did not, however, seem to the *Commune* of Paris that the Convention was progressing rapidly enough or showing sufficient enterprise in its warfare against Christianity; it therefore persuaded Gobel, the constitutional Bishop of Paris, to take part in a scandalous demonstration which it hoped would impel the Convention to take still more decisive measures. It took place on the 17th Brumaire, an II. (7th November, 1793), when Gobel, preceded by Pache, the Mayor of Paris; Chaumette, the procurator of the *Commune*, and other functionaries, and accompanied by several of his clergy, appeared before the Convention wearing the red cap and carrying in his hand his mitre, his crozier and his ring. These he laid down in presence of the Assembly and declared that he and his curates renounced their ecclesiastical functions, gave up their ordination letters (*letters de prêtrise*), and that thenceforth the national religion should be simply the worship of liberty and equality. Many other members

of the constitutional clergy in various parts of France imitated this act of apostasy by sending in their letters of ordination to the Convention, but it is only just to observe that when a little later it came to the turn of the constitutional clergy to be accused of *incivisme* and to furnish victims for the scaffold the greater part of them, and among others Gobel himself, retracted their schismatical oaths, abjured their errors and died repentant.

This manifestation was followed by the sacrilegious profanation of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, which the *Commune* had declared should thenceforth be known as the Temple of Reason. There, on the 20th Brumaire an II. (10th November, 1793), a mountain had been raised framed in by curtains so as to separate it from the choir of the church; it bore on its side the altar of Reason, and was crowned by a temple dedicated to Philosophy, whence issued the Goddess of Liberty, represented by the wife of a member of the *Commune* clad in white robes and a blue mantle, with the red Phrygian cap on her head and bearing in her hand a pike, and took her seat on a throne while a hymn was sung in her honor. A procession was then formed and the assistants carried their living idol to receive the homage of the Convention, whence the Deputies were led back by the people to the Cathedral to assist at a repetition of the impious ceremony. A few days later the *Commune* closed the few churches which still remained open in Paris and decreed that whoever should ask to reopen a church should be arrested as suspect.

Robespierre, whose influence then predominated in the Convention and in the committee of public safety and who hoped to become the recognized head of the State, was jealous of the growing power of the *Commune*, which threatened to supersede the Convention and guide the course of events. He therefore violently attacked its atheistical demonstrations, which he saw would render the Revolution odious and ridiculous in the eyes of the other nations. His denunciation sent the principal members of the *Commune* to the scaffold, accused of being traitors to their country and paid agents of the foreigner, and he then proposed to the Convention to establish a vague Deism under the name of *le culte de l'Être Suprême*. The Convention accepted his suggestion by a decree on the 18th Floréal an II. (7th May, 1794), and the feast was celebrated for the first time on the 20th Prairial (8th June). A colossal statue of Atheism had been erected in the garden of the Tuileries, and Robespierre, who had been elected president of the Convention for the occasion, after pronouncing a speech filled with the usual platitudes about the vices of tyrants and the virtues of republicans, set fire to it with a torch, when it disappeared in flames and in its place was seen a statue of Wisdom rather blackened with smoke. The spectators then went in

procession to the *Champ de Mars*, Robespierre walking ostentatiously much in advance of his colleagues. There a mountain had been constructed, on the summit of which the members of the Convention took their places, while the slopes were covered with musicians and singers and the people were grouped round the base. Hymns were then sung, martial airs performed, an oath was sworn by all present never to disarm until the enemies of the republic had been annihilated and the ceremony was ended by discharges of artillery.

But the Convention had grown weary of the arrogance, the despotism and the bloodthirstiness of Robespierre. There were then 400,000 persons in the prisons of France. The procedure of the Revolutionary tribunal had been rendered still more summary than before. It was sending victims to the guillotine at the rate of sixty a day, and every member of the Convention trembled for his life. The end came unexpectedly. While submitting to the Convention still more sanguinary measures, by which he hoped to rid himself of his enemies, Robespierre was suddenly accused of being a tyrant and a dictator. His efforts to defend himself were not listened to, and he took refuge among his partisans at the Hotel de Ville; but an attempt to excite an insurrection in his favor failed, and he was guillotined on the following day. But though what is known as the "Reign of Terror" then came to an end, the cessation of these massacres brought little relief to the Catholic Church. It is true that many aged and infirm priests were released, and that those who had survived their detention at Rochefort were brought to Saintes in February, 1795, and set free after a few months; but those who returned from emigration were still judged with all the rigor of the law, and in the five last months of 1794 no less than 135 priests were shot or guillotined in various departments as well as the persons, mostly peasants or artisans, who had concealed them.

The great majority of the French Bishops and priests who had not accepted the *Constitution Civile* were then living in exile, having been either obliged to obey the law of deportation or having been expelled from their sees and their parishes by the intruding clergy, driven from one hiding place after another and forced at last to cross the frontier in order to save their lives. Only thirteen prelates had remained in France, three of whom were murdered at the convent of the Carmelites on September 2 and one at Versailles; one was guillotined in Paris, one died in prison and only two lived on into the nineteenth century. Though the exiled clergy had been flung upon the territories of the neighboring States without any warning having been given or any preparation made to receive them, their treatment as a rule did honor to the nations among whom their lot was cast. Those who took refuge in Spain, where by November,

1792, it is believed that they already numbered 3,000, came mostly from the southern provinces of France and were greeted with a most cordial reception. Prelates and religious communities vied with each other in offering them hospitality, and collections were made every year throughout Spain for their support. From time to time some of the exiles, deceived by temporary relaxations of the persecution, returned to France, only to be again driven back across the frontier, if indeed they succeeded in avoiding arrestation, followed by deportation or even death. As a precaution against these attempts to evade the law, Admiral Truguet was sent in 1798 by the Directory with an insolent demand that the Spanish Government should forthwith banish every French priest from its territory. The government feebly consented, but the Spanish Bishops and the monastic orders protested so strongly against this violation of the laws of hospitality that after 315 of the exiles had been sent to Majorca and a few to the Canary Islands the matter was allowed to drop. When the Consulate succeeded the Directory and the penal legislation was gradually revoked, the French clergy hastened to return to their homes, though their position was still uncertain until the law of 28th Vendémiaire an IX. (20th October, 1800) the names of the priests were effaced from the list of emigrants.

The exiles were still more numerous in the Papal States than in Spain. It was the only part of Italy where they found a safe refuge. Very few were admitted into the Kingdom of Naples; Lombardy, Parma, Modena and Tuscany were closed to them through the influence of Austria; the Venetian Senate was equally pitiless, and Piedmont was too much in dread of France to venture to shelter them. The Holy Father alone received them as hospitably as his resources allowed, and for that purpose he stopped all outlay on public works, reduced the expenses of his household and diminished the splendor of the ceremonies in St. Peter's. He instituted a commission, of which he was president, to provide for their wants, and a collection of sixty folio volumes entitled "*Caritas S. Sedis Apostolica erga Gallos,*" now in the archives of the Vatican, contains the correspondence of Pius VI. and his ministers relating to the refugees, who in 1794, when large numbers of them had been driven out of Holland, amounted to 5,000. The invasion of the Papal States by the Revolutionary armies, and even the seizure of Rome by General Berthier made no change in their position, for they were allowed to remain unmolested, and according as peace was restored in France they gradually returned to their respective dioceses.

Switzerland and the Rhenish provinces were equally generous to the exiled clergy. Protestants vied with Catholics in assisting them with their alms. Even the city of Geneva, the headquarters of

Calvinism, gave hospitality to 600, and when menaced by the advance of the French army, transported them across Lake Lemman to a place of greater safety. But it was in England<sup>9</sup> that by far the largest number of fugitives took refuge, and there only did they find a sure asylum from their enemies. The islands of Jersey and Guernsey were the first to receive those who fled from the western departments until the dread of an invasion rendered it advisable to transport them to England, where at the end of 1794 the number of priests registered as receiving assistance from the government was already 8,000, each of whom received £2 2s. a month (ten dollars and a half). Committees were formed to meet them as they landed and provide them with food and lodgings, and in the descriptions which some of them have left of their stay in England they praise loudly the tranquillity and safety which they enjoyed there, the hospitality which they received from all classes of society and the facilities granted to them for opening churches and founding schools for the children of the thousands of their fellow-countrymen who had also been obliged to fly from France to save their lives.

The Convention ended its existence by forming a new Constitution on the 5th Fructidor, an III. (22d August, 1795), which established a legislature composed of a Council of Ancients and a Council of Five Hundred, and placed the executive power in the hands of five Directors—La Dévellière-Lépeaux, Carnot, Barras, Rewbell and Letourneur. The first of these was a lawyer, as were, indeed, the majority of those who played the leading parts in the Revolution. He was animated by a bitter hatred against the Catholic Church, which he wished to see replaced by a religion named “theophilanthropy,” of which he was said to be the founder, and like his fellow-directors, with the exception of Rewbell, he had voted for the death of Louis XVI. Carnot had been an officer of engineers. He had also formed part of the sanguinary committee of public safety and had caused the death of many of the friends of his colleagues; but he had now become one of the more moderate revolutionists, and his capacity for administration was much greater than that of the

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<sup>9</sup> L'Abbé Barruel, “Histoire du Clergé pendant la Révolution Française,” A Londres, 1801, t. II., p. 194: “Il faut avoir été trois ans en France, au milieu des Constitutionnels, des Girondins, des Maratistes, des Jacobins de toute espèce pour sentir tout ce que ce premier aspect des Anglais avait de reposant, de délicieux pour chacun de ces prêtres, arrivant sur les côtes de la grande Bretagne.” P. 196: “Chaque fois qu’un bâtiment chargé de ces prêtres Français paraissait sur la côte, on eût dit que l’instinct de la bienfaisance l’avait annoncé aux Anglais; ils arrivaient au port pour nous accueillir, c’était à qui nous offrirait une retraite ou des rafraîchissements. Nous débarquions par cinquante et par cent. . . . Dans les villes où les logements n’auraient pas suffi, on avait préparé un tien vaste et commun pour tous ceux qui manquaient de moyens.”

other directors. Barras, a man of noble birth, but of tarnished reputation, laden with debt and an ardent revolutionist, had been one of the commissioners who had established the Reign of Terror at Toulon and Marseilles. He was given up to intrigue and debauchery; his avidity for money was notorious, and even Carnot described him as concealing the ferocity of a Caligula under an appearance of frivolity.

Rewbell was a lawyer from Alsace; thoroughly revolutionary in his principles and a bitter enemy of the clergy, in his management of the public money he was reproached with wastefulness, and Carnot, whose portraits of his fellow-directors are anything but flattering, denounced him as being the protector of persons accused of theft and malversation and as being convinced that probity and patriotism were absolutely incompatible. The last of the group, Letourneur, had been, like Carnot, an officer of engineers, whose military experience had procured for him a place on the committee of public safety. He exercised no influence in his new position and was soon replaced by Barthélemy, who had been the envoy of the republic in Switzerland.

In the last year of the rule of the Convention that Assembly had published several decrees which under an appearance of toleration were aimed at the abolition of the official schismatic Church, and which left the Catholics very nearly as much oppressed as before. The first was dated on the second day of the *Sans-Culottides de an II.* (18th September, 1794), and declared that the republic would no longer pay salaries to the ministers of any form of worship, but would grant a small pension to the members of the constitutional clergy. This meant the suppression of the church founded by the Jansenists of the *Assemblée Nationale*, which the Voltairians, who had assisted them, hated as much as the Catholic Church, and which, having served its purpose of inaugurating the persecution, could now be flung aside. This law was confirmed by that of the 3d Ventôse an III. (21st February, 1795), which announced that the republic would not provide any place for the celebration of public worship; forbade the municipalities to do so by purchase or hire, and prohibited any public ceremony or outward manifestation of religion.

The people, however, in some of the southern departments had already begun to take advantage of the relaxation of the persecution which followed the death of Robespierre. They took possession of churches which had been closed; priests who had been in hiding reappeared; in villages where there was no priest the schoolmaster read prayers to the assembled peasants; in some localities the sound of the Angelus bell was again heard, and though the commissioners sent by the Convention could still manifest their hatred of religion



by their proclamations and seek to impose the observance of the *Décadi* instead of Sunday, they could no longer employ the guillotine to enforce obedience.

The Convention, therefore, made some very slight advance in the direction of religious liberty by the law of the 11th Prairial, an III. (30th May, 1795), which granted provisionally to the municipalities the use of a few churches which should be common both to the Catholics and to the schismatics; but no priest could officiate therein unless he made a public declaration of submission to the laws of the republic. But as the laws which condemned to déportation any priest who refused to take the oath to the *Constitution Civile*, or to death if he returned from exile, were still in existence, only very few members of the clergy who did not come under those laws, such as the aged and the infirm and those who had been recently ordained, could venture to appear in public to make this declaration, and many of them considered it to be incompatible with the fidelity which they owed to their lawful sovereign.

The execution of these laws varied in the different departments. At Rennes, in Brittany, the irritation manifested by the people had obliged the commissioners to allow several priests to make a qualified act of submission to the republic, while reserving all the rights of the Church, and in the departments bordering on Switzerland the clergy returned in large numbers, celebrated Mass publicly, and if arrested, were in many instances rescued by the peasants. Many were, however, still in prison. The committee of public safety (*comité de sûreté générale*) sent orders to the local authorities to execute rigorously the laws against the priests who returned from abroad, and on the 20th Fructidor, an III. (6th September, 1795), the Convention, which mingled fresh decrees of proscription with its slight concessions, gave all the priests who had been banished and had come back fifteen days to leave France and menaced them with death if they again entered the territory of the republic. Moreover, those who should refuse to make the declaration of submission or who should retract it after making it were to be immediately imprisoned if they performed any act of worship even in a private house.

This was followed on the 7th Vendémiaire, an IV. (28th September, 1795), by another law which placed every meeting of citizens for the purpose of worship under the supervision of the authorities; declared that no one could be obliged to celebrate a feast or abstain from work on any particular day; forbade any religious ceremonies from taking place in public, and limited to ten the number of persons who could assist at them in a private house over and above those residing in the same building. Other clauses prohibited the publication of any document emanating from any minister of worship dwell-

ing outside the republic, and condemned to prison for life any clergyman found guilty of seeking to restore the monarchy or encouraging soldiers to desert or exciting rebellion against the government. Another form of declaration of submission to the republic was also provided, as if those already existing did not suffice to guarantee its safety. It consisted in acknowledging that the totality of French citizens was sovereign and in promising submission and obedience to the laws of the republic. Any minister of public worship who exercised his functions without making this declaration should be fined and imprisoned, and if he modified it or retracted it, he should be banished for life. As a final act of hostility towards the Church the Convention before it separated decreed on the 3d Brumaire, an IV. (25th October, 1795), that all the laws of 1792 and of 1793 against priests who were liable to deportation or imprisonment should be executed within twenty-four hours, and that the public functionaries who should neglect to do so should be punished with two years' imprisonment. On the following day it granted a general amnesty "for all matters connected with the revolution," but excluded from it priests who had been deported or were liable to deportation and persons who had emigrated. The Catholics had, however, reaped some slight advantage from the law of the 11th Prairial, in virtue of which fifteen churches were allowed to be opened in Paris, besides a number of private oratories, most of which were in the hands of the Catholic clergy; and a report drawn up by the police by the order of the Directory, dated 8th Floréal, an IV. (27th April, 1796), gives the number of churches and oratories known to the authorities as thirty-five, and that of the priests as at least 300, many of whom, it is true, were schismatic, while those who were Catholic had either retracted the first oath or had taken that prescribed in Vendémiaire with the consent of their ecclesiastical superiors. Many others, too, who had refused to take any oath were still concealed in Paris under various disguises and said Mass secretly in private houses.

When the Directory undertook the government of France the country was in a state of complete anarchy. In many places the people wanted bread; the roads were infested by armed bands of robbers; officials and contractors were amassing large fortunes by plundering the State. Though the nation was weary of the Revolution and longed for order and tranquillity, the first object of the new administration was to continue and even to increase the persecution of the Church. Thus by a circular of the 23d Nivôse, an IV. (13th January, 1796), addressed to the provincial authorities, they ordered all the laws against the clergy to be rigorously enforced, especially those of 1792 and 1793, which condemned to death any priest who returned to France after having been deported, or who, being liable to im-

prisonment, had not surrendered, but had hidden himself, as well as those who had concealed him. It was a return to the worst days of the Reign of Terror.<sup>10</sup>

The practical effect of these orders was not the same all over France. In many places they could not be carried out owing to the indignation shown by the people. Some municipalities were friendly to the clergy and were willing to give certificates to priests who took the oath only with restrictions. In some places the numbers of the faithful were so large that the churches could be opened and Divine worship celebrated, while the Jacobins did not dare to interfere; in others, on the contrary, the Catholics were driven to hear Mass in secret. It was in the west of France that the persecution was most severe, for there, owing to the prolonged resistance of the *Chouans*, or bands of armed peasants, who continued to carry on the war of *la Vendée* in the departments to the north of the Loire, flying columns of soldiers had been organized, and they also searched for concealed priests, whom, under the pretext that they assisted the insurgents, they immediately shot or bayoneted without any form of trial. This summary mode of procedure was never checked by the government, and it lasted until the time of the Concordat; for it suited perfectly the views of the Directory, as, if the victims had been allowed to defend themselves before a court of law, they might have a chance of being acquitted; and if they were condemned, their execution in public might revolt and exasperate the people. In the north and east of France, on the other hand, the priests who had fled the country were beginning to return; they were reopening the churches and administering the sacraments, and many of those who had taken the oath to the *Constitution Civile* were now retracting it and repenting their error.

There was a slight relaxation of the persecution when on the 14th Frimaire, an V. (4th December, 1796), both Councils repealed some of the clauses of the law of the 3d Brumaire, an IV. (25th October, 1795), and among others the tenth, which decreed the execution of the laws of 1792 and 1793 within twenty-four hours, and many priests were set free in consequence by provincial administrations, in spite of the opposition of the Directors, who maintained that the law of Brumaire merely enforced a more strict execution of previous

<sup>10</sup> The Directory had already showed by what spirit it was animated in the instructions which it had sent to the national commissioners in each department with regard to the priests who had refused to take the oath: "Déjouez leurs perfides projets sur une surveillance active, continuelle, infatigable; rompez leurs mesures, entravez leurs mouvements, désolez leur patience, environnez-les de votre surveillance; qu'elle les inquiète le jour, qu'elle les trouble la nuit; ne leur donnez pas de relâche; que, sans vous voir, ils vous sentent partout à chaque instant." Quoted by Picot, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII., p. 4, from the *Moniteur* of 19 Frimaire, an iv. (December 10, 1795).

laws, which were by no means abrogated by its repeal, and they continued to stimulate the animosity of their subordinates against the clergy until the elections took place by which a third of the Councils was to be renewed.

When the new Constitution had been created in 1795 the Convention had decreed that two-thirds of the new Councils should be formed of its members, assuring thereby a majority in the government to the men of advanced revolutionary opinions, under whose rule France had been drenched with blood. It did not, indeed, obtain the majority on which it had reckoned, as only 379 Conventionals were elected instead of the number they had hoped to obtain; but at the election of the 20th Germinal, an V., when one-third of the Councils was to be renewed, the Moderates, among whom were many Royalists, obtained a decided victory and found themselves in a large majority when the Councils met on the 1st Prairial (20th May). As petitions were now pouring in from all parts of France demanding liberty of worship and the recall of the exiled clergy, a commission was named to examine the question, and after considerable discussion the laws which sentenced priests to deportation or to prison for refusing to take any oath, as well as those which placed exiled priests in the same category as the *émigrés*, or punished the persons who sheltered the proscribed clergy were repealed on the 27th Messidor, an V. (1st July, 1797), by the Council of Five Hundred, and on the 7th Fructidor (24th August) this decision was ratified almost unanimously by the Council of the Ancients. The Councils were also about to sanction a purely political form of declaration of submission to the government of the republic, which every priest was to be bound to sign, but before it could be adopted an unexpected Revolution took place which revived the persecution with all its former bitterness.

Three of the Directors—Barras, Rewbell and La Révellière-Lépeaux—who represented the more corrupt and revolutionary element in the executive, saw that their power would soon be overturned by the Moderate majority in the Councils, which was resolved to restore peace and religious liberty to France; to establish order in the finances and honesty in the public service, and to change the foreign policy of the Directorate, which aimed at maintaining a state of warfare in Europe. They determined, therefore, by a sudden attack on the Councils to expel the Moderates and replace them by their partisans—the men who hated religion and who had gained by the Revolution; who had hunted priests and plundered churches; the speculators and contractors who drove advantageous bargains with them to the detriment of the State and for whom the triumphs of the Moderates meant the end of their illicit profits and a well-

merited chastisement. The Councils foresaw the danger which menaced them, but the more moderate members preferred to temporize instead of acting with decision; while the Directors, who were devoid of all scruples and who knew that they could reckon on the army, most of whose chiefs professed Jacobin opinions, assembled troops in the neighborhood of Paris, and gave their command to Augereau, a brave soldier, but ignorant and narrow-minded and an ardent Jacobin, who had been sent to them by Bonaparte from the army of Italy. More battalions were brought into the city by night, and at dawn on the 18th Fructidor, an V. (4th September, 1797), Augereau's soldiers seized the Tuileries, where the Councils held their sittings, and a proclamation, posted everywhere, informed the citizens of Paris of the discovery of a conspiracy of royalists and Vendéans which had been formed to assassinate the Directors, and that an attack had even been made on the guards of the palace of the Luxembourg, where they resided.

The members of the Councils who were favorable to the Directors (all the others had been driven away or arrested) immediately voted a law of proscription which empowered the government to deport Carnot and Barthélemy along with forty-two members of the Council of Five Hundred, eleven of the Council of the Ancients and some other political personages to the number of sixty-five in all, as well as the owners and editors of several newspapers. It also decreed that all emigrants returning to France should be shot within twenty-four hours; that any priest who should disturb public tranquillity should be deported, and that every priest allowed to remain on the territory of the republic should swear hatred to royalty and to anarchy and fidelity to the republic. The elections in forty-nine departments were also annulled. Persons related to emigrants were deprived of the right to vote, and the Directors were authorized to fill all vacancies in the courts of law. François (of Neufchateau) and Merlin (of Douai) were chosen to replace Carnot and Barthélemy, the former of whom, together with the majority of those who had been proscribed, escaped in time, and only sixteen were arrested and sent to Guyana.

It has been calculated that at that time there cannot have been more than 7,000 or 8,000 priests remaining in France, whether Catholic or schismatic, and against them there were published between the 18th Fructidor (4th September, 1797) and the 30th Prairial, an VII. (18th June, 1799), when the more fanatical members of the Directory were forced to resign, no less than 1,724 sentences of deportation. A considerable number, however, of those who were proscribed succeeded in evading arrest and concealing themselves, but 697 were imprisoned in the citadel on the Island of Ré,

66 in that on the Island of Oléron and 232 were deported to Guyana.

A still greater number of decrees were published against the Belgian clergy, which up to 1797 had undergone but little persecution, for although when Belgium had been first invaded by Dumouriez in 1792 the churches and the religious houses had been mercilessly plundered by the Jacobin commissioners sent from Paris, until even the general protested with indignation, no attempt had been made to introduce the *Constitution Civile*. But Belgium had been invaded again in 1794, the churches were again pillaged and whatever plate remained sent to Paris. The taxation of the country was increased to six times its former amount, and the Jacobins raised the guillotine and ruled by terror as in France. Some months after the fall of Robespierre a certain degree of toleration was granted, but on September 30, 1795, Belgium was annexed to France and divided into nine departments. The religious orders were suppressed and all Church property was confiscated, but instead of the *Constitution Civile* the oath of the 7th Vendémiaire, an IV. (28th September, 1795), which acknowledged the sovereignty of the people and promised submission to the laws of the republic, was imposed. The great majority of the Belgian clergy refused to take it, and the faculty of theology of the University of Louvain approved of their decision, but all public worship was suspended, though petitions demanding religious liberty and covered with thousands of signatures were forwarded from all parts of Belgium to the French Government. The decree of 24th August, 1797, by which the renovated Councils abrogated the most severe of the penal laws against the clergy, gave the Belgian Church at least some hope of peace, but after the treacherous betrayal of the 18th Fructidor the Directory extended to Belgium the same system of religious persecution that they had inflicted on France.

In October, 1797, Cardinal de Frankenberg, Archbishop of Malines and primate of Belgium, who had so courageously defended the liberties of the Church against Joseph II., was seized and sent into Germany. The University of Louvain was suppressed and the rector, Jean Joseph Havelange, deported to Guyana, where he died. All outward signs of religion were ordered to be destroyed; the crosses were pulled down from the steeples; the statues of the saints removed from their niches; the ringing of bells was forbidden, and the churches were closed. At last the Belgian people, goaded to madness by the outrages to religion and the exactions of the Directory, rose in rebellion. The immediate cause was the attempt to introduce the law of conscription which was proclaimed in Brussels on the 28th September, 1798, and was immediately followed by the appearance

of armed bands in every part of the country. The struggle was desperate, but of short duration, for though the insurgents fought bravely, they obeyed no central authority, they followed no settled plan, the few victories they achieved led to no practical result, and by the end of December, 1798, the movement was suppressed.

In the meanwhile, by a decree of the Directory dated 14th Brumaire, an VII. (4th November, 1798), some thousands of Belgian priests accused of being the enemies of France; of impeding the action of the government; of disparaging republican institutions, and of organizing the insurrection then in progress, were condemned to be deported. The sentence, happily, could not be carried out as fully as the Directors had intended, for though the clergy were pursued with the same animosity as in France, the greater number of those proscribed fled across the frontier, and others hid themselves and continued to minister secretly to their flocks while leading lives of unceasing dangers and privations. No less than 7,478 priests were mentioned by name in this document; 585 had been comprised in a previous decree and 162 in others which were published subsequently, amounting in all to 8,225; but the number of those actually deported to Guyana along with the French priests was 30, to the Islands of Ré, 222, and to the Island of Oléron, 126.

Rochefort was the first prison in which the persons, both lay and clerical, proscribed by the Directory were confined till they could be sent to Guyana, but the citadels on the Islands of Ré and Oléron were before long substituted for that colony, as the English cruisers rarely allowed any vessel to leave the port. At Guyana the greater number of those who were deported were sent to a station 30 leagues to the west of Cayenne named Conanama, the most pestilential spot in the colony, where they were lodged in roughly built huts and where they were so decimated by fever that when after four months a tardy feeling of compassion induced the authorities to transfer them to Sinnamary, a somewhat less unwholesome locality, sixty-nine out of 161 had already perished. At Sinnamary, an ancient mission of the Jesuits, the ruins of whose church still remained, the life of the exiles was somewhat less wretched. They even found means to say Mass in secret and teach Christianity to the Negroes of the colony. It was only some months after the fall of the Directory that by a decree of the Consuls of the 19th Fructidor, an VIII. (6th September, 1800), that the priests detained in Guyana were ordered to be brought back to the Islands of Oléron and Ré, where they were to present their claims to be set free, if they thought that the laws gave them that right. Their return took place very slowly by small detachments, about half on vessels of the State, the others on merchant ships at their own expense. Of the 263 priests banished to Guyana

160 had died there, and the system of deportation so favored by the Directory under the specious pretext of humanity had well earned its name of "*la guillotine sèche*," the bloodless guillotine.

The members of the clergy who were imprisoned in the citadels on the Islands of Ré and Oléron, though undergoing much suffering from overcrowding, insufficient food and insolence on the part of the officials, were at least spared the deadly climate of Guyana. On the Island of Ré, where they were more numerous, they lived as in a religious community. They established conferences on the Holy Scriptures and theology; they even prevailed over the ill-will of their gaolers so far as to be allowed to celebrate Mass, and the vestments which they made, the altar slabs, the sacred vessels which they used are still preserved as precious relics of a time of persecution in the Church of St. Martin on the island. After the fall of the Directory a decree of the Consular Government set free only the priests who had taken the oaths prescribed by various laws (for schismatics as well as Catholics had been deported), but many who had not taken them escaped at the same time. The Belgians were liberated in the beginning of the year 1800. Many were allowed to escape by the connivance of the authorities, and by the month of June nearly all the prisoners had left the island.

The Directory was as ardent as the Convention in seeking to impose on the nation the republican calendar which was proclaimed by the decree of the 14th Germinal, an VI. (3d April, 1798), as an institution most suitable for obliterating the last traces of the monarchical, aristocratic and religious rule. Every effort was made to hinder the observance of Sunday as a day of rest and replace it by the *Décadi*, and even the sale of fish on days of fasting and abstinence was forbidden.<sup>11</sup> But neither the vexatious interference of the police regulations with the markets and with the itinerant vendors in the streets nor fines and imprisonment were able to conquer the resistance of the people, which, as the reports sent to the Directory from all parts of France bear witness, still remained faithfully attached to the observance of Sunday and of the feasts of the Church.

But the corruption of the Directors and their scandalous mismanagement of public affairs had excited against them the animosity of the two Councils, which insisted on the resignation of Merlin and La Révellière, who were the special objects of their hatred, and on the 30th Prairial, an VII. (18th June, 1799), the Directory was almost completely renewed. Sieyès took the place of Rewbell, whose term of office had expired. Gohier took that of Treillard, whose

<sup>11</sup> Scicut, "*Hist. de la Constitution Civile du Clergé*," t. IV., p. 688: "Elles (les administrations municipales) s'attacheront spécialement à rompre tout rapport des marchés à poissons avec les jours d'abstinence désignés par l'ancien calendrier."



election was annulled, and Merlin and La Révellière withdrew in favor of Roger-Ducos and General Moulins. Barras alone remained of the original Directory. Nothing, however, was changed in the relations of the new Directors with the Catholic Church or in the lamentable condition of France. The country was impoverished by taxation; its commerce and its manufactures were nearly destroyed; bands of royalists were still fighting in the western departments; in the rest of France the high roads were infested with brigands; all public buildings and the edifices confiscated from the Church by the State were falling into ruin, for they had never been repaired since they had passed into the hands of the revolutionists, and in spite of the millions which the Convention and the Directory had plundered both from France and from the countries which had been occupied by the armies of the republic, there was not money enough in the treasury to pay the salaries of the public functionaries.

The French nation was weary of the Revolution and of its incompetent government. It saw that only a powerful dictator could save France from utter ruin, and when Bonaparte returned from Egypt he was hailed with enthusiasm as the only man capable of restoring order and prosperity. Bonaparte soon gained over to his side several of the members of the Council of the Ancients, and with their help and by his daring action on the 18th of Brumaire, an VIII. (10th November, 1799), he forced the Councils to adjourn after naming him Consul along with Sieyès and Ducos. When thus raised to the supreme power (for his colleagues had no real authority) Bonaparte adopted a more conciliatory policy towards the Church, slowly, it is true, and at first apparently with reluctance on account of the fanaticism of the Revolutionists who surrounded him and whom he was obliged to conciliate. But before studying the events which took place under the Consulate and the reconciliation of France with the Holy See it will be necessary to pass in review the course of the Revolution in Italy, its disastrous effect upon the people and the country, and above all its treatment of the Sovereign Pontiff Pius VI.

DONAT SAMPSON.

London.

## A TRANSFORMATION.

SOME years ago few drearier spots could be found in Ireland than the village of Foxford, in the County Mayo, which is one of the most congested parts of Connemara. One long, straggling street, silent and deserted, on each side a row of tumble-down cottages, badly thatched, damp, dirty—such was Foxford. A stagnant, desolate spot. The one thing of life was the swift flowing river, the rush of whose rapid waters seemed in startling contradiction to the prevailing stillness and torpor. On market days a semblance of life was given to the decaying village by the presence of men and women who came from the surrounding glens and mountains to haggle over the sale of a cow or calf or pig. But the loneliness of the wretched village was less depressing than this throng of hungry-looking human beings, whose rags hung loosely on their gaunt figures and whose dull eyes looked forth from cavernous depths with an apathetic stare, for it revealed the existence of deeper and more widespread misery and suffering.

The village is surrounded by bleak mountains and tracts of bog strewn with boulders which give a sombre gray look to the landscape. The soil is barren and hard to cultivate, and there is almost complete dearth of pasture. Scattered over this desolate tract are miserable holdings, rarely exceeding two or three acres in extent. The owner of eight or ten acres is regarded as a "strong farmer." The peasants work on these patches of boggy, unproductive land during the winter months, but with the beginning of spring all the men and youths take their departure for the agricultural districts of England, where they work as laborers until the advent of winter brings them home again, having earned during those months of exile sufficient to pay the rent for their wretched bit of land. Agriculture as practiced in Foxford was of the most primitive kind. When a bit of pasturage was wanted, instead of sowing grass seed, the land was left to the operation of nature. The winds might carry to it seeds from some other field, and by this slow process at the end of three years the ground would be covered with a thin mantle of green, weeds being far more plentiful than grass. No one ever thought of sowing new varieties of potato seed, so as to avert the danger of using seed taken from a field ravaged by "the blight," while prejudice prevented the employment of preventive measures to stay this fell destroyer.

The habitations of the peasants consisted of miserable hovels, many of them having neither chimney, nor fireplace, nor window; the turf fire burned in the centre of the floor, the smoke escaping

through a crevice in the roof, but more often by the door, close to which was the pestilential manure heap, poisoning the air and breeding deadly disease. Is it to be wondered at that at certain seasons typhoid fever was constantly recurrent as an epidemic? The one apartment which these hovels contained was shared by the inmates with the cattle and the pig. Within a radius of five miles 1,100 such abodes might be counted, and yet these people were not brutalized by their surroundings. The spiritual imaginative nature of the Celt soared above his squalid surroundings. He dreamed his days away blissfully indifferent to all discomfort. The brown, wind-swept bog and the mountains, with their shifting lights and shadows, are dream inducing. He knew the favorite haunts of the fairies, the "good people" as he terms them, and was well versed in the ways of the capricious elfin race whom it is so dangerous for mortals to offend. What marvelous stories of their power had he not heard from earliest childhood, told by the elders as they sat round the fire during the long winter nights.

These Connaught peasants, in the midst of poverty and dirt, are kindly, patient, resigned. It has been sometimes said that their resignation is akin to Oriental fatalism and is due to their Eastern origin. Courtesy to the stranger is one of their most marked characteristics. The "woman of the house" will welcome you to her poor cabin and give you the best seat it possesses. She will listen while you talk, never obtruding herself or her wants unless you question her. She identifies herself completely with her guests with an innate refinement which would become the highest in the land.

Much had been said and written about the terrible state of Foxford. Roman Catholic clergymen who visited the place from time to time for the purpose of giving missions declared it to be one of the most destitute districts they had ever seen. When Mr. Balfour went there in 1890, in order to assure himself by personal observation that the distress was not exaggerated, he was so impressed by the misery which he saw that he at once started relief works. So things went on until the year 1891, when a few Sisters of Charity took up their abode in the wretched village. The management of the national schools was confided to them, with the result that a marked improvement took place in the attendance, which previously had been lamentably out of all proportion to the population. The Sisters made a tour of inspection, hunted up the truants and found that in many instances non-attendance at school arose not so much from the parents' indifference as from the poor children not having clothes. Aided by friends, the nuns soon removed this obstacle.

Under their management the schools prospered. From far and near the children trooped in, attracted by the novelty of the new

régime, and still more so by the breakfast of milk and porridge which each one received. Poor children, a good meal was indeed a novel experience in their lives. But what was to be the future of these bright, eager children when the time came for them to leave school? Such was the anxious problem which suggested itself to the teachers. Were those bright, intelligent spirits to grow dull and dim—to sink into the listless apathy of the parents? Were they, too, doomed to drag out a wretched existence in poverty and dirt? The stony, barren soil had been taxed to its utmost and could support no more, even on starvation diet. Sub-division of the holdings had already worked much of the prevailing misery. Besides, education, which taught them the existence of better things, would create in those young souls discontent with the squalid misery of their homes. No resource was left save emigration to the great Republic of the West, there, most likely, to go down in the fierce struggle and be lost in the seething vortex of vice and misery of those Western cities, compared to which their mountain cabins were as Paradise.

The roar of the river heard by the nuns as they meditated on this question during the quiet hours of the night furnished the key to the problem. This great water power rushing to waste could and should be utilized to save the young generation. With these quick-witted women to think was to act. In an incredibly short space of time a factory was started provided with requisite machinery for the weaving of all kinds of woolen cloth, from the roughest frieze to the finest tweed for ladies' wear. The new venture had many difficulties to contend with at first—the objections of friends as well as foes, reverses, discouragement of all kinds. But the brave spirit of these women who were working for the regeneration of their fellow-beings carried them triumphant through all. The Congested Districts Board, which has done such good service in Ireland, came to their assistance with a gift of £1,500 and a loan of £7,000. This generous help enabled them to build the factory and stock it with first-rate machinery. Without such aid the project must have fallen through. To-day the factory is an unqualified success, providing employment to the youth of the whole district and famous for the excellence of its manufactures. And this, though the nuns are heavily handicapped with the payment of the interest, £600 yearly, on the loan of £7,000. But the work of the Sisters was not yet at an end. Success whetted their desire for further conquest. Something must be done to improve the homes of the peasants so that they might be no longer eyesores and plague spots, blots on the face of nature. And here the reformers set themselves a task, compared to which the starting of the factory was as child's play.

The Irish peasant is intensely conservative. He clings tenaciously to the customs and habits of his forefathers. He dislikes new-fangled ways; what was good enough for those who went before him is good enough for him. So he reasons. Besides, it must be remembered that those poor people knew nothing of the comforts of life. The advantages of cleanliness were practically unknown to them. They had been born and had grown old in the midst of poverty and dirt. They were listless with the listlessness born of bad, insufficient food, unhealthy surroundings and the want of any aim or object in life. It is hard, extremely hard, to convince a man of the advantages of a thing of which he has not the least conception. Well-fed, well-clad reformers whose lives have been spent in comfortable refined homes ought to remember this when they are tempted to rail at the squalid, dirty habits of the wretched denizens of foul slums.

But nothing daunted, the Sisters went to work. They advised, they pleaded, they cajoled, they bribed. Inch by inch they fought their way. By dint of superhuman patience and perseverance they succeeded in getting the manure heap removed to a safe distance from the door. The next step was to sow the space thus left vacant with simple flowers and vegetables, the nuns supplying the seeds. In all this the youth of the district proved powerful allies, in many instances the reformation being effected by their willing hands during the father's absence at a fair or neighboring town. The next step was to have the live stock removed from the dwelling. Timber and corrugated iron were forthcoming for the erection of a cattle-shed, and even the services of a carpenter from the factory at Foxford. Next attention was turned to the dwellings. Doors and windows were suggested, the suggestion, as usual, being accompanied by the offer of what was needful to carry it out. Apathy now gave way to the keenest interest. Men who had, with the utmost difficulty, been induced to remove the manure heap from before their doors manifested the greatest interest in the improvement of their houses, revealing at the same time unsuspected taste and skill. Gradually, but surely, the wretched hovels disappeared and neat cottages took their place, each with a shed attached for the live stock. The vegetables grown in the cottage gardens formed a welcome and hitherto unknown addition to the daily fare, the finest specimens being exhibited at the Cottage Industries Show which is held every year.

A friend who watched with keen interest the Sisters' work placed at their disposal a number of fruit trees. Forty families were chosen who were most likely to profit by the gift, and to each one ten trees were given. The trees were tended with great care and

now yield abundant crops. Forest trees were also obtained and distributed in the same judicious manner, with the result that the former gray, desolate landscape is now pleasantly diversified with white cottages surrounded by sturdy young chestnuts, sycamores and other trees.

The peasants have further been induced to employ modern agricultural methods in the cultivation of their tiny farms. Good crops of barley and oats are raised, and rye grass grows luxuriantly in the patches of meadow land. New varieties of potato seed are constantly planted, and it is no longer regarded as "flying in the face of God" to hinder the ravages of blight by the use of the spraying machine. The women, too, have been taught the value of poultry as a means of adding to the domestic revenues. Good breeds of laying hens have been introduced and instruction given in their proper care and management, so that the export of eggs promises in a little time to become considerable.

The Foxford of to-day is no longer the silent, deserted village of ten years ago. It is filled with the bustle and hum of prosperous life. Its houses are in good repair, the shops thriving, the one hotel clean and comfortable. From the mill built on the river at stated hours streams forth a crowd of bright, intelligent young people of both sexes, full of the joy of living which comes from healthful, cleanly surroundings and the consciousness of hours well spent in profitable labor. Eyesores and plague spots, wretched hovels and noisome manure heaps have vanished from the surrounding district. Snug cottages and pretty gardens have taken their place. The people no longer wear that listless look born of famine and despair; they are healthy and alert, as with renewed hope and life. Not that these peasants have become rich or that poverty has been banished from their midst. That would be impossible. Those little holdings of three, four or even ten acres of stony soil could never be productive of wealth. But they have learned to make the most of their resources; they have been taught the advantages of order and cleanliness. While remaining poor, they have become clean, tasteful, thrifty.

Such is the tremendous transformation effected in Foxford within the space of six years by a few women who have embraced a life of poverty and self-sacrifice. Not without great labor and at the cost of much heroic patience and self-denial have these marvelous results been obtained. Those apostles of decency and cleanliness lived amongst the people they would benefit, identifying themselves with them in every respect, sorrowing with them in their sorrows, rejoicing with them in their rare joys, bearing sweetly and patiently with all their faults and shortcomings, preaching as much by the

daily example of their own beautiful lives as by their words. These were no harsh censors, come to denounce and condemn from their lofty pedestals of virtue. They were the gentle, sympathetic friends of the people, with no end in view save the welfare of those for whom they labored. Would-be reformers of the poor and the dirty might do worse than imitate their methods.

The story of Foxford is interesting and at the same time instructive, showing as it does how a whole district was rescued from appalling destitution and the population lifted from the slough of hopeless apathy, so that where once poverty and her handmaidens, disease and dirt, stalked triumphant, industry and cleanliness now reign supreme. The story is rendered still more interesting by the fact that this was accomplished not by elaborate government measures nor munificent gifts from millionaires, but solely by the efforts of a few weak women whose lives were vowed to the service of their fellow-creatures.

E. LEAHY.

Dublin, Ireland.

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### JAMES BARRY.

THE inquisitive sightseer or critical *dilettante*, ubiquitous tourist or picture gallery lounge, loitering through the national portrait galleries in London or Dublin or the rooms of the Society of Arts, Adelphi, may have his attention arrested for a moment by a small but rather remarkable portrait, which a closer glance will discover to be that of James Barry, the celebrated Irish artist, the painter of the famous Adelphi pictures, the contemporary and rival of Reynolds. The portrait, painted by his own hand—the hand that did enough for fame, if not for fortune, and left imperishable memorials of the genius that guided it and illustrated the dawn of British art—is only a head; but such a head! Eyes, deep-sunken under shaggy brows, gleam with the light of genius and seem to look out abstractedly from the canvas into vacancy, like one lost in thought; while a heavy mass of hair, rude and unkempt, frames a face which would have been a study for Lavater—a face in which those who run may read the mind's construction, and in which all the more striking characteristics of the Celt are strongly marked, revealing to the hastiest glance the nationality of the original.

Barry was born on the 11th of October, 1741, in Water lane (now

called Seminary road), Blackpool, on the northern outskirts of Cork, not far from the Catholic Cathedral and at the base of a hill topped by the diocesan college and Bishop's house. A marble tablet inserted in the side wall marks the house, renovated and modernized, in which he first saw the light. The son of the captain of a small coasting vessel—who was also a publican<sup>1</sup> on shore, had been a builder in a small way—and almost literally “cradled by the rude, imperious surge,” since he was taken to sea at a very early age to be taught how to hand, reef, steer and box the compass, the young Blackpudlian was designed by his father—one of those *travailleurs sur mer* who cruise the Irish Channel—for a seafaring life. But nature had cast the plastic mind of Barry in a different mould, and fate had other designs in his regard than those entertained by the worthy “skipper.” The bent of his genius soon revealed itself. A “life on the ocean wave,” however inspiring a theme it may be for poets and songsters, is apt to lose much of its attraction when the distance which “lends enchantment to the view” is decreased, and instead of

. . . the pulse's maddening play  
Which thrills the wanderer of that trackless way,

one is thrilled with quite other sensations. But young Barry found an antidote against seasickness in the art which had already captivated his youthful imagination, and relieved the monotony of the short voyages he made along with his father by sketching in red and white chalk bits of coast scenery and other subjects that accidentally attracted his quick, appreciative eye. His extraordinarily rapid progress in drawing, self-acquired, and certain very pronounced traits of character—the germs of that strong individuality that became developed or over-developed in after years—together with the fact of his running away from the vessel, his ardent, active, self-willed nature rebelling against the tedium and restraints of life on board ship, convinced his father of his unfitness for that calling, and he was sent to school. The ripeness of his intelligence, which soon grasped all the rudimentary knowledge that his teacher could impart, and was cultivated and expanded by a private course of discursive reading—every book he could lay hands on being quickly and eagerly devoured, and the contents transcribed or committed to memory—and a deep religious sense imbibed from his mother, who was a devout Catholic, suggested the propriety of having him educated for admiration and began to attract the notice of local connoisseurs.

Left free to follow his favorite pursuit, it absorbed all his attention, as the walls of his father's humble dwelling, chalked with

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<sup>1</sup> Barry painted the sign for his father's public-house on the quay—Neptune on one side and a ship of that name on the other.



figures and other *al fresco* traces of his juvenile pencil testified. So intense was his application that he used to lock himself into his room and prolong his studies far into the night, until his mother, fearing that his health would break down or the house would be burned, deprived him of his candle; but only to afford her resolute son another opportunity of breaking through every restraint that would fetter his mind and exercising his ingenuity in supplying the want. Knowing that art is long and time is fleeting, he anticipated Moore and thought it wise to lengthen his days by stealing a few hours from the night; and, with a keener appetite for food for the mind than food for the body, contented himself with the coarsest and most meagre diet, and slept on the bare boards. Thus, endeavoring to make up for technical instruction in the mechanism of art by unwearied assiduity and a self-imposed discipline that savored of monastic austerity, he soon began to display a grasp of mind and a cunning of hand that filled his family and friends with ingenuous admiration and began to attract the notice of local connoisseurs.

At seventeen he began to paint, being already "master of a rough, bold and not inexpressive delineation of the linear elements of form." Five years later, in 1763, he sought a larger arena for the employment and display of talents, for the culture and utilization of which his native city afforded but few opportunities, and went to Dublin with several paintings, opportunely on the eve of an exhibition of pictures by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures in Ireland, subsequently known as the Royal Dublin Society. These results of his industrious pursuit of art under difficulties comprised "Æneas Escaping with His Father from the Siege of Troy," a "Dead Christ," "Susanna and the Elders," "Daniel in the Lions' Den," "Abraham's Sacrifice" and "The Baptism of the King of Cashel." The last named was a pictorial reproduction of the well-known legend of the baptism of Ængus, King of Cashel, by St. Patrick. The saint was represented leaning upon his crozier, with the point of which he has inadvertently pierced the monarch's foot; the King's guards, about to rush at the Apostle, are restrained by the heroic calmness of the young sovereign, who, thinking it is part of the ceremony, remains unmoved, while the bystanders gaze upon the scene in silent wonderment. The subject was a very happy selection, and at his own solicitation the picture was hung near two historical paintings by two eminent contemporary Irish artists, one of whom had studied in Italy. Barry's estimate of his own work, which thus challenged comparison with that of the best artists of the day, did not deceive him as to its intrinsic merits, which were readily recognized by the visitors to the exhibition, whither he hastened on the opening day to drink in with delighted ears the

applause lavishly bestowed upon his performance and see with his own eyes surprise and admiration depicted on the eager faces of those who thronged round his picture. Admiration soon gave rise to curiosity, and speculation was rife as to who was the artist—none could tell—when Barry, unable to contain himself any longer, came forward and said: "It is my picture." The gaze of the spectators, averted for a moment from the picture to the painter, lighted upon a youth whose rough, homespun garb and unsophisticated appearance seemed to cast a doubt upon his assertion, which was received with a laugh or a smile of incredulity. "Why do you doubt my word?" he added, full of the pride of conscious power. "I can paint a better." But they only smiled or laughed the more or turned aside with a shrug of the shoulders, until a person who knew him came up and established his identity. He was voted by the society a premium of twenty pounds, and the picture was purchased for presentation to the Irish House of Commons, where it was lost forever in the fire which shortly after occurred.

But the "open sesame" that unlocked for Barry the cave of fortune was a letter of introduction from Dr. Sleight, of Cork, to Edmund Burke, then private secretary to William Gerard Hamilton—"single speech Hamilton"—who had come over as chief secretary with Lord Halifax in 1761. Their acquaintance from first to last was cemented by a feeling of mutual esteem characteristically displayed by an incident related as having occurred at the time. They were discussing the principles of art in relation to taste, when Barry, happening to quote from a recent treatise published anonymously, Burke affected to speak slightly of it. Barry warmly defended the conclusions of the anonymous writer, and a protracted discussion was beginning to develop a spirit of combative partisanship, when Burke closed the controversy by acknowledging that he himself was the author. It was the "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," with which Barry had been so struck that he had copied it from beginning to end, as he told Burke, with many expressions of delighted appreciation. The philosophic and penetrating mind of the statesman-litterateur at once discerned in the painter a kindred spirit, and doubtless saw, with a kind of prophetic insight, that a distinguished career was opening before the young aspirant after fame.

No capital in Europe, perhaps, could boast of a more brilliant and intellectual society than Dublin at this epoch; and admitted to the inner circle, of which Burke—then entering on that sphere of action in which he was destined to achieve the highest distinction as an orator, a philosopher and a statesman, and to command "the applause of listening sensates"—was the bright, particular star, the self-taught son of the southern coasting captain, the struggling young artist

who, without any of the adventitious aids that social position supplies, had overleaped the artificial barriers that conventionalism interposes, and made his way to the front solely by the aid of the great gifts with which God had endowed him, continued for the eight months that succeeded his arrival in the Irish metropolis to mingle in the social reunions where such men as Grattan, Flood, Burgh, Langrishe, Lucas, Charlemont and other illustrious wits, orators, statesmen and scholars whose names belong to Irish history were a frequent and familiar presence. In such a congenial atmosphere—in a society to which intellect, and not mere fashion, gave the tone—the nascent genius of Barry, which would have been dwarfed by provincialism and chilled or stunted by poverty and neglect, grew and expanded. But while his intellect was rapidly ripened and polished by association with men of high culture, his pencil was not likely to find sufficient employment, at least in the branch of art which he essayed, and, encouraged to seek a still wider field, he went to London in 1764 with Burke's brother Richard. There, sojourning occasionally with the Burkes and Reynolds, he enjoyed all the advantages that the best literary and artistic society of the English metropolis—a society more numerous, but not more brilliant than that which he had just quitted—afforded. Although he is only mentioned twice in Boswell's gossiping biography of the great lexicographer, it is safe to assume that he was often one of the set of wits and worthies who foregathered in the Mitre tavern and took part in the discursive table talk of the select coterie of which Dr. Johnson was the moving spirit and Burke and Goldsmith<sup>2</sup> the *decus et tutamen*.

In October, 1765, he proceeded, at the suggestion of Reynolds, to Italy to complete his art studies, Burke, Reynolds and the Marquis of Rockingham supplying him with funds, for as yet no prejudice or jealous rivalry on either side had arisen to transform Barry and Reynolds from friends into foes. A sojourn of ten months in Paris was chiefly spent in drawing from the life in the Academy of St. Luke and inditing in his letters to Burke sharp criticisms on academies in general and French artists in particular, foreshadowing that propensity to be captious and critical which, later carried to excess, was his bane. On the 7th of September, 1766, he set out for Rome, that Rome of art "when art was still religion." In a letter to his generous fellow-countryman and patron giving an account of his journey, in which he showed that he could be as graphic with his pen as with his pencil, he writes: "My friend Barret was exceedingly out in his notions of Savoy and the Alpine country. The drawings

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<sup>2</sup> Goldsmith used to engage in art discussions with Barry, disputing the subtlest dogmas with the pugnacious painter.

he saw of them might be, as he said, bird's-eye views, but had he been here himself he would have made a very different work of it. He would have seen, as I did for about five days together, the most awfully and horridly grand, romantic and picturesque scenes that it is possible to conceive; he would say everything else was bauble and boys' play compared with them. All this tract down to Grenoble one sees the country *Salvator Rosa* formed himself upon. Nobody esteems *Salvator* more than I do, yet I must say he has not made half the use of it he might have done. The wild forms of his trees, rocks, etc. (for which he is condemned by some cold, spiritless artists whose notions reach no further than the artificial regular productions of their own climes), are infinitely short of the noble phrensy in which nature wantons all over those mountains; great pines of the most inconceivable diversity of forms—some straight as arrows, others crooked as a horn, some the roots uppermost—are hanging over frightful rocks and caves, and torrents of water rolling amongst them. . . . One thing, by the way, the people are just the species of figures for such a landscape; though I believe they may be as honest as they are said to be, yet every countenance has that ferocity and assassin look which *Salvator Rosa* has so truly, and so agreeably to the costume, introduced into his pictures." These art criticisms elicited the warm approbation of Sir Joshua Reynolds and were termed by Edmund Burke "admirable." Reynolds conceived high things of him and recommended him, above all, the continual study of the *Cappella Sestina*, adorned with the great works of Michael Angelo, and expressed a high opinion of a drawing of Alexander sent as a gift to Burke, which he thought "admirably drawn and with great spirit."

It were strange, indeed, if a mind like Barry's, in which the imaginative faculty predominated to an exceptional degree, surrounded by all, or most all, of sublime or beautiful that the brain had conceived or the hand executed, from the loftiest realized ideals of classical antiquity to the higher and more spiritualized conceptions of Christian art, had not taken the hue of its surroundings and drawn inspiration at a shrine at which men of all nations had long done homage to genius—genius purified and fostered by a religion that links elevation of thought to elevation of soul. Breathing, as it were, an atmosphere of art and elevated by the *afflatus* of the genius within and around him—genius in the abstract idealism of a mind teeming with artistic conceptions and genius in the concrete form of canvas that "glowed beyond even nature warm" and statuary that "filled the air around with beauty"—into a region of thought and aspiration far too lofty for the mediocre minds of some of those with whom he was brought in contact, and even for his own imperfectly devel-

oped powers of delineation. Imaginativeness was at once his strength and his weakness. His powers of conception surpassed his powers of execution; or, as Burke expresses it in one of his letters: "The extent and rapidity of your mind carries you to too great a diversity of things and to the completion of a whole before you are master of the parts." Besides, Rome at the time he studied there was to a great extent rather a market than a school of art; originality was repressed by false taste and false theories of art; *conoscenti*, best described in the words of Count Stroganoff<sup>3</sup> as *amateurs sans amour et connoisseurs sans connoissance*, who could only chatter:

The paltry jargon of the marble mart,  
Where Pedantry gulls Folly—

had established certain arbitrary canons of taste, to dissent from which would be an intellectual heresy; while picture dealers drove a flourishing trade in the manufacture of faked "old masters," to the detriment alike of art culture and commercial integrity.<sup>4</sup> "The keenness of his observation and the uncompromising independence of his spirit," says an able and impartial writer, "refused from the first the petty trammels of spurious taste; his masculine reason spurned all theories built on error; he flung aside with mental scorn the degrading chain with which prating *conoscenti* and quack discoverers of old pictures had bound the public; but his genius, or the superiority of his reason, were assuredly not equaled by his discretion and temper. Unhappily for him, he opposed fraud and prejudice with the zeal of fanaticism; in the ardor of conviction and in his eagerness to vindicate the great truths of art he omitted to see that he was crossing the interests and wounding the pride of those who surrounded him. His canons of taste could not be assented to; and his reasonings, not convenient to answer, were, of course, for the most part evaded by all the various little provoking resources so

<sup>3</sup> President of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg.

<sup>4</sup> Another distinguished Irish artist, Sir Martin Archer Shee, one of the presidents of the Royal Academy, in the preface to his "Rhymes on Art" (1805), says: "The superior wealth of this country and the almost incredible prices paid here for some celebrated collections, set in motion the trading tribes of taste in every corner of Europe. A general rummage took place for our gratification: all the manufacturers of 'originals'—the coiners of antiques—the dryers, smokers and stainers of the Worshipful Company of Cleron, were put in requisition to supply the voracity of our appetite. All rushed eagerly with their commodities to so profitable a market, and he was a more than unlucky traveler who could not turn his tour to account and pick up a Titan or a Corregio on his road. Thus has the nation been glutted with pictures of every description, from the best that genius can boast to the worst that fraud can manufacture, until all the wealth of individuals disposable for the objects of virtù has been diverted into channels from which our native arts can derive no advantage."

well known to cliques and coteries who have the game in their own hands. Poor Barry, by nature self-confident and irritable, was soon stung into a fever of indignation; and here, for the first time, seems to have been developed in his constitution the fatal seed of all the misfortunes of his after life."

It having come to his knowledge that his *protégé* was at variance with the artists and *virtuosi* of Rome, Burke wrote him a long letter full of words of wise counsel, in which candor and kindness were happily blended by one who was too honest to flatter, too feeling to condemn. "I had a thousand times rather you should fix your residence in Rome than here," he wrote, "as I should not then have the mortification of seeing with my own eyes a genius of the first rank lost to the world, himself and his friends, as I certainly must if you do not assume a manner of acting and thinking here totally different from what your letters from Rome have described to me. That you have had just subjects of indignation always, and anger often, I do no ways doubt—who can live in the world without some trial of his patience?—but, believe me, my dear Barry, that the arms with which the ill dispositions of the world are to be combated, and the qualities by which it is to be reconciled to us, and we reconciled to it, are moderation, gentleness, a little indulgence to others and a great distrust of ourselves, which are not qualities of a mean spirit, as some may possibly think them, but virtues of a great and noble kind, and such as dignify our nature as much as they contribute to our repose and fortune; for nothing can be so unworthy of a well composed soul as to pass away life in bickerings and litigations, in snarling and scuffling with every one about us. Again and again, dear Barry, we must be at peace with out species; if not for their sakes, yet very much for our own." And, having foreshadowed with prophetic foresight the inevitable consequences of these faults of character, he proceeds: "Remember we are born to serve and adorn our country, and not to contend with our fellow-citizens, and that in particular your business is to paint and not to dispute. . . . Do everything that may contribute to your improvement, and I shall rejoice to see you, what Providence intended you, a very great man. This you were, in your *ideas*, before you quitted. You best know how far you have studied, that is practised the mechanic, despised nothing till you had tried it, practised dissections with your own hands, painted from nature as well as from the statues, and portrait as well as history, and this frequently. If you have done all this, as I trust you have, you want nothing but a little prudence to fulfill all our wishes."

Barry hastened to reply to assure Burke that he had made the most of his time and labored to some purpose. "My vanity," he says,

“will offer you the proof of my assertion by the great pains that people have been at to hide me, even when they knew how perilous the attempt might be to their own characters.” He formed his style principally upon the works of Raffaele in the Vatican, Angelo’s marvelous creations in the Sistine, in which the great Florentine seems to have invested the human form with attributes of grandeur and beauty almost superhuman, and Titian, his favorite master, the splendor and glow of whose matchless coloring reflect the rich hues of an Italian sunset. But it has been observed that “though the course of study he pursued was one of the most intense and laborious assiduity, it was rather directed towards the acquisition of critical knowledge than for improvement in the mechanical resources of his profession; that he wasted too much on the study of forms and proportions that diligence which was wanting to obtain the mastery of colors, and too much neglected that study of *effects* as they exist in nature—the great source from which the masters of every school must attain the perfection of art.”

It is with Barry’s sojourn in Rome that another Corkagian, like himself endowed with more wit than wisdom, Frank Mahony, in that farrago of facetious fables, of facts and fancies, “The Reliques of Father Prout,” associates an imaginary meeting in the Piazza del Popolo between the artist and “the lone incumbent of Watergrass-hill,” who is made to describe the former as “a wild fellow” who had “a sort of confiding fondness” for him, “owing,” he says, “no doubt to our being both natives of Cork, or at least citizens thereof.” “What was my precise current of cogitation I cannot remember,” relates Father Prout, or rather Father Mahony in his pseudonymic personality, “but I was suddenly aroused from my reverie by the rough grasp of honest and affectionate welcome; mine eye gazed on the well-known countenance of James Barry. Then and there was I destined to meet thee, best beloved of my boyhood and earliest associate of my school days, with whom I had often played the traunt from the hedge academy of Tim Delany.

Morum prime sodallium!  
Cum quo morantem sæpe diem  
Fregi.<sup>5</sup>

Then and there was it my lot to encounter him whom I had remembered a shoeless, stockingless and reckless urchin, yet withal the life and fun in the classic purlieus of Blarney lane; ripe for every mischief, but distinguished among all the pupils of our excellent Didaculus by the graphic accuracy with which his embryo genius could trace in chalk on the school door or with slate pencil on those tablets sacred to Euclid, the pedant’s bespectacled proboscis. A red cow in

<sup>5</sup> Horace, lib II., ode 7.

fresco over Mick Flannagan's public house still exists to attest the early development of his pictorial talent; even then his passion for the fine arts was demonstrated by the fact of his having removed in the dead of night to his own garret the wooden effigy of a blackamoor that adorned the widow Brady's tobacco shop. I afterwards lost sight of him when he migrated from Cork to the miserable hamlet of passage on the harbor. His father, who had been a builder while in town, became, it appears, the owner of a small coasting craft, in which, sadly against his inclination, my poor James was doomed to roam the blue deep until he at last rebelled against his maritime destiny, and, 'taking up arms against a sea of troubles,' determined, in opposition to parental authority, at once to 'end them.'" Then Prout goes on to tell of Barry's wonderment at discovering his quondam acquaintance in a semi-ecclesiastical garb; how they adjourned to the Osteria della Sybilla in the Corso, and how Barry, with "the swelling tear of joyous enthusiasm in the full eye of kindling genius," drank the health of Edmund Burke, "his noble, his generous protector!" They parted at a late hour, Barry crossing the street to his modest *stanzina* in the Vicolo del Greco, and Prout to the cave of the Sybil to "dream over many a frolic of bygone days, over many a deed of Roman heroism; commingling the recollections of Tim Delany with those of Michael Angelo, and alternately perambulating in spirit the Via Sacra and Blarney lane." Barry, who, according to Prout, "retained in the maturity of manhood that accompaniment of inborn genius—the heart of childhood still fresh and warm in his breast," is made to indulge his sportive spirit at the expense of the priest; while a halo of romance is shed over the scene when the painter is depicted as falling in love with Marcella, the pretty daughter of Fabio Centurioni (the senior officer of the Vatican Gallery, who tenanted the Tarrione dei Venti at the extreme end of the palace), and who returned the affection of "the wild Irish artist." The romantic gives place to the melodramatic—or should it be said the farcical?—when Barry, who is said to have loved to study in the Vatican Gallery by night unobserved—safe from the jealously watchful eyes of the English artists in Rome, to whom he is credited with attributing a design "to appropriate the conceptions of his teeming fancy and to rob him of his originality"—suddenly pounces on an ecclesiastic, whom he mistakes for Nollekens playing the eaves-dropper, and who, to his dismay, turns out to be the Pope! *Risum teneatis*, etc.

If Barry was not caught napping in the Vatican or had any such midnight adventure as Prout evolved from his sportive imagination, he caught a chill there which developed into a fever. "Nothing could have made me more really happy," he wrote to Reynolds, "than



your very kind letter. It came most opportunely to support my spirits at a time when I was ill of a fever, which I believed was occasioned by a cold while working in the Vatican."

It is a pleasing relief to turn aside from the record of Barry's encounter with the small wits of the Roman studios, whom he fought single-handed, to a private letter to his father and mother, dated November 8, 1769, in which he reveals himself to us in the more attractive aspect of a fond relative in whom the absorbing pursuit of fame and familiar intercourse with men of high standing like Burke and Reynolds had neither impaired natural affection nor extinguished gratitude. He has been distressed at learning of the death of his brother John, who was qualifying as an architect, and is painfully anxious for further tidings from home. But he is somewhat reassured "in seeing that excellent man, Dr. Sleigh, interest himself about my father and family. Good God!" he pursues, "in how many singular and unthought-of ways has the goodness of that gentleman exerted itself towards me! He first put me upon Mr. Burke, who has, under God, been all in all to me; next he had desires of strengthening my connexion with Mr. Stewart, which is the only construction I could make of the friendly letter which I received from him in London; and afterwards he is for administering comfort to my poor parents. I shall, then, with the blessing of God, be in England about May next; and I hope there is no need for me to mention to one of my father's experience in the world how necessary it is to be armed with patience and resignation against those unavoidable strokes of mortality to which the world is subject. As we advance in life we must quit our hold of one thing after another; and, since we cannot help it, and that it is a necessary condition of our existence that ourselves and everything connected with us shall be swallowed up in the mass of changes and renovations which we see every day in the world, let us endeavour not to embitter the little of life that is before us with a too frequent calling to mind of past troubles and misfortunes; and, if ever God Almighty is pleased to crown my very severe and intense application to my studies with any degree of success in the world, I am sure the greatest pleasure that will arise to me from it will be the consolation it will give my dear father, mother and friends." Shortly afterwards the news of Dr. Sleigh's death reached him, and in April, 1770, he bade adieu to the Eternal City, stopping en route at Bologna to receive the diploma of the Clementine Academy, a distinction conferred in recognition of his already conspicuous merit, and to paint for his reception picture "Philoctetes in the Isle of Lemnos," a subject suggested by one of Sophocles' dramas.

When Barry returned to England the nation was only just after

emerging from the intellectual penumbra under which the latent artistic genius of the people had been partially eclipsed by the swarm of foreign artists, great and small, who, basking in the beams of royal patronage, had made London their happy hunting ground from the time of Henry VIII. downwards; until Hogarth, Reynolds, Barry, West, Wilson and Gainsborough rescued the country from the discredit of having no distinct school of its own.<sup>6</sup>

"The genius of Reynolds," Fuseli says, "was the first to rescue from the mannered depravation of foreigners his own branch;" but to James Barry undoubtedly belongs the chief merit, in the highest walk of art, of successfully disproving the assertions of Winklemann, Du Bos, Montesquieu and others that the British mind, owing to the adverse conditions under which it attained its development—its æsthetic qualities being impaired or altogether extinguished by certain peculiarities of race and climate—possessed no inherent adaptability to such pursuits; entering with characteristic warmth into the controversy and displaying a knowledge of history as profound and accurate as his knowledge of art.<sup>7</sup> "Barry's life," says a very judicious critic, "was a dream of the imaginary splendors of a restoration of ancient art; his spirit teemed with visions of the graces of Raffaele and the sublimities of Michael Angelo from the hands of British artists; and, in the impulse which England had now received, he dimly saw a day of glorious success, for which life would be, in his estimation, a light sacrifice." He aimed high; anything below this objective he disdained. "Rubens, Rembrandt, Vandyke, Teniers and Schalken," he wrote, "are without the pale of my Church; and though I will not condemn them, yet I must hold no intercourse with them."

Seized with this idea he produced, the year following his return to London, two fine classical compositions, "The Birth of Venus"

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<sup>6</sup> The Royal Academy was not established until Reynolds had reached the zenith of his fame. A private academy, with Sir G. Kneller as president, had been opened in 1711, but it split up into two or three rival bodies, which subsequently, at the instance of Hogarth, were re-united and became known as "the academy in St. Martin's lane." The proposal to establish an academy such as exists at present originated with Sir James Thornhill, but was not carried into effect until December 10, 1768, when the original society, chartered in 1765, was incorporated under royal patronage, although there were not as many artists as were required to constitute an academy. The first exhibition was held in a large auction room in Pall Mall, in May, 1769.

<sup>7</sup> See his "Enquiry Into the Real and Imaginary Obstructions to the Acquisition of the Arts in England," published in 1775. "The sagacious reveries of Du Bos and Winklemann on this subject," writes Sir M. A. Shee, "have been ably exposed by Barry in his spirited defense of English (*sic*) genius. He has indeed combated those philosophical speculators in climate with two-fold powers. He has employed his pen and his pencil with equal ability, and not only foiled them in argument, but confounded them in fact."

and "Jupiter and Juno"—the latter founded on the incident in the Iliad that gave Phidias the *idée germe* of his statue of Jupiter. But the latter failed to hit the taste of the town, not from any lack of merit, but because the public were not as yet educated up to the point of appreciating works of such a high and original character. "The heathen gods on Barry's canvas," says Cunningham, "appealed to no popular sympathy—to no national belief—to no living superstition; the mob marveled what they meant, and the learned had little to say." His next effort, "The Death of Wolfe," was even less successful; for, enamored of "the grand style," of which Reynolds was the theoretical exponent, he discarded the vulgar, unclassical costume of modern times and represented the hero of Quebec and his companions-in-arms *in puris naturalibus*, an anachronism that overstepped the fine line that sometimes divides the sublime from the ridiculous.

About this time he also painted two companion cabinet pictures, "Mercury Inventing the Lyre" and "Narcissus," and saw, or fancied he saw, an opportunity of giving visible form and substance to his loftier and more cherished imaginings when he, Reynolds and other leading artists, believing that one of the noblest functions of art was the moral as well as intellectual elevation of mankind, proposed to gratuitously embellish St. Paul's Cathedral with Scriptural paintings. The idea originated with Barry, and was first mooted by him shortly after he was elected an Academician (1773), and it had everything in it to awaken the warmest enthusiasm and call forth his finest powers. The consent of the dean and chapter was readily obtained, and Barry,<sup>8</sup> Cipriani, Angelica, Kauffman, Dance, Reynolds and West chosen by the Academy for the execution of this great undertaking, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London interfered and the project was abandoned. Barry's idea in this instance was as much an anachronism as his treatment of the death of Wolfe; he had mistaken an age of rationalism and utilitarianism for the ages of faith. The idea, however, was not destined to die, but to live, and, embodied in another form, to preserve the name of James Barry from oblivion. *Non omnis moriar*, said the Latin poet, and as long as the famous Adelphi pictures shall last the memory of their painter will not be forgotten.

When, in 1774, the Society of Arts was about to move into its new house in the Adelphi, it was decided to decorate the great room in which they held their meetings with eight historical and two allegorical pictures, the artists to receive in payment the profits arising from an exhibition of their work. The historical painters were the

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<sup>8</sup> Barry was to have painted the Jews' rejection of Christ when Pilate proposed his release.

six who had offered to decorate St. Paul's, with the addition of Mortimer and Wright; the allegorical painters, Romney and Penny. The response to the proposal—mainly, it appears, owing to Sir Joshua Reynolds—was a refusal. Three years afterwards, in 1777, had it conveyed to the society that one of the Royal Academicians was willing to take the whole work upon himself. The offer, first made anonymously, was accepted by the society before the name of the artist was revealed by the chairman producing his letter. "Barry," says Mr. Trueman Wood,<sup>9</sup> "was then young and little known,<sup>10</sup> full of confidence in his own powers and assured that nothing was wanting for him to make a reputation. Nor were his objects wholly personal. He was impressed—as well he might be—with the degraded condition of English art, 'fitted for nothing greater than portraits and other low matters from whence no honor could be derived either to the artist or to the country,'<sup>11</sup> and he believed that the production of 'some great work of historical painting' would refute the assertions of those foreign critics who declared English painters to be incapable of any permanent work, and would also serve as an example to his countrymen. Feeling at once the necessity of the work and the capacity within himself for executing it, he set himself to do it without, as it seems, considering or caring even how he was to live during all the years so long a task must occupy." It is characteristic of the man and his enthusiastic and unselfish devotion to art, and the great idea on which his mind was bent, that at the moment he imposed on himself this unpaid or underpaid labor of love he had no settled income, supported himself as best he could by etching, and had only sixteen shillings in his pocket! "He applied to patrons, principally members of the society, for a loan to assist him while he was at work, but it does not appear whether his applications were successful."<sup>12</sup>

The whole series of pictures was intended "to illustrate this great maxim or moral truth, viz.: that the obtaining happiness, as well individual as public, depends on cultivating the human faculties. To prove the truth of this doctrine, the first picture exhibits mankind in its savage or uncivilized condition, represented by people

<sup>9</sup> "A Note on the Pictures by James Barry in the Great Room of the Society of Arts," by H. Trueman Wood, secretary to the society, London, 1880.

<sup>10</sup> The writer, it is to be presumed, means little known outside art circles. Within them he was already sufficiently well known to be elected an Academician.

<sup>11</sup> "An Account of a Series of Pictures in the Great Room of the Society of Arts," by James Barry, R. A., professor of painting to the Royal Academy, London. Printed for the author by William Adlard, printer to the society. 1783. Introduction.

<sup>12</sup> H. Trueman Wood, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

inhabiting a wild and desert country, while Orpheus is explaining to them the advantages of culture; the second, "A Grecian Harvest Home," symbolizing agricultural development; the third, "The Victors at Olympia," typifying advanced culture; the fourth, "Navigation; or, The Triumph of the Thames," emblematical of the progress of modern commerce; the fifth, the rewards of culture illustrated by the society's distribution of its prizes, and the sixth, "Elysium; or, The State of Final Retribution," in which are grouped great and good men of all ages and nations who have acted as the cultivators of mankind. Much as Barry contemned mere portraiture or, as he termed it, "the wretched business of face painting," he introduces several portraits, including one of himself,<sup>13</sup> into his great pictures.

Begun in 1777, the series of paintings was finished in 1783. Two exhibitions, one held in 1783 and another in 1784, the former being attended by 6,441 persons and the latter by 3,511, realized £503 12s. for the benefit of the artist, who was the recipient of numerous congratulations, accompanied in some instances by subscriptions or orders for paintings. Among the visitors was Jonas Hanway—the introducer of umbrellas—who was so pleased with the pictures that he showed his gratification in a practical way by changing the shilling he had paid for admission for a guinea as he left. "The exhibition," says a centenary memoir in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*,<sup>14</sup> "was an important event in London life and is recorded by most of the memoir writers of the time; in fact, it was the talk of the town. Horace Walpole was greatly struck with the picture of the 'Olympic Victors,' the figures in which, he says, 'are fairly drawn and graceful, and the whole composition is simple and classic.'" Of the same picture Canova when in England declared that had he known such a work existed he would, without any other motive, have journeyed from Italy to see it. Boswell records Dr. Johnson as saying: "Whatever the hand may have done, the mind has done its part. There is a grasp of mind there which you will find nowhere else." "Those who have examined these extraordinary works," says Cunningham, "will hardly dispute that the artist grappled with a subject too varied, complicated and profound for the pencil. The moral grandeur of the undertaking and the historical associations which it awakened, together with the room which it afforded for the display of imagination, imposed upon the ardent and indiscriminating Barry; and he probably begun with desperate charcoal round the darkening walls of the Adelphi in the belief that the subject would unfold and brighten upon him by degrees; but the sunrise of knowledge and the

<sup>13</sup> The figure of Timanthes seated at the base of the statue of Hercules in "The Victors of Olympia" represents Barry himself at the age of forty-two. This was engraved by Heath (front. vol. III., *Society's Transactions*).

<sup>14</sup> No. 2,781, vol. LIV., March 9, 1906.

full day of art and science involved discoveries and inventions which painting could not well find shape nor color to express. The fault of the work lies in the subject: he that runs cannot read, and he who reads cannot always understand. The description of Barry's own pen opens the secret somewhat; without it those six pictures, instead of presenting one continued story, simple in conception and unembarrassed in detail, would appear like so many splendid riddles."

They attracted much and deserved attention and greatly enhanced the reputation of the painter, who made various additions to them almost up to the date of his death. Edmund Burke, who is credited some share in the work, as he was consulted as to the most appropriate class of subjects for treatment, expressed his admiration of the pictures, of which he anonymously wrote an account quoted by Croly in his "Life of Burke" (1840). "Eager crowds," says a writer<sup>15</sup> rather prejudiced against the artist, "asserted that Barry's incomparable genius would now at length be acknowledged. And, indeed, there was something very noble in the manner this uncouth, ignorant<sup>16</sup> and passionate man had worked. Nothing could daunt him, nothing make him alter his style by a hair's breadth. He might have acquired a fortune as a portrait painter, but he would be content with nothing less than the 'grand style.' History or allegory, treated with the most rigid classicism, was all he would attempt. So for years he goes on, neglected by the public, often with scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, but never relaxing his efforts, never swerving from his determination. And now he has his reward."

After two exhibitions the pictures lost the charm of novelty and public interest in them flagged. He chafed against this, and in a letter dated October, 1784, to the society he complained bitterly of this want of taste on the part of the public. Sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds had, he says, been squandered that year at Westminster upon a "jubilee of hackney'd German music—an empty hubbub of hundreds of fiddles and drums, which was dissipated in the air as soon as performed." While this musical performance drew "people of the first rank and condition" in crowds, his pictures, which were to have revolutionized English art, were being neglected in the Adelphi.

In 1798-1799 a gold medal and two hundred guineas were awarded to him "in testimony of his public zeal and eminent abilities manifested in the series of pictures in the Great Room of the Society."

<sup>15</sup> "Sir Joshua Reynolds" (Great Artists series), by F. S. Pulling, M. A., Exeter College, Oxford. London: Sampson Low, 1886.

<sup>16</sup> The writer is not warranted in applying such an epithet to Barry, who was highly intellectual, well read and could handle his pen as well as his pencil with equal ability.

The original design did not include pictures for the spaces over the chimney pieces at either end filled with portraits of Lord Romney and Folkestone, but in 1801 he offered to execute paintings, free of cost to the society, to take the place of these portraits. Although the proposal was at first readily accepted, it seems to have given rise to some difference of opinion, for the then president, the Duke of Norfolk, notified his intention of moving to rescind the resolution of the society for the removal of the portraits. Under these circumstances Barry at once withdrew his offer. On the death of Nelson the society proposed to commemorate the victor of Trafalgar in one of the pictures, and Barry had undertaken to execute the work, but he died before he could even begin it.<sup>17</sup>

The Adelphi pictures are, in truth, a splendid fragment of a design vast in its scope. The amplitude of the canvas harmonized with the amplitude of the subject, for each picture is eleven feet ten inches high; four of them being fifteen feet two inches, and the others forty-two feet broad; which elicited a long letter from an anonymous critic, in which the writer combated the fallacy that confounds size with sublimity. It is much to be regretted that they are not hung in a better light and in a more public place, where they would be accessible to the frequenters of picture galleries. As it is, they are all but lost to the nation that is fortunate in possessing them. Thousands upon thousands from year's end to year's end traverse one of the great London thoroughfares and never suspect that a most valuable art treasure is hidden away from public gaze in an unfrequented by-street a few paces from the Strand. Were one of the suite of rooms in Trafalgar Square or South Kensington allocated to them, ninety out of every hundred of the British public would

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<sup>17</sup> Besides the pictures in the Great Room, the society possesses the plates of a number of etchings by Barry, six representing the six pictures, but differing in many of the details from the paintings. The other etchings are nearly all from pictures of the artist, most of which are no longer extant. The society also possesses Barry's "Adam and Eve," one of his more important works, which he brought with him from Rome and finished in London; a portrait of Barry in middle age, painted by himself, as well as a pen-and-ink drawing made a few years before his death and a portrait of his mother. Of the drawing, subsequently etched by him, Charles Warren, the engraver, who bought it at the sale of Barry's effects, wrote: "I can answer for its being a strong characteristic likeness of that eminent artist and singular man." In addition to these are two portraits of the artist in the National Portrait Gallery, one by himself as a young man and a drawing in Italian chalk by William Evans from a cast taken late in life. There is another by himself at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Parsons bequest), where also hangs his "Adam and Eve." When his works were sold at Christie's, in 1807, they fetched very high prices, the "Adam and Eve" being purchased for 100 guineas. One of them, however, the "Pandora," which brought, unfinished, 230 guineas when resold in 1846 to pay the expense of warehouse room, only fetched 11½ guineas.

no longer being ignorance of their existence, and the knowledge that London galleries afford of the growth and advancement of one of the leading schools of art in Europe would be materially increased.

Meanwhile Barry's querulous disposition and combative character had estranged him from many of his brother artists. He had been waging a critical war *à outrance* with Reynolds<sup>18</sup> and the Academicians and aroused a spirit of hostility which pursued him to the bitter end. Even his guide, philosopher and friend, Edmund Burke, leaning more to the side of prudence than friendship, avoided him, preferring to maintain an attitude of neutrality, since, as Cunningham says, "to continue on intimate terms with one so fierce of nature, it was necessary to become his partisan, and like being second in a duel of old, when both principals and seconds drew their swords and fought the quarrel out." Barry, however, was not vindictive, and he frequently entered again into friendly relations with those he had previously treated as enemies. Fanny Burney said of him: "His passions had no restraint, though I think extremely well of his heart as well as of his understanding." His dispute with Reynolds was amicably arranged before the latter died, and, having sided with Sir Joshua in his contest with the Academy, he delivered an eloquent eulogium of the departed president as a man and an artist.<sup>19</sup>

Having been elected a Royal Academician in 1773, on the death of Mr. Penny in 1782 he was appointed professor of painting to the Academy. And here occurs one of the most regrettable episodes in his career. An uncompromising opponent of some of the prevalent views on art, he used the position conferred on him in recognition of his great attainments in the theoretical and critical departments of art quite as much to censure his fellow-academicians as to instruct the students. How far that censure was justifiable or otherwise

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<sup>18</sup> When the Marchioness of Thomond (then Lord and Lady Inchiquin) presented him, in 1794, with Reynolds' painting chair, he wrote: "This chair that has had such a glorious career of fortune, instrumental as it has been in giving the most advantageous stability to the otherwise fleeting, perishable graces of a Lady Sarah Bunbury or a Waldegrave, or in perpetuating the negligent, honest exterior of the authors of 'The Rambler' and 'The Traveler,' and almost every one to whom the public admiration gave a lousurency for abilities, beauty, rank or fashion. The very chair that is immortalized in Mrs. Siddons' tragic muse . . . may rest very well satisfied with the reputation it has gained; and although its present possessor may not be enabled to grace it with any new ornament, yet it can surely count upon finding a most affectionate, reverential conservator whilst God shall permit it to remain under his care."

<sup>19</sup> Prevented by the absorbing nature of his other occupations from preparing the lectures in time, the president, at one of the sittings of the Academy, drew attention to the delay in a manner which brought Barry promptly to his feet. "If I had no more to do in the course of my lectures," he answered excitedly, "than produce such poor, mistaken stuff as your discourses, I should soon have them ready for reading."



would open up a subject quite pertinent to the theme, but far too intricate and technical to treat fully and fairly within the limits of a biographical sketch. His lectures, begun in March, 1784, attracted a numerous attendance and were mainly devoted to the advocacy of the great aim he kept steadily in view throughout his life, namely, the superiority of the historical over every other branch of art. They are characterized by a broad and firm grasp of his subject, abound in great wealth of illustration and possess literary merits of an order that would justify the application to Barry of the eulogium Charles Dickens passed on the late Mr. Maclise—that, had he so willed it, he would have been as great a writer as he was a painter. Although tarnished by a tone of acerbity and personality,<sup>20</sup> they were subsequently adopted by the Royal Academy as one of the class books to be used by the students, and still hold their place among standard works of art.

His antagonism to some members of the Academy wrecked and ruined him. The contest, which he pursued regardless of personal consequences, culminated on April 15, 1799, in his removal from his professor's chair and expulsion from the Academy upon charges he was denied an opportunity of repelling—this harsh and undignified proceeding receiving the King's confirmation. Whatever may have been his faults—however irritable his temper or biased his judgment—the conduct of the Academy may be palliated, but not defended. Stung by his repeated reproaches<sup>21</sup> into a spirit of vindictive resentment, they arraigned, judged and sentenced him without permitting him to utter a word in his defense, ignoring alike what was due to their own dignity as a corporate body and the commonest principles of justice.

Thus rudely thrust outside the pale of a profession he elevated and adorned, he retired to his cheerless abode in Cosble street, near Oxford street, to end his days in obscurity, indigence and neglect, fulfilling to the letter Burke's prophecy that he would "go out of the world fretted, disappointed and ruined."

Careless of his attire and scornfully indifferent to the usages of a society from which he was self-ostracized, he had been living the life of an anchorite in a dilapidated house in the vicinity of Oxford Market, dining off delph, on which his dinner was sent him from a cook shop in Wardour street, his breakfast being supplied from a public house where that meal was prepared at an early hour for

<sup>20</sup> In his "Letter to the Dilettanti Society" he assailed the actual conduct of the Academy's affairs; denounced private combinations and jealousies; asserted that the funds were dissipated by secret intrigues, and proposed that whenever the judgment of the body was appealed to the honest vote of each member should be secured by oath.—Vide Cunningham.

<sup>21</sup> Sir Robert Peel, who profited by the sale of the annuity, gave £200 to pay for his funeral and to raise a tablet to his memory.

bricklayers or laborers of any kind at three pence per head, brooding all the while in misanthropic indignation over his real or fancied wrongs. He lived, it is said, chiefly on bread and apples and earned a very scanty income by etching for the print shops and supplying cuts and decorations for the commonest sort of books. A morbid imagination that "made the meat it fed upon" had filled his mind with haunting suspicions of conspiracies and cabals, and, fearing to be either poisoned or poniarded, he had become distrustful of even the solitary attendant, an old Cork woman who used to wait on him at his former lodgings in St. Martin's lane; and with one room for kitchen, parlor and studio, in which culinary utensils and art appliances were huddled together "in most admired disorder," he lived in utter loneliness, cooking and performing every menial office for himself. "He wore at that time," writes Southey, "an old coat of green baize, but from which time had taken all the green that incrustations of paint and dirt had not covered. His wig was one which you might suppose he had borrowed from a scarecrow; all round it projected a fringe of his own gray hair. He lived alone in a house which was never cleaned, and he slept on a bedstead with no other furniture than a blanket nailed on one side." "His last years," says the writer in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* already quoted, "were spent in poverty and seclusion, but he did nothing to forfeit the respect of his fellow-men. He rather starved than borrowed from his friends."

The sum realized by the exhibitions at the Society of Arts was stolen by housebreakers, and he was indebted to the Earl of Radnor and two gentlemen named Holles for the amount of his loss, which they generously made up between them. He began, but owing to the want of means was unable to complete, a series of pictures on the progress of theology. At length, through the instrumentality of the Earl of Buchan, a subscription amounting to a thousand pounds was raised and an annuity of £120 purchased from Sir Robert Pell.<sup>22</sup> But it was too late. The hand of death was on him, although one saw it not. Mental labor and mental anxiety, which for years had been slowly undermining his constitution, had done their fatal work. The delicate fibrous structure of a nervous system constantly overwrought could no longer endure the strain; and the heart which, if quick to resent ill-treatment was as prompt to thrill responsive to the voice of friendship, soon ceased to beat forever.

The closing scene in this life drama, full of passion and pathos, is thus graphically described by one of his most intimate friends: "On the evening of Thursday, February 6, 1806, he was seized, as he entered the house where he usually dined,<sup>23</sup> with the cold fit of a pleuritic fever of so intense a degree that all his faculties were sus-

pended and he was unable to articulate or move. Some cordial was administered to him, and on coming a little to himself he was taken in a coach to the door of his house, which, the keyhole being plugged with dirt and pebbles, as had been often done before by the malice or perhaps the roguery of boys in the neighborhood, it was found impossible to open. The night being dark and he shivering under the progress of his disease, his friends thought it advisable to drive away without loss of time to the hospitable mansion of Mr. Bonomi. By the kindness of that good family a bed was procured in a neighboring house, to which he was immediately conveyed. Here he desired to be left and locked himself up, unfortunately, for forty hours, without the least medical assistance. What took place in the meantime he could give but little account of, as he represented himself to be delirious and only recollected his being tortured with a burning pain in his side and with difficulty of breathing. In this short time was the deathblow given, which by the prompt and timely aid of copious bleeding might have been averted; but such had been the reaction of the hot fit succeeding the rigors and the violence of the inflammation on the pleura that an effusion of lymph had taken place, as appeared afterwards upon dissection. In the afternoon of Saturday, February 8, he arose and crawled forth to relate his complaint to the writer of this account. He was pale, breathless and tottering as he entered the room, with a dull pain in his side, a cough, short and incessant, and a pulse quick and feeble. Succeeding remedies proved of little avail. With exacerbations and remissions of fever he lingered to the 22d of February, when he expired."

His antagonists in the Academy carried their resentment so far as to refuse to permit his remains to lie in state in their rooms, and gratified their mean malevolence in allowing him "to be borne to the grave by hands that had never touched a pencil." "The conduct of the Academy," says Cunningham, "was no doubt conformable to etiquette; but Barry, though he had sinned against their rules, had done nothing to lower him in the general estimation of mankind. He might be, in their eyes, a degraded Academician—no one could call him a degraded artist; and the remains of a man of genius had surely a claim to some concession at their hands." They were removed to the Society of Arts<sup>24</sup> and lay in the room he had toiled

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<sup>22</sup> An eating house, near Castle street, Oxford street.

<sup>23</sup> The following are the words of the resolution passed by a unanimous vote by the society on the occasion of his death: "That permission should be given to the persons conducting the funeral of the late Mr. Barry to place his body in the Great Room of the society the night previous to his interment, as the last tribute in the power of the society to offer to the remains of the illustrious artist, to whose labors it is indebted for the series of classical paintings which adorn its walls."

with head and hand to make a shrine of genius whither votaries should come in after years to pay the tardy tribute of posthumous praise to his memory—now the scene of barren honors as it had been of a triumph all but barren—until they were borne to St. Paul's to be laid by the side of Reynolds in the crypt where the earthly remains of earthly greatness point a moral whose wide import grasps the present and the future and reaches beyond the tomb.

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### THE CHRISTIAN ALTAR.

WHEN the poets of antiquity wish to depict the simplicity of primitive times they speak of mounds of turf, *gramineae area*, or blocks of stone as the altars whereon in the earliest ages men deposited the votive offerings they made to the Deity. The first instance of the use of the word altar in Holy Scripture is when Noe built an altar unto the Lord and offered an holocaust in thanksgiving for the cessation of the deluge. Abram likewise raised an altar at Sichem, Isaac at Bersabee, Jacob at Salem, Moses after the victory over Amalec, Samuel at Ramatha, Saul after the decisive defeat of the Philistines. It is recorded that David purchased a site on which to build an altar and offer sacrifices of propitiation to stay the plague raging among his subjects after he had numbered them.

Not only the nature of the sacrifices, but also the material and construction of the Old Testament altars was divinely prescribed. God commanded Moses to make an altar of earth unto Him, or if of stone, not to build it of hewn stones. The altars of Baal were in groves. This was strictly prohibited to the Jews: "Thou shalt plant no grove nor any tree near the altar of the Lord thy God." (Deut. xvi., 21.) Gedeon was instructed to raise an altar on the summit of a rock; Elias built an altar composed of twelve stones on Mount Carmel. In Solomon's temple an altar of cedar wood plated with gold stood before the Ark of the Covenant in the Holy of Holies for incense; others made of setim wood overlaid with brass were used for burnt offerings; these were not solid, but hollow inside like a chest. The early form of the altar was square, with a cavity or depression in the centre for fire, or for the libations of water or wine. The Greeks and Romans erected altars in public places; thus it was that St. Paul saw at Athens the one dedicated

to the unknown God. The *ara masima* of the Romans was dedicated to Hercules and asserted to have been constructed by him.

The terms *ara*, *altare* were at first distasteful to Christians on account of heathen associations. Hence in the writings of the Latin Fathers use is made of the word *menso* (a table whereat to eat and drink) to designate the table or raised surface whereon the Holy Eucharist is celebrated. In order to avoid the profane sense they attached to it a distinguishing predicate: *mensa sacra*, *mystica*, *divinia*, *coelestis*, etc.; the word *thusiasterion*, from the Greek sacrifice, was also employed. As the Christians naturally shrank from disclosing to the heathen details of their worship, their enemies used to taunt them with having neither temples nor altars. *Cur nullas aras habent?* was often asked reproachfully. *Ara* is frequently applied by Tertullian to the Christian altar, though not without qualification: *ara Dei*, *ara Domini*. In rubrics *ara* designates a portable altar or stone slab. By far the most common designation in liturgical diction is *altare*, a high or raised altar, from *altus* (*alta-ara*). *Altarium* is used by later writers; the canons of the Council of Anserre decree that Mass is not to be said more than once a day *super uno altario*. In most European languages the word in use for the Lord's table is derived with slight change from *altare*; in Russia, however, *prestos*, properly a throne, is employed.

The Levitical altar, as has been said, was four square; the Christian altar was somewhat longer than broad, owing probably to the custom of the church of the catacombs of offering the divine mysteries over the place where the martyrs were interred. These *arcosalia* were excavations about three feet from the floor of the oratory, in the tufa forming the walls of the catacombs, large enough to receive one or more bodies, covered with a slab of marble and surmounted by an arch. These altars frequently bore the name of the martyrs in whose honor they were raised. St. Augustine (sermo 310) speaks of *mensa Cypriani*; hence in the first centuries it was necessary to guard against the danger of regarding the Mass as a sacrifice or libation offered to martyrs resting under the altar: "Them that were slain for the Word of God and the testimony that they held." (Apoc. vi., 9.) Nor was it only in Rome that altars and memorials of martyrs were strictly associated. The custom of celebrating Mass above the spot where their remains were interred probably arose from the disposition to look on the sufferings of confessors of the faith as analogous with the sacrifice of Christ commemorated and perpetuated in the Holy Eucharist, and gave rise to the long-established rule that the altar must contain relics of some saint. This occasioned a change of material as well as of form. The earliest altars were tables of wood. In the high altar

of St. John Lateran in Rome, at which the Pope alone may say Mass, is a portable altar, the top and sides of wooden planks, used by St. Peter in the house of Pudens, and for his daily Mass; used also by the first Popes in the catacombs. It was saved at great risk of life from the conflagration of 1318. There is abundant proof that in Africa the holy table was of wood up to the end of the fourth century. Athanasius, speaking of the outrages committed by Arians in the orthodox church, says that they burnt the table with other fittings of the church. The Donatists broke up and used for fire-wood the altars in the churches of their rivals. It is said they beat the Catholic Bishop cruelly with clubs as he stood ministering at the altar and afterwards with broken pieces of the timber of the altar. In Gaul, according to Martine, wooden altars were in use in the sixth century and in England up to a much later date. The historian William of Malmesbury records that Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester from 1062-95, demolished the wooden altars which still remained in his diocese as in ancient times; *altaria lignea jam unde a prisicis diebus in Anglia.*

When in the fourth century the Church enjoyed freedom of worship, fixed altars of stone, square in shape, were principally used in Rome. The Christian sacrifice being without shedding of blood, the altar was always in the interior of a temple. If not a solid, simple block, it consisted of a horizontal slab of stone, or marble, supported by two upright slabs or by one or more pillars of polished stone. Some of these are still extant; witness that in the crypt of St. Cecilia in Rome, which is a stone slab resting on one column in the centre, and another, recently discovered at Avignon, having five pillars. Pope Virgilius describes how, when his persecutors sought to pull him away from the altar, he clung to the pillars, and the altar was so shaken that it would have fallen had not the clerics held it fast. In some of the earlier mosaics in the Cathedral of Ravenna the altar is represented as a table supported by columns with capitals; the tables are of red or gold color, indicating the use of porphyry or gilt bronze as the material. The altar of the Church of Santa Sophia in Constantinople, rebuilt by Justinian in 532, is of great magnificence, gold decorated with precious stones, resting on gold pillars. And as the nations of the West accumulated wealth on the cessation of the inroads of the Scandinavian sea kings, instances occur of the use of precious metals to show the reverence felt for the altar.

Yet the current of ecclesiastical legislation set steadily in favor of stone as the canonical material of the altar, and the rule was established that if not all, a part at least must be of stone—a slab large enough for the sacred vessels to stand upon, in which five crosses

were incised. Gregory of Nyssa mentions the stone of which altars were made being hallowed by consecration. The Council of Epaona (Pamiers, France) in 517 forbade any others but stone to be consecrated with chrism; and two and a half centuries later Charlemagne ordered that priests should not celebrate except *in mensis lapideis ab Episcopis consecratis*. In the East at all times the material of the altar was deemed of little importance; down to the present day wood, stone or metal is used. In England at the Reformation an order was issued to destroy the altars and replace them by wooden tables. In Mary's short reign this was reversed, but under Elizabeth the work was carried out so thoroughly that only in thirty instances do the old stone altar slabs yet exist. One of these alone is still in use at Arundel. At the time of the Crusades portable altars, *altaria viatica, gestatoria* were introduced. They generally consisted of a slab or disc of stone or marble set in a decorated metal frame.

In the early times the altar stood either in the centre of the nave or under the arch of the apse, on all sides free so that the worshipers could surround it. The officiating priest faced the people, as is still the case in St. Peter's at Rome, and there only, although in many churches in Italy the altar retains its ancient position. After the tenth century, the churches being more spacious, the altar was put back to the east end of the sanctuary, and the priest stood with his back to the people. The first known instance of the orientation of churches is that of St. Agatha in Ravenna, 417; yet from Apostolic times the early Christians were accustomed to look towards the east when praying, either in remembrance of their original home, the Paradise they had lost, or because the coming of Christ, the Sun of Justice, was looked for from the east. Later on the orientation of churches spread rapidly and became the rule.

Anciently there was never more than one altar in a church. Traces of a plurality of altars appear in the sixth century. Constantine erected three in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. In the ninth century the Church of St. Gall, in Switzerland, had seventeen altars. In early times the oblation was consecrated by the Bishops in their own churches and carried by deacons to others without the walls, or coemeteries, in which liberty to consecrate the sacred elements was not given. The decree of Anserre forbidding two Masses to be said at the same altar on one and the selfsame day contributed to the multiplication of altars, so much so that it had to be restrained by Charlemagne. There is now no rule as to the number of altars. There are twenty-five in St. Peter's, and elsewhere a still larger number. The Greeks have kept to the original rule of one altar only in each basilica. In the East, as in the West, a repository containing relics of the saints had its place

beneath the altar. This was a custom strictly adhered to, as St. Ambrose says (ad Marcellinum Ep. 85): *Ille* (Christus) *super altare, isti* (martyres) *sub altari*. It is recorded that some altars could not be consecrated for lack of relics.

To these two integral parts of the altar, the *mensa*, or table, the relics, *confessio*, in the crypt under the altar, in ancient times a third was added, the *ciborium*, or baldachin, over the altar. Usually, not invariably, the altar was raised on one or more steps and isolated by a balustrade or enclosed within low railings of wood, stone or metal, *ambitus altaris*, the *cancelli* of Italy. Upon these enclosures columns were erected, supporting arches from which curtains of rich material were suspended. The *ciborium*, *umbraculum*, as it was then called, was a canopy whereby the altar was covered, a pyramidal dome or round spire resting upon four pillars, generally of silver or marble, sometimes of gold or decorated with precious metals. The four pillars represented the four corners of the world (then believed to be square), in the midst of which the sacrifice of propitiation was offered. The superstructure symbolized the vault of heaven, the dove suspended therefrom the Holy Ghost hovering over the sacrifice sent by the Father to testify of the Son and invoked by the celebrant in the words: *Veni sanctificator*. From the four sides hung veils to hide the sight of the altar from the people during the sacrifice. The *oratio veli*, *Aufer a nobis*, said when the priest ascends the steps of the altar, was formerly said after the introit, and the curtains were not withdrawn until after the consecration; hence the custom of announcing it by the sound of the bell to the assembled worshippers. St. Chrysostom bids the people think when the veil is withdrawn that heaven is opened and the angels are descending, for Christ is slain anew. The distinguishing feature of Christian worship in the fourth and three or four following centuries is, as Mr. Bishop points out (*Downside Review*, W. 71, p. 5), the prominence and reverence given to the holy table as the place of sacrifice. It was considered too holy to bear anything but the mystic oblation itself and the sacred vessels, the linen cloths necessary for the offering of the "awful," "tremendous" sacrifice, the "Divine Mysteries." If the Book of the Gospels lay on the altar from the beginning of the Mass until the Gospel was read, it is to be remembered that the Gospel was regarded as representing our Lord Himself. Everything of the nature of ornamental accessory was around, above, but apart from the altar. In the idea new in the then triumphant Church that the holy sacrifice was not merely a "mystery of faith" that must be withdrawn from the eye of the unbeliever, but a mystery so "dread" that upon it not even the Christian might gaze, we have in a great measure the explanation of the



ciborium, as it was then called, the baldachin on four columns. First, the altar must be veiled; it afforded a convenient means of hanging up curtains. Secondly, it served for honor; the existence of a dais, a covering over and marking the seat of or station of the ruler, the pontiff, existed in the instinct of the people; it was surely fitting to render the same honor to the King of Kings. Lastly, it afforded opportunities for adorning the altar without infringing on the idea of the inviolable sanctity of the holy table. Was it desired to have lights over and around the altar? They could be hung from the ciborium. Flowers? the wreath could be twined round its columns, while precious metals, gold and jewels could enrich the altar by means of crowns suspended by chains from the roof of the ciborium.

In the East a screen with doors answered and still answers the same purpose as the curtains of the ciborium did of old in the West. To this day the *iconostasis* of the Russo-Greek Church effectually shuts off the people from the sacrifice of the altar. And here we may observe the different way of viewing the Christian sacrifice as an act of worship. In the Greek liturgies the dominant note is this: the concern of the officiating priest, personally and individually, for his own unworthiness to offer the sacrifice, whilst the Roman formulæ indicate that the sacrifice is the combined sacrifice of priest and people; *et plebis et præsulis*. In the East the iconostasis, like a wall separating the church into two distinct parts, one for the clergy, the other for the laity, prevented any development or modification of the altar. In the West the publicity of the Mass, the union, the junction of priest and people in offering the holy sacrifice maintained in spite of rood screens, has given room for change and evolution in the altar and its accessories.

The gold or silver dove, suspended by a chain from a ring or hook in the centre of the roof of the ciborium, was employed as a receptacle for the Sacred Host reserved for viaticum for the sick, not for the ordinary communion of the faithful nor as an object of worship. It would appear that previously to the fourth century there was no reservation of the Blessed Sacrament on account probably of the danger of desecration in times of persecution; at any rate, ecclesiastical writers are silent on this point. The dove was a symbol of Christ; of Christ on the altar clothed with the Holy Spirit. Tertullian calls the Church *colombæ domus*. This was the most ancient form of pyx. An iron hook may yet be seen in the cupola of the ciborium of several ancient Roman basilicas, whence to suspend the dove or the chest containing it. Martigny asserts that not unfrequently a lesser ciborium resting upon the altar, called *peristerion*, or *turris*, supposed to represent the sepulchre of our Lord hewn in

the rock, contained the pyx. Constantine the Great gave to St. Peter's a paten, tower and dove of refined gold decorated with 215 pearls and weighing thirty pounds. Pope St. Hilary gave to the baptistry of St. John Lateran a silver chest or tower—*turrem argenteam*—containing the *columbam auream*. The doves were sometimes of ivory or copper gilt. These "towers" were generally cylindrical, with a dome or vaulted roof. It is probably of them that mention is made in the pastoral of Pope Leo IV. at the close of the eighth century, restricting the objects placed on the altar to "shrines (capsae) with relics of the saints, or perchance the four Holy Gospels, and a pyx or tabernacle in which our Lord's Body was reserved for the sick." Tapers were not allowed upon the altar in early times, though it was an ancient practice to place lights about it, especially on festivals, as typical of hope and joy or of the light of faith and charity. The candlesticks stood around or were held by acolytes. The presence of relics upon the altar was an innovation, since originally nothing was permitted to be placed on it except what appertained to the holy sacrifice. Odo of Cluny states that in the ninth century when relics of St. Walburgis were laid on the altar they ceased to work miracles, resenting being placed "*ubi majestas divini mysterii solummodo debet celebrari.*"

The change, we are told, involved in the permission cited above to place relics on the table was destined to modify the character, disposition and even situation of the altar. The new spirit of devotion to relics and the desire of acquiring them, often entire bodies of saints, required that instead of lying underground they should be raised up, put on the altar. Moreover, the Norman incursions in the latter half of the ninth century compelled many priests and monks along the whole of Western France and the seacoast of England to convey the bodies of the saints wherewith their churches were enriched farther inland for safety. These translations by bringing new relics to churches promoted the cultus and also contributed to bring into fashion portable reliquaries or shrines as distinguished from the tombs or repositories of solid masonry beneath the altar. It was also desired that the reliquary should no longer be under the altar, concealed by antependia, plates of gold or silver, chased and representing subjects of Gospel history or by draperies hung round the sides of the holy table, but be placed on or above it. "It is to be remembered (Mr. Bishop says) that at the time of which we speak the practice of dividing the bodies of the saints was not yet in vogue; indeed, it ran counter to the then prevalent feelings of reverence. Shrines were therefore large, as large as the altar, larger, indeed, than the simple cubes which ancient piety had found sufficient and becoming. The relic chest, which required a

solid base, was commonly placed at right angles with the altar, close to the back and in the centre of it, one end resting upon the altar itself, forming (as it was adorned with jewels) a rich centrepiece where our tabernacle now stands. Under this new system of arrangement the ciborium was made to cover not the altar only, but the shrine also, and gradually it fell into disuse. . . . Whereas the old altars had, as it were, neither back nor front, but were free all round and looked alike to the singers and the people on the nave side and to the clergy ministrant in the presbytery, the new combination of altar and shrine gave to the altar a back and a front; so the way was paved for placing, in defiance both of precedent and ancient reverence, the altar against the wall of the church. Moreover, there arose a natural tendency to lengthen the altar, and the fashion once started, the oblong shape became more and more pronounced. This of itself tended to hasten the disuse of the old ciborium resting on four columns and with solid roof, and with its disappearance other changes came. We have seen that it served on its summit to bear the cross, beneath suspended lights and pendant crowns, besides curtains and adornments devised by ingenious piety. For these a place must be found. The principle of the inviolability of the Lord's board once infringed, the practice of its infringement was destined to go far. The holy table being no longer reserved exclusively for the sacrifice, why should not a cross, lights, flowers be placed on it? So it was done, little by little, now here, now there." The pyx was suspended from branches, brackets or from figures of angels.

Although the ciborium in most places disappeared, the altar was not left without canopy or covering. In the thirteenth century several councils, in South Germany particularly, prescribed that a white linen cloth should be stretched above the altar over its whole length and breadth, to keep off dust and as a mark of reverence. This was only to provide for cases of poverty; elsewhere the canopy or *celatura* might be of rich materials. Linen altar cloths, *mappe*, were also laid on the altar slab to preserve cleanliness and prevent any particle of the Sacred Body or drop of the Precious Blood being lost. They symbolized the clean linen cloth wherein the Lord's Body was wrapped, and were requisite in Apostolic times more especially when the bread crumbled when broken, the loaves offered by the faithful being used. These linen cloths were three in number. If the priest by negligence spilled the Precious Blood on the super-altare he was required to do penance for three days. If any drops fell on the first cloth (*linteum supernus*) only, the penalty was four days' penance; if they soaked to the lower (*inferius*), nine days; if to the fourth (*usque ad quartum*), twenty days.

Another cause contributed to a change of form in the altar, intro-

ducing the long narrow shape common in the West. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries churches were rebuilt, cathedrals and monastic houses erected on a much larger scale than heretofore, and small and simple altars made of fine stones were no longer approved of. Somewhat later the shrines originally placed behind and close to the altar were with the adoption of long choirs in the Gothic structures detached in many cases from the high altar and placed eastward, so that pilgrims could more easily pay their devotions at them. The isolation of the altar consequent on the removal of the shrine brought in the solid reredos, the pattern for which was furnished by the hanging dossal curtains or the decoration of the east wall where the altar had been placed against it. The use of retables, almost the earliest instances of which are the retable of gold in St. Mark's, Venice, and the gold retable given by Henri II. of France in 1019 to the Cathedral of Basle (now in the Cluny museum), became general and were enlarged so as to form the base of the reredos, a base resting, moreover, not unfrequently on the altar itself. These retables or reredoses, small and simple in the Romano-Byzantine style, were in the Gothic churches large and imposing structures, affording a wide field for the exercise of the arts of the sculptor and painter, and by their size and elaborate decoration throwing the altar itself into insignificance. The grand altar pieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to have for their main feature "an accumulation of accessory ornament at the expense of the thing itself for the sake of which the ornament exists." This appears an inversion of the ideas prevalent in early Christian days, when the very altar of God itself was the thought to which everything else was subservient, whereas in later times the altar, overloaded in many churches with every manner of ornament, reliquaries, vases, candlesticks and images, seems only intended to dazzle the beholder. In some places the earlier practice survives. In the ancient altars of several French cathedrals the severity of earlier ages is said to have been maintained until the Revolution.

One more point in connection with the Christian altar remains to be mentioned. The Blessed Sacrament reserved, now the central object of our churches, was not so formerly. "In the Middle Ages (we again quote from the *Downside Review*) the idea connected with the *Sainte Réserve*, even after the popularization of the Corpus Christi procession and the spread of the use of the monstrance, was not that of worship nor of communion. Even the devout then communicated but four or five times a year and at the great feasts. The parish priest knew the number of his intending communicants on each occasion and consecrated the required number of hosts accordingly. In mediæval times the usual place of reservation (for

the viaticum of the sick) was some recess or cupboard, often closed with iron bars, in the wall on the Gospel side of the altar. Sometimes (as Bishop Devie says was the case in the district of Bresse, north of Lyons) the *petite armoire grillée* was *au fond du chœur*. We read that the Blessed Sacrament was kept *in quodam angulo*, in an out-of-the-way corner of the Cathedral of Verona up to the middle of the sixteenth century, when Bishop Ghiberti, a great reformer, had it enclosed in a tabernacle of marble and crystal, borne by four angels in brass and suspended over (not placed upon) the high altar, that he might excite the devout to Godly piety towards the reserved sacrament of the altar. This case was an anticipation of later devotional feeling. With the gradual increase of frequent communion the inconveniences of the old arrangement were increasingly felt, and the tabernacle upon the altar was the obvious way out of them. The once exclusive idea of viaticum gave way to that of communion in the reservation on the altar; yet even up to a late period in many parts of the continent the Hosts for the sick were reserved in a place (*loculus in muro*) apart from the altar, whilst the Hosts for communicants were reserved in the tabernacle on the high altar." A relic of this former discipline remains in the prescription derived from Roman practice that the Blessed Sacrament is not to be reserved at the high altar of cathedrals, but at a side altar.

From the history of the Christian altar we may pass to that of the chalice.

#### THE CHALICE.

Chalice is the word adopted by the Church to designate the vessel in which the wine for the Holy Eucharist is consecrated. It is derived, like the German *kelch*, from the cup-like calia of a flower or the husk of corn, and is used in a figurative sense in Holy Scripture, meaning a lot, from the early custom when drawing lots, of putting beans or balls into a cup. Thus we read in the Psalms: "The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and my cup" (Ps. xv., 5). And the prophets frequently speak of the "cup of God's wrath" about to be poured out upon a sinful nation (Is. li., 17). Our Lord also in His agony prays that the chalice of His Passion may pass away. Whether Christ Himself partook of the chalice when He instituted the Holy Eucharist is an important question, since heretics who deny transubstantiation confidently affirm that He did so, quoting in proof the words He spoke: "I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine until the day when I shall drink it new in the kingdom of God" (St. Mark xiv., 25). Of all the fathers, Augustine and Chrysostom alone admit this theory, on the strength of those

words. Jerome denies that they refer to the Eucharistic cup, and later writers agree with him. "*Non pertinet (he says) ad calicem eucharisticum, sed ad calicem qui datus fuit post agni paschalis manducationem.*" Hence it is probable that our Lord conformed to the ancient custom of passing round, after banquets of ceremony, a goblet filled with wine, now known as the grace cup, as a sign of fraternal concord or benediction; it was termed *calix salutaris*, or *calix inebrians*. To participation in this the passage cited above doubtless refers.

St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose speak of the sacred chalice as *vas dominicum*, *poculum mysticum*. It is impossible to determine how soon it was distinguished in form, material or ornament from the cups used in ordinary life. At first there was probably little or no distinction between the Eucharistic cup and that of the domestic table; the eventually exclusive adoption of the name of *calix* to designate the former may be thought to imply that the cup specifically so called had a special form. The word denoted a somewhat shallow bowl with two handles and a foot. Of this shape are the chalices represented in the paintings of the first centuries. They appear in early times to have been small in size, the bowl hemispherical in form, with a short stem and a foot, almost like a cup, as is the one of yellow jasper preserved in St. John Lateran. A chalice brought from Jerusalem in the fifth century by St. Jerome is of similar form; it is of Syrian manufacture and of opaline glass. Later on the bowl of the chalice was much deeper, standing on a large conical or funnel-shaped foot, the knot, or rather knob, *nodus*, *pomellum*, half way up the stem being invariably present. The variety of size in ancient chalices, the very small size of some, leads to the supposition that the smaller ones were for the clergy, while the larger, two-handled ones, were used for the purpose of dispensing the Precious Blood to the people. When the laity no longer communicated in both kinds the chalices with handles seem to have disappeared. Ecclesiastical antiquity distinguishes three different kinds of chalices: offertorial, in which the wine offered by the faithful for the holy sacrifice was poured by the deacons; communicational, in which the wine was consecrated, and ministerial, in which it was administered to the people. A practice at one time existed of the clergy alone communicating from the chalice of consecration, a few drops only being poured out of it into that offered to the laity. Thus the consecrated wine was mixed with unconsecrated, which the communicants drank by means of a tube, *fistula* or *pugillaris*, in French called *chalumeau*, of gold or silver attached to the chalices. These were capable of holding a considerable quantity and were multiplied in proportion to the number of communicants. Sometimes there were as many

as seven or eight chalices on the altar. When this custom originated and how long it lasted seems obscure. Pope Gregory II. expressed disapproval of the usage of placing more than one chalice upon the altar. If the vases found in the catacombs are taken for chalices, P. Secchi remarks, one must suppose that every communicant had his or her own, into which the deacon poured the Precious Blood from a ministerial chalice. These vessels were of glass, decorated with gold leaf.

It is impossible to determine of what material the chalice used by our Lord at the Last Supper was made. It is claimed that the glass goblet preserved at Genoa is the one of which He made use when instituting the Holy Eucharist. St. Joseph of Arimathea is said to have brought it to Glastonbury, but the vessel he brought (if indeed he brought any) was more probably that in which he collected some portion of the Precious Blood when washing the wounds on our Lord's Sacred Body preparatory to its deposition in the sepulchre. In the seventh century Venerable Bede mentions a large silver chalice as the true one, but there are no proofs of the authenticity of any of those which are asserted to have been hallowed by the Redeemer's hands. The search for the Holy Grail, the *Sangreal*, formed the subject of many romances and epics in the Middle Ages.

The earliest chalices in use in the Christian Church were undoubtedly of glass or wood. The Roman martyrology states that Bishop Donatus repaired by prayer the consecrated glass vessel which the heathen broke at Aretum (Arezzo) in the time of Julian the Apos-tate. St. Jerome, speaking of Esuperius, Bishop of Toulouse, and commending his frugality, says "he ministered the Body of Christ in a basket of osiers and the Precious Blood in a glass cup." But it was only by monks and in the poorer churches that the use of glass was retained. That the richer churches had chalices of precious metal is proved by the fact that the sacred vessels were sometimes sold for the redemption of captives or for the relief of the poor. And that valuable chalices were in use at Antioch appears from an exclamation of the imperial treasurer on seeing the treasures of the Church which were confiscated by the prefect Julian: "*Ecce quam sumptuosis vasis filio mariae ministratur.*" This is confirmed by St. Augustine when commenting on Psalms cxiii., 4. The idols of the Gentiles are silver and gold; he says that Christians also have many vessels of the same materials in use for celebrating the sacraments. Queen Brunhilda presented a chalice of onyx inlaid with gold to the Cathedral of Auxerre in the ninth century. And amongst the rich presents sent by the Byzantine Emperor Michael III. in 857 to Pope Nicholas was a gold chalice set with numerous jewels. The

earliest chalice now existing, preserved in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale* of Paris, dating from the fourth or fifth century, is of white opaque glass, with a metal foot. In the Church of St. Anastasius in Rome is one of metal gilt, with an hemispherical bowl, supposed to have belonged to St. Lambert, 708. In the ninth century Pope Leo IV. forbade the use of lead for the chalice, though pewter or glass was allowed. This prohibition was renewed by an English Council in 887. Popes Zephyrus and Urban I. both ordered the exclusive use of gold or silver for the sacred vessels. Copper, horn or bone, wood and glass were prohibited by the Council of Rheims 815; the first because it provokes nausea, the second because they are impure, the third because it is absorbent, the fourth on account of being brittle. The poverty of some churches prevented strict obedience to this prohibition; glass was used in some places until a much later period. Glass or ivory mounted in gold or pewter chalices were considered superior to glass. The use of bronze was exceptional and peculiar to Irish monks. St. Gall refused to use silver, saying that St. Columban was accustomed to offer the Holy Sacrifice in a chalice of bronze (*aereis*), alleging as a reason that our Lord was fastened to the Cross with bronze nails. The traditional use of bronze lingered long amongst the successors of the Irish missionaries in South Germany. In 1875 the Sacred Congregation of Rites prohibited the use of valueless metal or copper gilt for chalices, although they authorized aluminium in exceptional cases. At the same time women and laymen (unless they were clerks) were forbidden under pain of mortal sin to touch the chalice.

From early times gold and silver chalices adorned with jewels were presented by monarchs, princes and prelates. Some of these were of great weight, too heavy for use, and were placed on the altar as ornaments on solemn festivals. Chalices were anciently consecrated by prayer and anointed with chrism. They were frequently adorned with pious representations to guard against profane use, chased or enameled on the cup or the foot, such as the Good Shepherd and other suitable subjects. Many bore inscriptions, the name of the giver or a pious epigram expressing the destiny of the cup; for instance, on a chalice given by St. Remy to his cathedral church were these lines:

Hauriat hinc populus vitam de sanguine sacro  
Inlecto æternus quem fudit vulnere Christus.

ELLIS SCHREIBER.



## A TOUR IN EGYPT.

FOR all those who feel the instinct of reverence for the past and delight in antiquity, massive and hoary, Egypt stands out alone as a paradise upon earth. For such travelers, to visit Egypt for a few days is but to catch the Nile fever, which can only be cured when the opportunity comes for a prolonged stay and an intimate acquaintance with the banks of the Nile. In these few pages I have to record the impressions of one who spent some five weeks in the land of the Pharaohs in order to recover from one fever, and who came back with another not so easily to be cured. Our carrier, the *Delos*, of the *Deutsche Levante Line*, left Malta on February 15 with a cargo of railway sleepers for Jappa and seven saloon passengers representing their respective nations, Germany, France, England and Roumania. The *Algeçiras* conference was then at a somewhat critical phase, and the general hope on board was that we should not reach our destination to find ourselves public enemies. I was much struck by the politeness of the Germans on board; both passengers and crew. When the French passengers wanted to talk the general conversation was always in French, the autocrat of the breakfast table being a cultured German from San Paulo, Brazil, who spoke French and English fluently. As we had a very fair share of stormy weather, the poor deck passengers, who were herded together like sheep, had to suffer all kinds of horrors. My berth mate, a charitable Frenchman, took a big pile of baggage belonging to one of them into our cabin to shelter it from the rain. Owing to the strong wind against us we did not reach Alexandria until February 20, after a four and a half days' passage.

Alexandria, the home of the Ptolemies and of Cleopatra, of Euclid and Eratosthenes, of Origen, St. Catherine and St. Athanasius, possesses few monuments of its former greatness. All these were laid low in the name of Allah and his prophet, and the superb granite monoliths which once adorned the city and which had been carried down the Nile from the quarries of Syene were thrown into the sea to break the waves or extend the seaboard. Even the configuration of the land has changed, and the *Heptastadion*, which was once an artificial isthmus connecting the ancient town and island of Alexandria with the mainland, is now a broad strip of land forming an important part of the modern city.

The prevailing religion seems to be the worship of the piastre, but other denominations exist. As far as Catholicism is concerned, Egypt is still a missionary country, *i. e.*, the hierarchy and a native secular clergy have not yet been established. In fact, a secular priest

is a rarity in Egypt. It is very consoling, however, to see the serious pioneer work which is being done, especially in the way of education, by the Christian Brothers, Franciscans, Marists and Jesuits and by the various sisterhoods in Alexandria and Cairo. The great hope of the future lies in the conversion of the Nestorian Copts, some 600,000 in number. If this large branch of Christianity ever becomes reingrafted on the stem from which it broke there will be some hope of making an impression on the Mussulmans, who predominate in Egypt.

The French Jesuit "Collège de Saint François Xavier" in Alexandria is a fine palatial building, but as it only offers a liberal education the number of students is hardly above 160. The sister "Collège de la Sainte Fanielle" at Cairo has about 450, an influx of some 300 having come in when the school narrowed down its course on more commercial lines. It is thought better to have at least one seat of higher learning in the country for such as do not wish to net Parnassus' stream for piastres and pounds Egyptian.

Six days in Cairo gives the traveler an opportunity of seeing something, even when he is in no hurry to see everything. Cairo is more Oriental than Alexandria, but still very European. The Arab quarter, however, is strictly Eastern and contains some gems of Moslem architecture. The Mosque of Azhar, or the "University," is famous for its colonnades, one of which forms what might be mistaken for a monastic cloister. The rest of the building mainly consists of a gigantic roof supported on columns which divide the interior into five aisles. Furnished with galoshes over our shoes, we entered the "holy" precincts—a sort of Mussulman synagogue frequented by 10,000 students. We saw perhaps some 2,000 of these, beardless youths and hoary veterans, squatting on mats under the cloister roof, about the courtyard and along the five aisles of the main building. All seemed to be studying law and the Koran. Some were listening to professors seated on stool or mat, some were reading alone, others in company. The private students swayed their bodies to and fro like pendulums as they repeated the words of the Koran in a way that suggested rote or rhythm rather than intelligent study. The sound of many voices was like the hubbub of a market minus the wrangling and shouting. All universities require some sort of policing, so I suppose this one was no exception to the rule. Order there undoubtedly was, though the lines of organization were not very distinct. It was the order of a beehive or some rather unstructural commonwealth.

Most of the flower of portable antiquity in Egypt is gathered up in the Cairo Museum and stands instructively arranged in chronological order. All the really fine statuary belongs to the fourth and

fifth dynasties and must have been already ancient in the days of Abraham. The artists who produced the supposed statue of Cheops and the so-called Sheik el Beled might have been succeeded in a generation by a Memphite Phidias, but they never were, and for some unaccountable reason Egyptian art after them became conventional and unlikelike, and remained so until the days of the Ptolemies. Infinite labor was spent in carving colossal figures out of granite and diorite, but the value of such work was architectural rather than sculptural.

The Zoölogical Gardens of Cairo are well laid out, but not so well stocked with representative African fauna. I was hoping to find there at least a live crocodile from the Nile, but the only representative of the genus was the Mississippi alligator. Clearly, in one respect, at any rate, the Nile is played out. The day may yet come when Egypt will have to call on America for a new Sphinx.

Out of mercy to the reader I will say nothing about the pyramids, except that when I saw them they rested in their usual glory. The bracing desert air, the donkey ride and subsequent lunch all helped to make the mind appreciative.

Cairo will probably soon be able to boast of its million inhabitants, and, roughly speaking, is twice as large as Alexandria. In spite of the absence of drainage pipes it is a healthy city. A shower of rain there is a rare occurrence, but when it does come down the streets in the Arab quarter are covered with thick mud for days after. Herodotus writes of the scrupulous cleanliness of the ancient Egyptians and of their frequent ablutions. Fashions have changed since then.

Whoever has not seen Luxor has hardly seen ancient Egypt. Cairo lies on the 30th parallel, Luxor below the 26th, and the distance between them may be covered by rail in thirteen hours. The modern town of Luxor, which is not much better than a mud village with a few spacious hotels, lies on the right or eastern bank of the Nile. In and about it are the massive ruins of Thebes, recalling the days of the second Theban Empire, which began about B. C. 1600 and was still in existence in the days of Roboam. Most of the ruins belong to this period, though there are remains of the earlier Theban Empire, which began probably about 3000 B. C.

Near the Luxor station stands the temple of Amenophes III., having most of its columns still intact, with their beautiful massive capitals shaped like an inverted bell. The orthodox impression to be produced by these and similar buildings is the feeling of being *écrasé*, and the impression, if duly received, is further intensified by the still more gigantic temples of Karnak, which stand at about half an hour's walk from Luxor. The great hall of the temple built by

Seti I. and Rameses II. is supported by columns twelve feet in diameter and sixty-two feet in height. These colossal structures, by whatever devices they were erected, seem to tell through the ages how cheap was human labor and human suffering in the days of the Pharaohs and how heavy was the hand of the megalomaniac builder Rameses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression.

Crossing the Nile at a reasonable hour in the morning, the traveler may enjoy a delightful ride through the crisp desert air on the back of one of that spirited breed of donkeys which abounds in Egypt. His way will lie through a mountain valley in the Libyan wilderness to the burial ground of the Theban Kings. There, in the heart of the limestone rock, are the hewn out galleries and chambers which once held the remains of Amenôthes II., son of Thothmes III., Seti I., Rameses III. and numerous other Theban monarchs and notables. The walls of the tombs are richly ornamented with symbolic paintings and heiroglyphic inscriptions, which are now clearly seen by the electric light, the magnesian flame whose fumes have blackened many a roof being now happily abolished. The tomb of Amenôthes II., which was opened to the public in 1900, is not defaced or blackened in any way, and the paintings in it look as fresh as if they had been laid on last century instead of fourteen centuries before Christ. Here, too, the body of the Pharaoh, with the features exposed, is left in the place which it originally occupied, whereas most of his brother monarchs are in the Cairo Museum.

Crossing the mountain ridge back in the direction of Luxor we again reach the plain where, between the green fields and the mountains, is to be seen another vast collection of temples and tombs. The most splendid of the sepulchres is the tomb and temple of Thothmes III., the conquering hero of the eighteenth dynasty, the victor of Megiddo and subduer of Phœnicia and the islands. The body of the monarch, like that of many others, was not allowed to remain long in its resting place. The violation of tombs was a favorite pursuit of Egyptian robbers almost as far back as the days of Moses. "From the early days of the twentieth dynasty," says Professor G. Maspero,<sup>1</sup> "the Theban police were charged with the duty of protecting the tombs . . . from the attacks of the robbers who were making capital out of the violation of the necropolis of Thebes. In the village of Gurnah and near the temples of the city of Medinet Habu, most of the inhabitants had formed themselves into bands, and having frequently the guards and local functionaries as accomplices, they had penetrated into the best secured tombs, opened the coffins, broken the mummies and carried off everything they could find in the way of jewelry, gold and silver and other

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<sup>1</sup> *Guide to the Cairo Museum.*

precious things. . . . The reigns of the Ramessides of the twentieth dynasty were mainly spent in trying to put a stop to [these depredations], but with so little success that on the death of the last King the high priests of Amon, now lords of Thebes, resolved to secure the mummies, which were most revered, . . . from the profanation to which they were exposed. They had these mummies taken from their tombs and hidden in groups in various parts of the necropolis of Thebes. The operations were conducted so secretly that they escaped the notice of the robbers. Gradually the places were forgotten, even by those who had selected them, and the Pharaohs who had been removed slept in peace until our own days."

The first of these hiding places was discovered in 1875. In July, 1881, the museum barge started for Bulaq, the then site of the museum, with a cargo of Kings. "It was remarkable," says Mr. Maspero, "that between Luxor and Quft, on both sides of the Nile, the fellahin women followed the boat uttering loud cries, with their hair all disheveled, while the men fired guns as they do at funerals." The mummy on which are still clear the slight form and delicate features of Thothmes III. is now to be seen in the museum at Cairo. His burial place, which had been violated during the twentieth dynasty, was discovered in 1898.

Thothmes III. died probably in the year 1449 B. C., and thus it has happened that the dust and the tomb of a ruler who was almost as ancient to Cæsar as Cæsar is to us have remained entire, while not a relic of Cæsar survives. Not far from the temple of Thothmes III. stands the Ramesseum, wherein lies the colossal statue of Rameses II. destroyed by an earthquake. As the merits of this monument of art without inspiration are chiefly expressible in figures, let it be enough to say that the probable weight of the statue was some 900 tons and that the length of the index finger is 3 1-5 feet.

The Ramesseum, while providing materials for study to the Orientalist who wishes to acquaint himself with the truth about the Hittite War and the battle of Kadesh, offers besides a convenient halting place for luncheon to the uninitiated traveler who has taken his own victuals along with him. From the shade of one of the gigantic columns he may watch, as he takes his refreshment, the falcons hovering above the lofty capitals or resting in the crannies of the temple, which has been their domain for more than thirty centuries. When his luncheon and his reflections are ended he may ride to another collection of rock tombs, and then to the great palace of Rameses III. Here he will see the founder of the palace still living upon the walls and smiting his enemies, Philistines, Sardinians and Sicilians, who cower, run or take their fate in very conventional attitudes.

Along the way back from the palace of Rameses III. to the Nile stand the two colossi of Memnon in the midst of green cornfields. They stand about fifty-two feet above their pedestals and are surpassed in size only by the shattered figure in the Ramesseum. One of them is the famous vocal statue. It was thrown down by an earthquake, but set up again under Septimius Severus, and has never spoken since.

Pity it is that no Greek traveler familiar with Athens in the days of Pericles has left us his impressions of a visit to Thebes. Quaint old Herodotus, though he says many charming things about the people and the animals of Egypt, and though, unlike other Greeks, he had considerable knowledge and appreciation of Egyptian culture, is, nevertheless, much more concerned with the theology of the Egyptian gods than with the wonderful temples in which they were enshrined. He visited Thebes, to be sure, and was an eye-witness of the scenes which the modern traveler vainly strives to conjure up in his imagination. He saw the multitudinous and massive temples of the Nile Valley with their graven records of the past. He saw the long avenues of Sphinxes and heroes not, as now, in fragments, but in unbroken lines of polished granite linking temple with temple and palace with palace. Yet these do not appear to be the things he went forth to see. The purpose of his visit was to hunt up scraps of priest-lore and genealogies.

The Greeks knew nothing of hieroglyphics, so that a modern scholar will find far more history among the ruins of Egypt than Herodotus was able to gather from the monuments when they were entire. The priests who answered the many questions of the garrulous stranger must have maintained considerable reserve or else have been imperfectly versed in the science of reading and collating their own records.

A continuous history, even of Greece, was a novel thing in the days of Herodotus, and it would have been too much to expect of the Father of History to do more than touch upon that of Egypt. We should have been glad, however, to know what impression was made on his mind by the contrast he saw between the ponderous majesty of Egyptian architecture and the more refined beauty of the Ionic temples.

There is one point of contrast, at least, which we in these our later days are better able to appreciate than were the Greeks of the fifth century before Christ. The style of the Egyptian monuments, whether they be sculptures or written texts, is angular and quaint. So is that of Herodotus, and so, too, were the sculptures which adorned the Grecian temples before the days of Phidias. But in the latter instances the angularity was that of vigorous youth and rapid

growth, while in the former it was incident to the deadness of an art whose development had long since been arrested. The difference is something like that which exists between the pictures of Giotto and those on a pack of cards.

Just below the twenty-fifth parallel and on the left or western bank of the Nile there stands, in the mud built village of Edfu, the great temple of Horus (Apollo). Though many of the faces of the reliefs on its walls have been, as in many another temple, scratched out by the early Coptic monophysites, this majestic edifice is probably the best preserved antique building in the world. Though built under the Ptolemies, it is entirely Egyptian in character, and the Grecian monarchs are represented triumphing over their foes or communing with the gods of the land after the same manner as their more ancient predecessors at Thebes and Abydos. The temple was freed by Aug. Mariette from the rubbish in which it was buried, but the inward pressure of the débris outside had been so great as to give a dangerous list to the massive girdle wall on its eastern side and to several of the columns. The crest of the wall was as much as 80 centimetres out of the perpendicular. At the time of our visit the silent fellahin, whose fathers perhaps had built their mud hovels on the top of the buried temple, were busy taking down and resetting the huge blocks of which the columns are composed, their work being directed by the distinguished Italian Orientalist, Mr. Bar-Santi. This work of readjusting large portions of such a gigantic edifice must involve very considerable expense, and the tourist who sees the reconstruction going on is consoled to think that the \$6.25 paid for his pass ticket to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt is not likely to lie by for very long.

The temple of Edfu is not a ruin. Of the repairs which it is undergoing actual addition form but a secondary part. When a new door, taller than many a two-storied house, is fitted into the ancient doorway the whole building will probably present most of the salient features which it possessed in the days of the later Ptolemies. On the outer face of the girdle wall is related the history of its construction. From the various inscriptions we learn that from the foundation stone to the finishing touch the temple was 180 years in the building (237-57 B. C.)—a period of growth worthy of its prolonged existence. For this latter we have to thank the kindly dust of the Nile, which in alliance with the dry desert air has stood out in defense of the past and saved many an Egyptian monument from the tooth of time.

Just above the twenty-fourth parallel, where the pent-up waters of the Nile make a great artificial lake, the many templed Island of Philae, the Pearl of Egypt, may be seen standing against a back-

ground of palm trees out of the flood by which it is partly submerged. The beauty of the scene is intensified if the traveler contrives to arrange his visit towards sunset. The object which first arrests his attention is the Kiosk or temple of Trajan, with its slender and graceful columns surmounted by floral capitals, in which the usual Egyptian massiveness has given way to the more delicate proportions of the Grecian style. After being rowed through the columns the tourist may land at the temple of Isis and visit the other buildings which stand out at various heights above the level of the water. The feeling uppermost in his mind will be one of melancholy at the thought that this noble pile of ruins is doomed, sooner or later to destruction. It has been said by some engineers that the temples might have been underpinned with iron beams and lifted up to a dry level at moderate expense. However true this may be, it is too late to make the experiment now, and the destruction of Philae will be remembered as a deed which has helped much to mar the triumphs of modern engineering.

A row of some four miles from Philae to the barrage of the Nile brings us to a scene of very different interest. Here old Father Nile, after ages of alternate niggardliness and profusion, has at length been taught a lesson in economy and keeps his gifts locked up for seasonable distribution. After a "Hip, hip, hurra!" from our Nubian boatman we disembark in the full moonlight onto the deserted dam at its eastern end. The thickness of the structure sloping down on our left is hidden by the water, while on the right, beneath the sheer face of the wall, lies the former bed of the river. The broad expanse of the Nile has come to an abrupt pause at the seemingly thin partition and lounges sulkily upon the barrier, like a giant confined within his own castle, who looks forward to the day when he may burst forth suddenly from his restraint and ravage the land that has grown prosperous by his captivity.

At first all is silent, but a walk of some distance along the crest of the dam brings us within hearing of the water which forces its way through the sluices near the left bank of the river. Soon the barrier begins to tremble, and when we see the principal outlet we are able to form a vivid idea of the power of the pent-up waters on the one hand and on the other the massive strength of the masonry which controls their flow. The innumerable bags of cement piled up along the embankment are a sign that the victory over the straining flood is not yet complete. The rush of the water has already worn the bearings of the sluices, and sloping "aprons" of cement have been found necessary in order to ease off the sudden spurt. The expense of this necessary tinkering will not be very great, and when the work is finished the dam will probably be able



to bear a further addition to its height and withstand a still greater pressure of the water. Every additional foot of water in the lake above the dam means a wider area of distribution and greater prosperity for Egypt.

A donkey ride by moonlight across the desert from the barrage to Assuan is an experience not soon to be forgotten. Though it is some two hours after sunset the vigorous little beasts seem eager for their run and need no encouragement or direction from their attendants. These latter interfered only when we reached the town and when the mention of the hotel for which we were destined was not a sufficient clue to the animals themselves.

We had, unfortunately, no time to visit Elephantine, an island just opposite the town of Assuan and the furthest point reached by Herodotus in his travels.<sup>2</sup> After saying Mass at the church of the Fathers of the Sacred Heart and breakfasting at the hotel, we had to hurry off to the railway station and start on the hot and dusty railway journey to Cairo.

A few days in Egypt does not give any one the opportunity of forming trustworthy opinions about its inhabitants. The impression, however, which we received was that of a happy, industrious and law-abiding people among whom one might be at least as safe on a dark night as in many a more civilized community. As long as his religious fanaticism is not roused the Egyptian seems to be a very tractable member of the human species. Recent events seem to show that though he hates the Turk as the worst of tyrants, he will be ready if called upon to fight for the Head of Islam, however bad, against any Christian ruler, however good. Much as he would regret to have to make the choice, he would have no hesitation in making it.

JAMES KENDAL, S. J.

Malta.

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<sup>2</sup> Herodotus II., 29.

## CALVIN AND THE AUTHOR OF "THE PRINCE."

A FEW years ago Mr. John Morley published a monograph on "Machiavelli," in the course of which he argued that a theocracy was an impossible form of government. The nearest approach to the establishment of one was made in Geneva by John Calvin, he postulated, and there in the end the experiment had proved a failure, as it was bound ultimately to do. In reviewing Mr. Morley's essay in the *Catholic World* the present writer pointed out to the distinguished author and statesman that such an experiment had been tried in other places with perfect success, and referred to the case of the Jesuit settlement in Paraguay as one in point. A copy of the publication which contained the criticism was sent to Mr. Morley, and he courteously thanked the writer for having it forwarded; but so far he seems not to have made any use of the enlightenment. No doubt he will do so in due time, if he live, for Mr. Morley is too scrupulous a man to ignore correction when courteously made and with no other object than the ascertainment of historical truth.

There was never a more signal success in the experiment of inducting uncivilized tribes into the ways of orderly living and the knowledge and practice of Christianity than the settlement of Paraguay by members of the Jesuit Order. Similar experiments were carried out in other regions of South America, but in a minor degree. In Paraguay the element of permanency seemed to have been won for the system, but the spirit of unrest and destruction that swept over the Southern colonies of Spain a century ago blighted the fair hope. It reversed the results of patient endeavor and persistent prayer carried on for many years by the devoted sons of St. Ignatius, and the Freemason now rules where for generations only the gentle rule of the religious was known.

Although not exactly a theocracy, as the Jesuit system in Paraguay might be called—a theocracy under a civil overlord—the rule of the Franciscans in California toward the close of the eighteenth century might well be considered by Mr. Morley. In the admirable "History of the Franciscan Missions" left us by the lamented Mr. Byran J. Clinch there is much that would certainly give a man of his bent of mind great satisfaction as an experimental statesman and broad-minded philanthropist. He himself is now dealing, as Secretary for India, with many problems in the government of rude tribes and besotted religious beliefs hoary with age; and the story of how the religious orders of the Catholic Church wrestled with those early troubles of the wilderness must have an interest for such a scholarly

statesman as he. There is no counterpart for it in the history of any other religious organization in the whole world.

This brief retrospect is suggested by the appearance of a new life of Calvin, as one of the "Heroes of the Reformation" series. The author is Williston Walker, Titus-street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. Though he is an admirer of the reformer's, he has some embarrassment in the matter of establishing Calvin's claim to be a hero, and he seems to feel some diffidence as to the success of his labored attempt. Calvin had plenty of doubts but few convictions when the hour that marked the turning point in his career came. He was arrested and thrown into prison, in his native city, Noyon, on the nominal charge of having caused an uproar in the church there. But contemporaries of his have left a very different version of the offense which led to his arrest. It was declared by them to be one of that unmentionable class whose legal punishment at that time was death by burning. Historians of either inclining, Roman Catholic and Calvinistic, have investigated the accusation, and reject it. Lefranc and Doumergue, on Calvin's side, find no support for it; neither does Desmay or Le Vasseur, two Catholic clerical historians, contemporaries of Calvin and who wrote after his death. Two modern scholars, Kampschulte (Old-Catholic) and Paulus, likewise dismiss it as unworthy of credence. On the other hand, the story has the powerful support of such an authority as Cardinal Richelieu, as was found in a posthumous work of his published shortly after his death. The appearance of this work drew forth a defense of the reformer's character by Charles Drelincourt, published in Geneva, 1667. Calvin was charged, during his lifetime, with many crimes, including licentiousness and drunkenness. In that time of turmoil and excitement many charges were bandied about; and the reformers were just as liberal in the use of such weapons as other controversialists. But the specific charge that troubled Calvin's defenders then, and continues to trouble his defenders of to-day, was not one of that class. It was advanced by a contemporary of his, a Carmelite friar named Bolsec, who had been in apostasy for some years as a result of the reformers' propaganda, but who was ultimately received back into the Church. It was to the effect that an investigation into Calvin's early life, by one Bertelier, officially acting for the Genevan authorities, disclosed that he had been "convicted of heinous moral turpitude, the punishment of which was then death by fire, but that the Bishop of Noyon had commuted the extreme penalty into branding a fleur-de-lys with a red-hot iron, as a perpetual mark of infamy, on the future reformer's shoulder." Professor Walker sums up the historical evidence and declares Calvin acquitted. But it must not be forgotten that when

Bolsec gave out the story he was again a member of the Catholic priesthood, and writing under a full sense of the responsibility of his words as well as under the sense that there were those in Geneva as well as in Noyon who could bear effective witness to the truth or the falsehood of his charge, as the truth of the case demanded. This fact should be taken in conjunction with the confession of the author of this new biography that he is unable to account satisfactorily for the causes that led to Calvin's arrest at Noyon. While the ostensible cause was "uproar made in the church" (at Noyon), there is nothing to show that the uproar was due to Calvin's preaching. Lang, a German historian, ventures to guess it was because of an attempt on Calvin's part to proclaim Evangelical doctrine; but this defense is set aside by another of Calvin's defenders, Doumergue, who points out that "such action would have been little in consonance with his (Calvin's) character." So that, whatever the truth as to the tremendous accusation be, it is clear that at that epoch there was very little about this particular reformer to entitle him to be classified as one fit for the Valhalla wherein the "heroes of the Reformation" are installed as perpetual sub-divinities. A *deus ex machina*, to solve this riddle, was found by two of Calvin's apologists. Desmay and Le Vasseur combined in putting forward a statement to the effect that during Calvin's residence in Geneva, another John Calvin, having no connection with the heresiarch, had been disciplined by the Chapter at Noyon because of a breach of the law of chastity, less heinous than that charged by Bolsec.

Calvin fled from Paris as soon as he could find means to do so, when the Parlement and the University began a prosecution for heresy against his friend and fellow-reformer, Nicholas Cop, because of a bold address he had delivered defending the theory of justification by faith alone and welcoming persecution, if it should come, for the sake of conscience and righteousness. Calvin was in no such stern frame of mind. He wanted no persecution, though he preferred the new views to the old; so he ran away, and wandered about the country, in various disguises, until he finally settled down in Switzerland, there to set up a new religion and a new form of civil government as a corollary of this new creed.

A spirit of heresy and rebellion may be said to have "run in the family" as regards the Calvins, or Cauvins, as they were styled in their native *habitat*, the village of Pont l'Evêque, and Noyon, whither they had migrated. Gérard Cauvin, the father of the reformer, was a sort of ecclesiastical lawyer or notary in Noyon, and utilized that position, as well as his influence as an admitted member of the bourgeoisie of Noyon, to secure ecclesiastical positions, with considerable emoluments in each case, for three sons, Antoine, Charles and

John. But gratitude seems not to have been a conspicuous element in the family character, for Gérard Cauvin became sour over legal matters and others toward the Chapter at Noyon, through whose favor those valuable plums had dropped into his children's hands, and his conduct became so obstreperous that the Bishop was obliged to excommunicate him; and in this state of reprobation he died. In a similar state died his son Charles, who, although an ecclesiastical student, was of a most violent and quarrelsome disposition, and vented his temper on his benefactors, the clergy of the Noyon Chapter. He was heretical, too, in his opinions, and for this he was tried and excommunicated. A third son, Antoine, also a beneficiary of the Chapter's liberality, brought deep chagrin and scandal on the reformer by bringing, in Geneva, while John was autocrat there, a charge of adultery against his (Antoine's) wife. The partner of her guilt was none other than Calvin's own secretary, Pierre Dagnet; and to crown Calvin's mortification, his own step-daughter, Judith, was, a little time after this scandal got ventilation, prosecuted and convicted for a similar crime. Antoine had meanwhile outraged public feeling—at that time not fully educated up to one logical result of Luther's and Calvin's teaching—namely, the divorce habit—by marrying again. These shocks in his family—a family supposed to be protected from temptation by the stern sanctity of a great reformer's contact and influence—were too much for his proud and irritable mind; and he was compelled to withdraw for some time from Geneva and court the solitude of the country until the gossip over his step-daughter's disgrace had died away. What was the fate or punishment of the erring girl the narrative does not say. Perhaps she died in prison.

The coldness with which Calvin wrote to his friend, Duchemin, when announcing the fact of his father's (Calvin's) death is a circumstance that even his biographers and apologists cannot overlook. He had been a loving parent to his children and never missed an opportunity of advancing their worldly fortunes by all the influence he possessed. If these sons and their parent had lived in our day they would have probably earned the reputation of being "grafters," as such are popularly called—since for the most part the positions they held were little if anything different from sinecures. These sinecures the sons continued to hold—and they were church benefices of considerable value—as absentees, all the time they were trying to undermine the Church which conferred them—until the very last moment they were permitted to do so. Loftiness of principle, therefore, does not seem to be a necessary consequence of independence in religious thought—at least in the case of many of the sixteenth century "reformers." The biographer seems to have been struck

with the difficulty of his task, as he followed the devious developments of Calvin's life. He comments upon the seeming callousness of Calvin toward his dead parent, while addressing his friend Duchemin, to whom he was communicating the tidings, in almost extravagant terms of endearment; but the entire absence of explanation or apology for such seemingly unfilial behavior speaks volumes for the author's difficulty. Similarly with regard to his apology for Calvin's careful measures for keeping himself out of danger when the aggressions of the reformers compelled King Francis to take measures against those fanatical iconoclasts. Calvin waited until he was beyond the reach of the French law before fulminating his thunders against the French monarch; then he became sublime, only to become again ridiculous when he himself, more powerful than any monarch, in Geneva, legislated against "heretics" and put such down with flame and fagot and excommunication edicts, precisely as the French Government tried to do.

Difficult as was the biographer's task in sugaring over these vacillations and contradictions, it was trifling as compared with those he encounters when he endeavors to account for the method by which Calvin reasoned himself into his system of religious belief. It is a labyrinth of contradictions. Denying that fallen man can do anything of himself, he yet for himself claimed the power to establish a new church and a new creed. His system destroys the necessity for man doing anything for himself. His present biographer puts it: "Calvin's severe logic, insistent that all salvation is independent of merit, led him to assert that damnation is equally antecedent to and independent of merit. The lost do indeed deserve their fate, but 'if we cannot assign any reason for His bestowing mercy on His people but just that it so pleases Him, neither can we have any reason for His reprobating others but His will.'" What became of the theory of "justification by faith" when this formula was announced? Of what use is a man's faith if his place is predetermined among the outcasts of Divine favor? No wonder the Buddhist and the Mahometan laugh at the Christian theory of salvation when presented under the appalling guise designed by this "hero of the Reformation!"

This system, leaving out of consideration completely the Catholic doctrine of free will in man, proves a very hard nut for Calvin's present biographer to crack—so hard, indeed, that he shrinks from any attempt whatever to do so. He merely says of the problem that "whether it leaves God a moral character, it is perhaps useless to inquire," but that there can be no question that Calvin and his disciples drew from the doctrine of election "much comfort." But how those who were profoundly "convinced of their own sinfulness," as

he further asserts those early reformers were, could reason themselves into the belief that heaven had been, before all ages, reserved for them and their congeners, without any merit of their own to show for such a gain, is a mystery of logic that the biographer leaves entirely to the reader to solve as best he can.

In his farewell address to the Genevan Ministers, just before his death, Calvin reiterated in words this marvelous and most dismal doctrine. "I have had many faults which you have had to endure," he said, "and all that I have done is of no value. The wicked will seize upon that word, but I repeat that all I have done is of no value, and that I am a miserable creature." This declaration, taken in conjunction with his own assertion, as well as that of numerous witnesses, that he was convinced that his work—the work he had been doing in Geneva—was the work of God, completes the anomaly. Joy, not misery of mind, was the natural mark of those true saints who felt that they had a call to do the work of God. No wonder there arose an Ingersoll and that the world is pockmarked with his cynical philosophy to-day!

Calvin had not received holy orders in the Catholic Church. He had held benefices, and was a recipient of their income, but at heart a rebel against the source whence they were derived. But when the time came when he had to make a choice between ordination or recusancy, he took the plunge that he had been long meditating, and constituted himself a priest according to his own notions of the exalted office. When he fled from Paris he took refuge, amongst other hiding places, in Poitiers, and there gathered a little company of kindred spirits about him. He constituted himself the leader, it would seem, and set up a new "cave of Adullam," not merely in a figurative sense, but almost literally. These members of the family of "the elect" met in a cavern outside the city, and there, according to Florimond de Ræmond, Calvin "observed the Lord's Supper." The ceremony was destructive and at the same time reconstructive. He "denounced the Roman Mass," and then said, "Brethren, let us eat the Lord's bread in memory of His death and passion." This is the order in which the biographer places the reference to those awful events—death first, passion next. The transposition is significant—not in itself, but as an indication of the confusion of mind which exists as to the real import of the sacrament and the necessity for perfect accuracy as to the procedure and detail in the observance of the commemoration, in certain sects.

Calvin's view of the great sacrament of the Catholic Church was purely rationalistic. It was clearly stated in the work he called the "Institutes." Acknowledging that "it is something spiritual," he goes on to explain that the nature of a physical body precludes it

from being in more than one place at the same moment. Such a plea entirely excludes the factor of the power of God, in physical things as in the spiritual realm. It denies the fact on which the whole Christian system is founded. It limits the power of the Creator to deal with His own creation.

In considering Calvin's awful temerity in thus setting himself up in the most absolute contradiction to the practice and teaching of the Apostles who partook of the sacrament from **Christ's own hands**, and of the Fathers of the early Church, the heresiarch, it has to be remembered, was face to face with his own objection as to the Church and the Scriptures. He stood on the authority of the Word of God alone, brushing aside with one imperious motion the authority of the Church and the validity of his own objection to the same. In the preface to his "Institutes" he put his position thus (preface to the French edition, A. D. 1541, Beveridge's translation, quoted by this biographer): "Although the Holy Scriptures contain a perfect doctrine, to which nothing can be added, . . . still every person, not intimately acquainted with them, stands in need of some guidance and direction as to what he ought to look for in them."

Such a guidance and direction the Church claimed, by Divine charter, to exercise. But this great individual denied boldly such a right in anybody but his own self, not even conceding the claims of any of the other "reformers" to interpret the Word of God aright. Majestic audacity truly!

The story of this first "Mass" of Calvin's is not given as authoritative by the biographer, but it is accepted as probably correct, since the transaction completely harmonized with the practice and precept of the apostate in later days in Geneva. The biographer appears to be at some loss how to account for so marvelous an assumption of power. "Calvin had never been ordained in the Roman Church," he observes; "he was never to be set apart for the ministry by the imposition of Protestant hands. He regarded his pastoral labors as a task to which he was called of God—a call witnessed by his own clear consciousness of the Divine guidance in appointing him his course of life." Pastoral labors! John Alexander Dowie's claim to be a pastor is precisely as valid as John Calvin's was when he had the frightful presumption to imitate or commemorate the action of the Saviour of mankind in instituting the sacrament which he gave as a seal to His Church for all the ages.

The reader turns away from the contemplation of such a horror in egotistical presumption to behold the victim of persecution, as Calvin believed himself to be, becoming in turn the relentless and treacherous persecutor himself. His dealings with Servetus are frankly set forth in this book, and it is gratifying to note that they are neither



palliated nor minimized. That episode is unparalleled as an instance of baseness and deliberate murder. The proof that Calvin had pre-determined to have the life of his adversary is complete.

Says the biographer: "The greatest injustice to Calvin's memory would be to minimize his share in a tragedy which, however repugnant to modern thinking, was to him the exercise of a conscientious duty to the Church and a means of triumph, at the same time, over his enemies." But the reader is admonished to endeavor to look at the tragedy from the viewpoint of sixteenth century ideas. How thoughtful on the biographer's part! No such admonition is ever heard when it happens to be some incident of a Catholic monarch's reign that is being discussed. Trials like those of Huss and Zwingli are always considered as historical incidents apart from any relation to particular period or prevalent methods in procedure. The main fact to be remembered, before entering on a survey of Calvin's conduct in this memorable transaction, is the letter he himself drew up and addressed to the King of France on the subject of persecution for conscience' sake. This famous letter was an answer to a proclamation issued by Francis giving the reasons which compelled him to adopt repressive measures against his Protestant subjects—very cogent reasons surely, since it was either anarchy or the King's rule that was the issue created by the action of these injured Protestants. The posting of placards against the Mass by them had been followed in many parts of the country by violent outbreaks and bloody riots. Francis charged the instigators with the design of "overthrowing all things," and added that any government was bound to resist "a contagious plague that looked toward the foulest sedition." Calvin's reply complained that because he and his confrères put their hopes in God, and because they believed it to be "life eternal" to know the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom He has sent, they were cruelly persecuted. "For this hope some of us are in bonds, some beaten with rods, some made a gazing-stock, some proscribed, some most cruelly tortured, some obliged to flee; we are all pressed with poverty, loaded with dire execrations, lacerated with abuse and treated with the greatest indignity. . . . But if the whispers of the malevolent so possess your ears that the accused are to have no opportunity of pleading their cause; if those vindictive juries, with your connivance, are always to rage with bonds, scourgings, tortures, maimings and burnings, we indeed, like sheep doomed to slaughter, shall be reduced to every extremity," and so on. The reader is not conjured to recall the period when perusing this mournful threnody, but left to ponder, with no mitigating circumstances, on the cruelty of the punishments meted out to pious persons who had been impelled to riot and murder by the promptings of their protesting consciences!

Turn we now to the conditions which were created by the writer of this eloquent protest when he himself held the reins of power. Calvin, denouncing the Pope, constituted himself more than a Pope at Geneva. The ecclesiastical constitution which he got promulgated and put into force there was based upon the declaration that the office of teacher was of Divine appointment, that he might "educate the faithful in sound doctrine." He was the divinely appointed teacher—neither elected nor selected, but simply there by virtue of his own good will and nomination. His position was thus somewhat akin to that of Mahomet: "There is one God—and Mahomet is His prophet."

The machinery by which this system of theocracy was operated was rather complicated, but its principle was the support of the spiritual law by the strong arm of the State. There was a Consistory coöperating with Calvin, whose function it was to exercise a rigid censorship over the public morality and the private life of the entire body of the citizens. The powers of this inquisition—for such, indeed, was its real character—were tremendous. They were based on a set of *Ordonnances* drawn up by Calvin and passed by the city authorities after a rigid examination and discussion of their intent and scope. They were intended to stamp out heresy, to have Calvinism established as the law of the little State, to compel the attendance of all the people at the various churches at frequent services, to hold defaulters to account, to punish cases of immorality. With the Consistory coöperated the Little Council, a body of two hundred members, who exercised control over the police force of the city. The Consistory was to keep up the appearance of a purely spiritual authority; to the Little Council was delegated the task of dealing with the recalcitrant and wielding the punitive power of the State. When the refractory or indifferent proved obdurate under inquisitorial rebuke, they were formally excommunicated, and their subsequent treatment was left to the Little Council.

Calvin had contrived to get many formidable opponents removed from the field—the leaders of the two parties known respectively as the "Artichauds" and the "Guillermins." These had all been driven out of the city, after violent wrangles and free fights, or else had died or given out from the strenuousness of the struggle. Under these circumstances the introduction of the theocratic system proved much easier than it must necessarily have been had those reformers of different views but equal sternness with himself been enabled to continue their protests against his extreme doctrines. This system was not an empty name. It was set up for serious business, and this determination became evident from the first day of its installation. We gain an idea of the nature and extent of its operations from some

statistics collected by the author out of the "Registres du Consistoire" and the "Registres du Conseil" of Geneva, as well as from other official sources.

"The Consistory," the author writes, "began its work promptly. No age or distinction exempted any one from its censures. Men and women were examined as to their religious knowledge, their criticisms of ministers, their absences from sermons, their use of charms, their family quarrels, as well as to more serious offenses. Other examples, from the later activity of the Consistory in Calvin's time, show disciplinary procedure against a widow who had prayed a "requiescat in pace" on her husband's grave; for having fortunes told by gypsies; against a goldsmith for making a chalice; for saying that the incoming of French refugees had raised the cost of living and that a minister had declared that all those who had died earlier (*i. e.*, before the Reformation) were damned; for dancing; for possessing a copy of the "Golden Legend;" against a woman of seventy who was about to marry a man of twenty-five; against a barber for tonsuring a priest; for declaring the Pope to be a good man; making a noise during the sermon; laughing during preaching; criticizing Geneva for putting men to death on account of differences in religion; having a copy of "Amadis des Gaules;" or singing a song defamatory of Calvin. These are only a few typical instances. They give, however, a vivid picture of the iron rule of the persecuted gentleman who had so eloquently apostrophized the King of France on behalf of liberty of conscience and the rights of the iconoclasts to tear down images and trample on the sacred things of the altar. "The more flagrant faults detected by the Consistory were called by it to the attention of the magistrates; while really serious cases of crime and of error in doctrine appear to have received direct judicial cognizance without Consistorial intervention. In their dealings with the accused, whether brought to them from the Consistory or in the ordinary course of justice, the magistrates acted with great severity. Torture was freely used, as in most European States of that day. There seems to be adequate ground to hold that Calvin's influence increased the rigors with which occasional penal cases had been handled, . . . and it is to his credit that he made a successful protest against the cruelty with which death sentences were executed; but when this has been said, it must be equally recognized that Calvin's spirit favored the full and stringent execution of the laws and the increase of penalties for offenses having to do with breaches of chastity and similar infringements of moral order." (Making whips for the backs of some of his own household, as we have seen.) "The sum total of persons punished and the breadth of the incidence of punishment were doubtless very considerably augmented under

his influence. Between 1542 and 1546 fifty-eight persons were condemned to death and seventy-six to banishment; but it must be remembered that the frightful panic of 1545, which alleged the plague to have been spread by witchcraft and conspiracy, and led to thirty-four executions, falls in this period."

There was rebellion against this sort of "liberty of conscience" and "constitutional rule," such as Calvin desired in the case of France. The Council of Sixty protested against the arbitrary action of the Consistory, in the year 1543, but Calvin was that time too strongly entrenched in power to be shaken by the half-hearted. He was surrounded by a band of preachers or "ministers" as fanatical as himself and as unscrupulous about doing to others what they would not have done to themselves, as he, the high-priest of a new sort of Spartanism.

And here the reference to the plague of 1545 comes in most opportunely to illustrate the Divine simile touching the true shepherd and the hireling. Let us see what this biographer says about the behavior of those saintly teachers who so freely sent men to the fire and into exile for disagreement with Calvin's new theology and practice. It is instructive in the last degree.

"Nor did this ministry," writes the biographer, "strenuous in its demands as Calvin could make it, command the full respect of the community. The plague . . . reached Geneva in the autumn of 1542. Blanchet courageously offered his services at the hospital, where the magistrates required a minister; but such was the reluctance of his colleagues that Calvin felt, not without apprehension, that should Blanchet die he must step into the breach, lest the members of his flock be left unconsolated in their extremity. The test soon came. In April, 1543, the plague broke out again, and before the month was over the Little Council ordered the ministers to send one of their number to the hospital. They all shrank back. It was reported to the Council that some declared they 'would rather be with the devil.'"

Blanchet did fall a victim, and the Little Council ordered the ministers to choose a successor at the hospital, passing over Calvin, as he was deemed or claimed to be "necessary to the Church." Five days later the ministers went before the Council and cravenly confessed their cowardice. While recognizing the task as a duty, they declared that "God had not yet given them grace to have force and constancy to go to the hospital," thereby placing the blame for their base betrayal of trust on the shoulders of the Almighty. Calvin's friend and pupil, Beza, endeavors to maintain that Calvin accepted exemption from the dangerous service only with reluctance; but the biographer finds nothing in the contemporary records, he candidly

acknowledges, to support this apology. On the other hand, when popular superstition had worked the public mind into a panic over the plague, Calvin did nothing to check the fury that impelled the seizure of suspected dealers in witchcraft, as engaged in a conspiracy to destroy human life. The rage for blood and cruelty was not sated until thirty-four victims had perished in Geneva, under the most agonizing forms of torture that human malignity can devise. Calvin believed the charges of witchcraft and conspiracy to be facts, as his biographer admits. He pleaded, no doubt, for less cruel forms of execution; but he should not have pleaded, if he were really humane; he should have commanded—for none durst say him nay. The cruel tortures inflicted upon one of his antagonists in the city, a freethinker named Gruet—antecedent to his execution for an offense of a trivial character were it not that it personally concerned Calvin—seem to give proof that his pleas for mitigation of torture were insincere.

It was amidst such conditions that the controversy between Calvin and Servetus arose, to stamp the reign of the theocrat as animated by a spirit as merciless and more treacherous than any civil rule save perhaps that of the English Queen, Elizabeth.

Servetus, or as his Spanish cognomen had it Serveto (Miguel) was a scholar and scientist about Calvin's own age. He resembled Calvin in having a temper impatient of contradiction, and he had an exceedingly bitter tongue and pen when controversy was the order of the day. He began to take a part in religious disputation at a very early age. At twenty he produced a book called "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*," full of Socinian theory or teaching. This treatise aroused a storm, being condemned as heretical by Protestants no less than Catholics. He met Calvin in Paris, while he was, under the assumed name of Villeneuve, taken from his birthplace in Aragon, studying medicine and natural sciences. Calvin challenged him to a public controversy over his book, but Servetus was too wary to fall into such a dangerous trap; he declined, and kept on at his medical and scientific work. He was so keen a student and practical observer in these pursuits that he anticipated Harvey in the discovery of the circulation of the blood by three-quarters of a century. This was the sort of man that Calvin made up his mind to put out of the world if ever he got him in his power, and carried out his determination only too well.

Servetus published another work in the year 1553, under the title "*Restitution of Christianity*." It was pantheistic in its propositions; and it rejected the theory of predestination and laid stress on the value of good works—the very antithesis of Calvin's teaching. Before sending the work to press he had sent slips of his MS. to Calvin, in return for a copy of the "*Institutes*" sent him by the Geneva auto-

crat. Servetus returned the copy, with some terribly sarcastic criticism on the margins of various pages; and this was the drop that filled the cup of bitterness to overflowing. Calvin wrote to his friend Farel, in 1546, that should Servetus ever come to Geneva, as he had intimated he might, he should never go back from that place alive, if he (Calvin) had authority to prevent it. The letter is part of the author's authority for his biography: no one challenges it.

Here, again, was the very wrong of which the letter to King Francis made complaint—the condemnation of men unheard in their own defense. This seems to have been Calvin's habit while he held sway in Geneva. "Servetus, to Calvin's thinking," writes the biographer, "destroyed the Christian hope; and, repulsive as it seems to the modern man, he deemed it his duty to rid the world of such 'impiety,' should the opportunity be his, and Servetus still be unrepentant of his 'errors.'" The opportunity did not arise until several years had elapsed. But he watched for it with the patience of a cat for a mouse.

In 1553 he secured a copy of the "Restitution," then just secretly printed at Vienne, in France. A letter about the book passed between Antoine Arneys, a cousin of Guillaume Trie's, one of Calvin's close friends, and by some unexplained reason it got into the hands of the authorities at Lyons. Prosecution of Servetus was ordered as a consequence; and the legal authorities were furnished by Trie with a number of Servetus' letters to Calvin as well as the annotated copies of the "Institutes." Who furnished this evidence? The author says that many scholars believe that it was Calvin, but says on the other hand that other scholars reject the theory. The circumstantial evidence points to Calvin as the instigator of the proceedings against Servetus in France. The author thinks so, evidently.

Legal proceedings were begun in Vienne in the month of April and lasted until June, 1553. They terminated in a sentence of death by slow fire; but this fate was not to be carried out there, for Servetus had escaped from the prison, somehow, and made his way to Geneva, *en route* for Naples. He was recognized by Calvin while listening to one of his sermons, was arrested, and lodged in prison. Calvin felt that "he had been delivered into his hands," says the biographer, "and that he (Calvin) ought to prevent further 'contagion.' From the first Calvin hoped that Servetus would forfeit his life, for he wrote to his friend Farel: 'I hope the judgment will be capital, in any event, but I desire cruelty of punishment withheld.'"

There was more at stake than the mere condemnation of heresy. Calvin's position in Geneva, at that time, had become exceedingly shaky. His popularity had been on the wane since the time of the plague. Therefore there was some sort of sympathy with his in-

tended victim among the citizens. At the hearing of the case on August 16th hot words were exchanged between Philibert Berthelier, representing the Lieutenant of Justice, and Calvin's counsel, Colladon. It was made evident that the case was to test the relative strength of rival parties in Geneva and the permanency of Calvin's control. Berthelier represented his bitter foes. "The condemnation of Servetus became vital to Calvin's Genevan status," says the biographer. He therefore appeared in person against the accused. This fact lends a still darker color to the whole villainous transaction. The case assumed the character of a personal issue between two differing theologians rather than a question of the vindication of eternal truths.

The doctrinal duel between the two scholars took on a very technical character. Calvin pushed Servetus hard in his attack. He made him avow his pantheistic belief to its last logical position—that the very floor and benches of the court house were of the "substance of God." "Then," triumphantly exclaimed his antagonist, "the Devil is God in substance also;" to which, unfortunately for himself, Servetus replied with a mocking query: "Do you doubt it?" This question proved his ruin, in the end.

The dispute proceeded for a long time. The judges, very fairly, decreed that the presentation of the charges against Servetus, and his replies thereto, should be made in the Latin tongue—a fact that gives overwhelming testimony to the importance of that language as a strictly scientific medium. Fiery words passed between the two hot-tempered champions. Servetus called his accuser liar, cheat, fool, scoundrel; and compared him to Simon Magus, one of confused mind who barked like a dog, hoping thus to overwhelm the judges.

Several times, owing to the fierce opposition of Berthelier, the case seemed to be on the point of going against Calvin; but after much wavering the scale turned in his favor. A verdict of guilty and a sentence of death by burning were the final outcome. Calvin interposed with a request for a less cruel form of execution, but the court paid no heed to it. Perhaps they did not regard it as put seriously.

The victim died courageously, forgiving his enemies and imploring Jesus to have mercy on his soul. A monument to his memory was erected on the spot where he perished, three years ago. It is a monument to Calvin's disgrace no less than to the fortitude of the sufferer.

In "The Prince" Machiavelli vindicates the right of the ruler to place himself even above "the law," should he deem the emergency calls for such a stretch of extreme power. This bold doctrine was adopted and acted on by Calvin, as ruler of Geneva, at times—notably

in this case of Servetus. He went outside his own bailiwick to get him into his clutches. His "law" was freedom of conscience while he was struggling with Francis in earlier years; this principle was cast to the winds when his own time came to wield the wand of power. Out of his own mouth he stands condemned. The red stain of cruel, premeditated murder is on his tombstone, to remain there while the world endures.

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### SOME CANADIAN PROBLEMS.

"The Loyalty of French Canada," *The Quarterly Review*, October, 1896.

"French Canadian Migration," *The Month*, November, 1893.

"New France in 1894," *Ibid.*, March, 1894.

TO THE question, Are Canadians loyal to England? the answer must be: Yes, for the time being. That is to say that, since self-interest is the ultimate motive of all loyalty, it is to the interest of Canadians, French as well as English, to be loyal to a power which, in a very real sense, even if unconsciously, holds the balance between them. It is this interest which the problems herein to be discussed most nearly affect.

The main problem, while it may be stated in three words—the Race Issue—goes back to the very beginnings of Canadian history, and has its roots in the age-long struggle between English Puritan and French Catholic for the mastery of the American continent. It is a problem which was complicated rather than simplified by the apparent victory of the one side and the apparent defeat of the other. It is the merest truism to say that the one aim of the French Canadian from 1760 to the present day has been to regain the supremacy which he seemed to lose when New France became a British colony. That, in a word, is the real significance of the race issue in Canada. All other problems are of minor importance.

In order, however, for the English reader to understand the real bearing of this problem on Canadian loyalty, it is necessary that he should bear in mind that which was just now said as to its origin and its long continuance. Further, that he should recognize clearly that the conquest of Quebec in 1760 was the beginning of American independence. It was the fear of French aggression more than all other motives combined which kept the American colonies loyal to England. Once that fear was removed by the conquest of New



France, the colonists had leisure to discover their intolerable grievances, which assumed an entirely new aspect. The victory, as already stated, was more apparent than real. The conquered population largely outnumbered those of the victors, who took up their residence in Canada; the Treaty of Paris and the Quebec Act of 1774, followed by similar imperial legislation, left the French Canadians, for all practical purposes, better off than they had ever been before.

This, then, may be taken as the beginning of the race issue in Canada as a British colony, the various phases of which in the past there is, of course, no necessity to follow out here in historical detail. We may note, though, in passing that discontent on both sides showed itself from the outset, culminating in the rebellion of 1837. The legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada was and could only be a temporary expedient at the very best, but it taught the two races some measure of mutual respect at least, if it did not tend to engender mutual affection.

At Confederation, in 1867, the population of Quebec if it did not outnumber, certainly equaled that of the other three original provinces. Moreover, the number of members in the Federal House of Commons assigned to Quebec, namely, sixty-five, was not only made a permanent provision, but was also fixed as the basis of representation for the Dominion as a whole, whatever its subsequent growth or population might be.

It is here that we encounter the first of the minor problems arising out of the race issue, the status, namely, of Quebec in the Federal House of Commons. The inclusion of Manitoba, in 1870, did not materially affect the advantage derived from the command of a potential majority on all racial questions, but the gradual growth of population in Ontario and the west has slowly but surely shifted the balance of power, and what is known in political parlance as "a solid Quebec" has become more than ever vitally necessary, not for the preservation of a predominance to which the French of Canada hold themselves entitled, but also, as it seems to them, of their liberties and privileges, if not of their very existence as a race, certainly of their due place in the political life of the Dominion.

Prior, however, to 1890, the vote of Quebec was, generally speaking, fairly evenly divided between the two great political parties. The Manitoba school law of that year, by depriving the French minority of privileges which they had enjoyed for twenty years, roused the French of Quebec, in some measure at least, to a sense of possible danger. The election of 1896 turned frankly on a nationalist issue and was decided mainly by the personality of a great French Canadian statesman—Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The

wholly natural desire to see one of their own race Premier of the Dominion outweighed with the French of Quebec all other considerations, all claims of party loyalty. Sir Wilfrid's victory, his place at the head of affairs, typified the supremacy at which they had always aimed. The two elections which have since taken place have more than confirmed the verdict of the first, and a "solid Quebec" of some fifty-odd votes is an accomplished political fact.

Such an obvious advance towards French domination could not, of course, be without a corresponding effect on the other elements of the population, on the Protestants of Ontario most of all. But it is one of the most curious minor problems connected with this primary one that the English-speaking Catholics of the Dominion, Irish chiefly, should side, not with those of their own faith, but with those of their own speech; that language, not religion, should constitute the line of cleavage. To what extent this is carried will be shown at the end of this article, when certain local symptoms, as they may be called, come to be discussed. For the moment we must concern ourselves with the actual possibilities of French supremacy.

The Manitoba school act of 1890, already referred to, showed the French of that province to be in a hopeless minority even then, which twenty years of immigration, largely American, has only tended to render more hopeless. The fact is all the more remarkable when it is compared with another, namely, that there are some two million French Canadians in the New England factory towns. Without entering into all the causes which led to so vast a migration south-eastward rather than north-westward, to the factory rather than to the farm, and which are discussed in the article on "French Canadian Migration," I may be permitted to allude briefly to the most important, which I take to be: First, the unsuitability of Northern Quebec for small farmer colonization; secondly, over-population in the inhabited and easily habitable districts of the province; thirdly, the modern trend of rural population citywards. Farming in Quebec labors under many disadvantages, climatic and other, whereas the factories seem to offer a comparatively easy means of making money. But whatever the causes, the stream of migration set in the direction indicated, and the French in Manitoba and the Northwest remained and must continue to remain an insignificant minority in the midst of population alien in speech and for the most part in faith.

The result, so far as a possible French domination is concerned, seems to the dispassionate observer sufficiently obvious. Twenty-five years ago a new Quebec, with a population of over a million in the Northwest, was a political possibility; had it become a fact, the fate of Ontario, if not of Canada, in such an event is not difficult to

guess at. To-day a new Quebec is as visionary a land as Utopia; the French Canadians, to use their own expression, *ont manqué leur coup*. French supremacy in Canada is no longer within the range of practical possibilities.

The realization of this, if, indeed, he can be said to have realized it, does not, of course, tend to make the French Canadian amiably disposed towards his fellow-citizens of English speech, if local symptoms may be trusted. It is at the capital of all places that the two "nationalities" come into closest contact and into keenest rivalry. The boast, "You have built up a country and we mean to rule it," may be dismissed as the vamping of hot-headed youth; yet, unfortunately, the youth in question forms, or will form, the great mass of local voters at the next Federal election, and will vote "solid" on "national" lines, regardless of all else. It is thus, in fact, that Quebec thinks and dreams; aims at nothing less than supremacy—or annexation to the States.

This, if it can be called a minor problem, is of the very essence of the Canadian situation; is the determining factor in respect of Canadian loyalty. Against a solid Quebec there is, or soon will be, an equally solid Ontario, at least an irreparable cleavage along the line of speech. And the complete victory of either must, it would seem, supply the answer to the question concerning the loyalty of Canada to the empire. For the time being it is to the interest of each to retain the good-will of a fairly impartial umpire. An unfair decision or a marked turning of the scale in one direction or the other would have consequences not easy to estimate.

The unfair decision may, however, be dismissed as wholly unlikely, if not impossible. The turning of the scale against the French is, as matters stand, certainly a very remote contingency, since a solid Quebec of fifty to sixty-five votes is a force which any party in power must of necessity take into account for many years to come. Nor need Quebec fear "English domination" in the local sense, seeing that the divergent interests, political and material, of the provinces which go to make up a potential solid west must always militate against its effectual formation. Quebec, in fact, is to all intents and purposes a homogeneous entity; the west is not and never can be. Moreover, the maritime provinces are no more likely to side with their western rivals than they are to take the part of Quebec. A collision between Quebec and the west would, on the face of it, be the opportunity of the maritime provinces, which have also their own ambitions in the direction of leadership if not of supremacy.

The situation may therefore be stated thus: The race issue is the dominant problem of Canadian affairs; the rivalry, that is, between those of French and those of English speech for supremacy. In-

timately connected with this main problem are certain lesser ones, such as the balance of power in the Federal House of Commons, the lost opportunity of a new Quebec in the northwest, the growing resentment of Ontario and the west against the political domination of a solid Quebec and the attitude of the Irish Catholics. To these must be added the friction and exacerbation of constant contact at Ottawa and the recurrent tendency of Quebec to look to annexation as a remedy for ills that seem otherwise incurable.

That there are thousands of French Canadians of the younger generation especially who regard annexation to the United States, under certain conditions, as preferable to "British domination"—defeat that is in the struggle for supremacy at Ottawa—can, it would seem, hardly admit of question, least of all with those who know the French Canadian as he is. The conditions, however, include so large an "if" as to remove this tendency also from the sphere of practical politics. The "if," in fact, is of no less an extent than that Quebec, as a State of the American Union, should retain all the civil, religious and legal privileges accorded by the various acts of the British Parliament, their language most of all. The terms have only to be stated in order to show their utter impossibility of fulfillment, but the tendency must be reckoned with; the umpire must take it into account.

But it is surely curious, to say the least of it, that the fear of French aggression which had so large a share in the loyalty of the American colonies should still be a determining if not a dominant element in the loyalty of English-speaking Canada. That it is so will hardly, on careful consideration of Canadian conditions, be questioned—unless, indeed, some motive more powerful than self-interest should be found for loyalty. Sentiment doubtless has its due place not readily to be defined, but self-interest is easily first. In this case it amounts to a reliance more or less unconscious and traditional on British support against an aggression which is both real and traditional. Yet it is no less curious and certainly noteworthy that there should also be a distinct, if unconscious, trust on the part of French Canadians in British justice and fair play, shown first in 1760 and not materially departed from since.

The "local symptoms" as to Irish Catholic sympathies may, in conclusion, be briefly alluded to as indicated when they were first referred to as one of the curious minor Canadian problems. Such sympathies are, naturally, most unmistakably shown at the capital of the Dominion, and are carried not only into Federal and provincial politics, but into religion and education, though these, indeed, have a very distinct political importance. In respect of the former it is hardly an exaggeration to say that an Irish Catholic would sooner

vote for an Orangeman than for a French Canadian co-religionist; certainly for an English-speaking Protestant. In respect of the latter, the existence of Irish and French churches in the same parish—on each side of the same street—and the long struggle for the control and possession of the local Catholic university, involving a very possible political retaliation at the next election, afford some indication of the cleavage resulting from differences of race and speech—differences which a common faith is practically powerless to heal. And, if so, what hope is there that these differences, aggravated by divergencies of faith, will grow less in Canada and not greater as time goes on?

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## ARE THE OTHER PLANETS INHABITED?

THE confident assertion is nowadays often made that besides the earth there are other planets of our solar system inhabited by man. In this paper we propose to examine the grounds of this statement.

The modern mind is often oppressed and sometimes overwhelmed by the immensity and complexity of that material universe which scientific research has so amply unfolded and revealed. Insignificant, indeed, does man seem and insignificant the earth, man's dwelling place, compared with the whole stupendous universe. Why, it is asked, should the Creator of all this matter and all this force, of all this wealth and magnificence of nature, take special interest in this "unfeathered, two-legged thing, man," weak of body, dark of mind, unstable of will, inhabitant of a minor planet shot off from a thir-rate sun? The laws of evolution, we are assured, that have produced man on earth, must also have produced him in countless other parts of the universe, and notably in the planets of our solar system. Hence, we are told, as there are probably in the whole universe as many man-inhabited worlds as there are men on earth, it is incredible that the Maker of them all deemed it worth His while to restrict the supernatural revelation of His will to earth-man, to load him with special favors, and then when flouted and disobeyed to die on the Cross in order to redeem the tiny rebel from the consequences of his own astounding folly. These are, however, but wild and whirling words unless upheld by cogent arguments and borne out by conclusive facts. What, then, are those

arguments? What are those facts? On examination we find that both facts and arguments are conspicuous mainly by their absence.

### I.

First of all, the assumption that man was evolved on earth, and must therefore have also been evolved elsewhere, is but hypothesis proving hypothesis. For it is certain that the superior half of man, his spiritual soul, was not and could not have been evolved from matter. Again, it is an unproved hypothesis that even man's body was evolved from the brute creation. Moreover, even if man had been the product of evolution on earth, it would be infinitely improbable that he should also be the product of evolution on the other planets. For, according to the mechanical view of evolution, it was only through a long chapter of accidents that man ever came into existence at all on this globe of ours. Consequently the probability of the recurrence elsewhere of the special combination of most complex conditions required to beget and necessary to maintain the miracle of life on any other planet is so remote that it counts for nothing. The chances against its ever happening on earth were trillions to one. The chances against its recurring elsewhere were billions of trillions to one.

Take a parallel instance. Bandage a rifleman's eyes, spin him round time after time until he has no idea where the points of the compass are, then bid him fire off his musket at random. What chance is there that he will hit a shilling that has been hidden in the heather on a hillside a mile away? It is *possible* that he might hit it. For the bullet must strike something, and that something might be the shilling. But there is not the remotest probability. And if the blindfolded shooter should hit the shilling once, what chance would there be of his hitting it a second time? Yet that second hit would be incomparably more probable than the recurrence, outside the earth, of a man produced by evolution.

The odds against purposeless evolution begetting man are incalculably greater than the odds against the whist player drawing all the thirteen trumps. Yet the odds against this latter combination are 158,750,000 to 1! What are the odds, then, against the same player drawing all the trumps twice, or two hundred, or two thousand times? Then, what are the odds against the evolution of man in two, or two hundred, or two thousand worlds?

The immensity of the universe compared with the minuteness of man is rather an anthropomorphic difficulty, which when reduced to its due proportions turns out to be less than at the first blush appears. For the objection depends upon the comparison of the

great with the small. But is not this rather our human way of looking at things? In the eyes of the Infinite and All-powerful First Cause can anything finite be truly called either great or small? For all things, both great and small, He made out of nothing simply by willing their existence. He wished it, and they leaped into being. To the Creator it was as easy to make the molar mass of the Milky Way as to make the molecular mass of the hydrogen atom. Conversely, human power could as little produce the latter as the former; for the act of creation, whether of an atom or of the universe, is essentially an infinite act. To uphold in their orbits one thousand million Suns costs Him as much and as little trouble as to uphold a sparrow in its flight or a hair of your head from falling to the ground.

But, it is asked, what is the good of so gigantic a universe? An intelligent agent acts always to attain an object, to fulfil a purpose, and he proportions his means to the end in view. Yet if man be the climax of the universe, and the outer rind of this tiny earth be man's only dwelling-place, of what possible use are the myriad mightier orbs scattered throughout space? Where is the proportion between means and end? We cannot answer. Creation does, no doubt, fulfil the all-wise purpose of the Creator; but what that purpose may be no man can presume to say for certain. We can but guess.

There are, however, facts which, even if they fail to establish our guesses, serve at least to beget in us a cautious frame of mind. They reveal to us our ignorance; and that, as Socrates assured us, is a large gain. The knowledge of one's ignorance is the beginning of wisdom. For what sight can there be more grotesque than that of finite man, the "ephemeral" as Æschylus dubs him, the creature of a day, the heir to dusty death, dogmatizing about the purposes of his Maker and even denying the existence of God because the finite cannot fathom the intentions of the Infinite!

Among these facts just referred to as fitted to give us pause is this, that our solar system is probably the centre of creation, the hub of the universe. Luigi d'Auria, in a mathematical paper on "Stellar Motion," writes: "We have good reasons to suppose that the solar system is rather near the centre of the Milky Way; and this centre would coincide with the centre of the universe."<sup>1</sup> And that Nestor of scientists, even as he is the doyen of evolutionists, Alfred R. Wallace,<sup>2</sup> wrote a book to prove that the stellar universe forms one connected sphere; that the Milky Way is the equator of that sphere; that the solar system is situated in the plane of the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Franklin Institute*, March, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> "Man's Place in the Universe," 2d ed., p. 317.

Milky Way, and not far removed from the centre of that plane. "Thus the earth is nearly in the centre of the stellar universe." Hence, as man is the climax of earth, so, too (as it would appear), is he the climax of the universe.

The main argument of those who maintain that other worlds possess inhabitants is this, that these worlds are useless as far as earth is concerned, and *must* therefore have been made for the habitation of non-terrestrial man. A very competent astronomer, J. E. Gore,<sup>3</sup> says: "The suns which we call stars were clearly not created for our benefit. They are of very little practical use to the earth's inhabitants. They give us very little light. An additional small satellite—one considerably smaller than the moon—would have been much more useful in this respect than the millions of stars revealed by the telescope. They *must*, therefore, have been formed for some other purpose. We may, therefore, conclude"—that they are inhabited! And another critic,<sup>4</sup> combating the view that our central position might be due to the fact that we were so placed in order to benefit to the utmost by the emanations of the stars, remarks that "we might wander into outer space without losing anything more serious than we lose when the night is cloudy and we cannot see the stars." He does not, however, acquaint us with the sources of his information. What the chemical and electrical effects of the star-emanations may be no man knows. But in face of modern discoveries—say of the powers of radium and of the X-rays—a discreet confession of ignorance would seem to be the wisest course to follow.

Let us repeat it that we neither know nor can know all the purposes of creation. Hence it is futile to affirm that this thing or that thing is objectless, and that the stupendous means are out of all proportion to the trivial end. For that is to assume that the end is trivial.

Suppose a monkey could watch the complicated processes employed in the making of a pin. The end of a pin, he might notice, is to fasten an orchid in your buttonhole! Yet what a disproportion between means and end! How he would wonder at these means—the busy factory, the complicated machinery, the crowds of work-folk, the sub-division of labor, the costly methods employed! Yet has man better data by which to condemn his Maker than the monkey has to condemn the pin manufacturer?

It is obvious on all sides that the Creator is most liberal, nay, lavish, in the means which he uses to attain His ends. For instance, what a vast number of spores one fern in its lifetime will produce;

<sup>3</sup> "The Worlds of Space," c. III.

<sup>4</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, April, 1903, p. 60.



yet of them all one only need fructify in order to replace the parent plant. What an astonishing quantity of ova one salmon, year after year, will bring forth; yet out of all these millions of eggs it is enough if but two come to maturity to supply the places of the male and female parent salmon. An oak tree bears annually thousands of acorns; yet it suffices if, after hundreds of years, but one acorn develops into an oak to take the place of its parent tree.

Similarly, why may not the Creator have made the primordial nebula prolific of countless worlds in order that one—the earth—might become the fit abode of man?

Man is certainly a small creature with a tiny brain. Nevertheless, by that brain he can mentally assimilate the whole universe. Man is limited to time and space; yet with his mind he can step outside both time and space to acquaint himself with eternity and infinity. Within the little sphere of man's head all creation may be summed up. On the tablets of his memory the history of all things can be written. Then why should not God have created, let us say, the furthest star if only for this purpose, that the astronomer might discover its existence and thereby raise his mind to a new act of praise, reverence and service of the Maker? For in that way "the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork."<sup>5</sup>

Hence the universe would seem to have been only the workshop for the manufacture of man. Or, in another way, the universe would appear to be but man's home; a home richly decorated—both for profit and delight—with the most lavish magnificence of suns and systems, of mountains and oceans; adorned with the splendid luxuriance of plants, with countless wealth of animals, with untold variety of exquisite grace of bird and beast, of foliage and flower. Yes, all these things seem to have been made for man, since they can "tell God's glory" only by furnishing man with the means and the motive to glorify the Maker. For "glory" is "clear knowledge with praise," and the irrational creation can of itself neither know nor praise Him. Therefore the whole hierarchy of creation, animate and inanimate, lower than man seems to be like some mighty orchestra in a lone land, dumb until the fingers of man play upon its keys and the breath of man blows upon its vents, and then rich melodies resound amid the solitudes and the crash of mighty symphonies reverberate throughout the everlasting mountains.

Man, dowered with free will, capable of virtue and duty, of truth and self-sacrifice, of love and reverence, of merit and praise, of

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<sup>5</sup> Ps. xviii., 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

service and honor; with a mind competent to embrace present, past and future, to range the limitless realms of time and space; with soul immortal, a being of infinite duration—such a one incomparably outweighs the whole irrational universe. Consequently it seems not improbable that all things were made for man, just as man was made for God.

On this theme Alfred Wallace<sup>6</sup> writes: "All nature tells us the same strange, mysterious story of the exuberance of life, of endless variety, of unimaginable quantity. All this life upon our earth has led up to and culminated in that of man. It has been, I believe, a common and not unpopular idea that during the whole process of the rise and growth and extinction of past forms the earth has been preparing for the ultimate—Man.

"And is it not in perfect harmony with this grandeur of design, this vastness of scale, this marvelous process of development through all the ages that the material universe needed to produce this cradle of organic life (the earth), and of a being destined to a higher and a permanent existence, should be on a corresponding scale of vastness, of complexity, of beauty?

"Even if there were no such evidence as I have here adduced for the unique position and the exceptional characteristics which distinguish the earth, the old idea that all the planets were inhabited and that all the stars existed for the sake of other planets, which planets existed to develop life, would, in the light of our present knowledge, seem utterly improbable and incredible. It would introduce monotony into a universe whose grand character and teaching is endless variety. It would imply that to produce the living soul in the marvelous and glorious body of man—man with his faculties, his aspirations, his powers for good and evil—that this was an easy matter which could be brought about anywhere in the world. It would imply that man is an animal and nothing more, is of no importance in the universe, needed no great preparations for his advent. . . . Looking at the long, and slow, and complex growth of nature that preceded his appearance, the immensity of the stellar universe with its thousand million Suns, and the vast æons of time during which it has been developing—all these seem only the appropriate and harmonious surroundings, the necessary supply of material, the sufficiently spacious workshop for the production of that planet which was to produce, first the organic world and then Man."

## II.

The argument is often adduced that because the Earth is inhabited by man, inhabited, too, by man must the other planets of the solar system be. Such reasoning, however, is not even specious. More-

ever, it can be retorted. For we know for certain that the moon is not inhabited, although she has the advantage of that proximity to the sun which the earth possesses. Why is it not then just as fair an inference that because the moon is not inhabited, neither are the other planets inhabited?

What scientific proof is there that other planets are inhabited? None. Dr. Wallace wrote: "The belief that other planets are inhabited has been generally entertained, not in consequence of physical reasons, but in spite of them."<sup>7</sup>

Sir Robert Ball expresses a like opinion:<sup>8</sup> "I do not think it at all probable that a man could exist, even for five minutes, in any other planet, or on any other body in the universe. . . . Indeed, there seem to be innumerable difficulties in supposing that there can be any residence for man, or for any being nearly resembling man, elsewhere than on his own Earth."

But let us look into the matter a little more in detail. There are obviously here two separate and distinct questions for consideration: First, is there any other planet, besides the earth, the combined and complex conditions of which fit it for the habitation of man?

Secondly, if there exist such a planet, is it *de facto* inhabited by man?

To prove the first would be by no means to establish the second. For if there were such a habitable planet, it might, nevertheless, remain uninhabited.

On the second question we need not dwell. For we know nothing, and can know nothing, about it. Why not? Because it is the assured teaching of science—a teaching as certain (according to Lord Kelvin) as the Law of Gravitation—that life is not evolved by natural causes, from brute matter, but comes only from antecedent life; that is, that life comes from without. Consequently, even if it could be proved that any other planet besides the earth were fitted for man's abode, before the scientist could validly affirm that man abides there he must first show that life has been introduced into that planet from some extrinsic source. And on that head he can have no information of any kind whatever.

At best, then, we can but dip into the first question, and discuss whether or not any other planet be habitable; that is, whether any other planet possesses that complicated combination of circumstances which alone would fit it for the habitation of man. And this it is worth our while to attempt. For though we cannot argue from habitable to inhabited, we can argue from non-habitable to non-inhabited. Yet even on this preliminary question we have but the

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, c. II., p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> "In the High Heavens," 1893, c. II., p. 44.

scantiest information. Again Professor Ball<sup>9</sup> writes: "Especially should we like to know whether the other planets are inhabited. But on this our greatest telescopes can give us no information whatever. We can only form the vaguest surmises."

Moreover, these "vague surmises" all lead to a negative reply.

We shall now, first of all, touch very briefly on the conditions necessary for life. Secondly, we shall consider how far those conditions are fulfilled on Earth. Thirdly, we shall examine to what extent those conditions are verified in the other planets of the Solar System.

### III.

First, then, what are the necessary conditions of life?

Vital phenomena, in the main, appear between 32 degrees and 104 degrees Fahrenheit. The higher plants and animals cannot live perpetually with the thermometer below freezing-point; they would be frozen. They cannot live perpetually with the thermometer much above 100 degrees; they would be fried. On Earth the extremes of heat and cold are nowhere constant, but are diversified by the different seasons. Consequently no land animal passes its whole life in regions where the temperature never rises above the freezing-point. On the other hand, albumen, one of the proteids, and essential to life, coagulates at 160 degrees.

Again, life requires a due supply of solar light and heat. For there can be no land animals where there are no plants, and there can be, practically, no plants where there is not a fit proportion of sunlight and sun-heat.

Water, moreover, is an essential of life. It constitutes something like three-quarters of the body of a living thing. Neither plant nor animal can exist without it. And it must be always present in such quantities and so distributed as to be constantly available. Even a camel cannot live in a waterless Sahara, except so long as the supply which it brought with it lasts.

Besides this, life requires a suitable atmosphere. We live at the bottom of a vast ocean of air, and that ocean must be of high density and of right gases. Nor are these two conditions, in themselves, essentially connected. The density might be right, but the gases wrong. The gases might be right, but the density wrong.

The atmosphere must have a right density. For the atmosphere must be a cloak against excessive heat and a reservoir of heat against excessive cold. As a recipient and reservoir of heat, the atmosphere must be rather dense; not too dense to prevent the sun's rays from passing freely through to warm the earth, yet dense enough to act as

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

a blanket at nighttime, so as to hinder the too rapid escape of the heat accumulated during the day. The heat stored up in the daytime must be given out at night in such quantities as to secure for night and day an approximate uniformity of temperature.

A rare atmosphere has a less capacity for storing heat, and allows of a more copious radiation; that is, loss of heat. Hence, to increase the rarity of the atmosphere is to decrease the temperature. On earth, at about three and a half miles high, our atmosphere has but half the density of that at sea-level. This altitude is considerably greater than the snow-line of the tropics, where, with a fierce heat at their base, there is perpetual snow at the breast of the mountains. Consequently an atmosphere of half the sea-level density of ours would render life, at least for man, a sheer impossibility, for the whole globe would lie buried in perpetual snow and ice. Evaporation from the ocean would indeed be more rapid than with us, but it would be constantly falling as snow, and as continually compacting into ice.

Again, the atmosphere must not only contain the right gases; it must also be a right mixture of the right gases. For the life of plants and of animals the gases, constituent of the air, must be as nicely balanced as are the air's density and temperature. There must be a due supply—neither too much nor too little—of oxygen, nitrogen, carbon and aqueous vapor. And the adjustment of these gases must be exact to a degree. Take two instances. In our atmosphere there is but one part of ammonia—a compound of nitrogen and hydrogen—to a million parts of air; yet this millionth part is essential to plants, for nitrogen they must have, and yet the free nitrogen of the air they are unable to assimilate into their tissues. Therefore, they obtain it from ammonia. Again, carbonic acid gas is but one in two thousand five hundred parts of the air; yet it, too, is essential to plants. In itself it is a poison to animals, and yet an essential for plants, without which animals cannot live. If our atmosphere contained even so little as one part in a hundred of carbonic acid gas, it would suffocate us.

We see, then, that so delicately adjusted are the constituents of our atmosphere that any considerable variation would make life impossible.

The alternation of night and day, as we have it, may also be vital, and that not merely in order that night may be a time of rest both for plants and animals, though that is a point by no means to be overlooked. Miss A. M. Clerke writes: "We are indebted to our satellite for the alternations of day and night, *which make life possible.*"<sup>10</sup> But the chief purpose of this alternation is this, that the

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<sup>10</sup> The Concise Knowledge Library, "Astronomy," Sec. III., "The Solar System," c. V., p. 233.

earth may not have time enough to become either too hot or too cold. If day and night were each considerably longer, the heat accumulated by day and the cold manifested by night would afford such rapid and violent contrasts that, again, the higher vegetation and animal life would be impossible.

Those evolutionists, however, who, at all price, will have it that other worlds are inhabited by man, shrink not from the contention that man *might* exist under conditions totally different from those which obtain on earth. Such an argument we need not controvert. Of course, water *might* run up hill. Plants *might* live without carbonic acid. Animals *might* be found on the airless and waterless moon. Man *might* live at the bottom of the Pacific, But is it much use to discuss such possibilities?

#### IV.

That the above (among other) complex conditions essential to life are verified on earth is, of course, evident, since they are not abstract and speculative, but entirely practical. They are formulated from what we know of our surroundings. With good reason, therefore, may we wonder at the nice balance and delicate adjustment of so many disconnected and conflicting elements, and ask ourselves by what agency it was that they were all thus ordered "in measure, and number, and weight."<sup>11</sup>

Take, as an instance, the earth's distance from the sun. The heat of the sun varies, like gravity, inversely as the square of the distance. At double the distance it would be but one-fourth of its present value. At half the distance it would be four times what it is now. Even at two-thirds the distance it would be twice as much as we experience. Hence, considering the sensitiveness of protoplasm, the "physical basis of life," and of the ease with which albumen coagulates, it is evident that our earth is in the temperate zone of the Solar System. On another planet, notably either nearer to or more remote from the sun, the higher life of flora and fauna would be impossible.

Take another instance. We have pointed out that to fulfill the conditions of life the atmosphere must have a certain density and be composed of a definite admixture of definite gases. What is the factor which determines these two essential conditions? It is partly the mass of the globe in question, for all the different gases are in a state of rapid motion. Their movement may be so quick that the force of gravity on the globe cannot hold back the particles of gas. The centrifugal force of their motion outwards may exceed the

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<sup>11</sup> Wisdom xi., 20.

centripetal force of attraction inwards. With us that is the case with hydrogen gas. This gas moves so nimbly that it escapes into space as rapidly as it is generated by submarine volcanoes, by fissures in volcanic regions, by decaying vegetation and by other methods. Were, however, the mass of the earth much greater, it would have power to retain the hydrogen. With what result? A fatal result. For this hydrogen would mix with the free oxygen of the atmosphere, and thus form so highly explosive a compound that the first flash of lightning would ignite it with a crash so tremendous that earth would become an impossible home for man.

We may, therefore, conclude that the mass of the earth touches the maximum limit fitted for the habitation of man.

We may also note, in passing, the enormous quantity of hydrogen (combined with oxygen) which goes to form our rivers, lakes, seas and oceans. Why did free hydrogen formerly remain on earth to form water when it will not remain now? No one knows. And why did it remain in such exact quantity that the water formed from it fills our ocean beds and yet does not overflow the land? Or, to put the problem in another way, the ocean area of the earth is about two and a half times that of the land. But the bulk of water on the globe is some fifteen times that of land above sea-level. Had our earth been a true oblate spheroid (orange-shaped), the whole would have been covered with water to a depth of two miles! What agency, then, was it that scooped out the ocean beds deep enough to accommodate thus exactly the stupendous amount of hydrogen (combined in water) which remained on earth then? Had there been less hydrogen, in combination with oxygen as water, there would not have been enough water. Had there been one-tenth more hydrogen, the whole land surface would have been submerged. Who produced this exact adjustment? Shall we say that we do not know? But there, at any rate, it is, staring us in the face.

## V.

Have these conditions essential to life been verified anywhere else than on earth?

First, as to the sun. Sir Isaac Newton himself argued that the sun was probably inhabited. Fortenelle even wrote a book, "Conversations on the Plurality of Worlds," to uphold the same opinion. But we might with much more reason argue that the three Jews—Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego—walked unhurt, without miracle, in that fiery furnace which Nebuchadnezzar in his wrath had commanded to be heated seven-fold more than it was wont,<sup>12</sup> for the

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<sup>12</sup> Daniel, c. III.

furnace of the Babylonian king was cool compared with the white-hot metal in a Bessemer converter. Yet Professor Langley has proved experimentally that the sun is eighty-seven times hotter than Bessemer's molten steel.

Next, as to the moon. As her mass is only about one-eightieth that of the earth, the force of gravity on the moon is too weak to retain even so heavy a gas as carbonic acid; with the result that our satellite does not possess a particle of free oxygen, nitrogen or aqueous vapour. Sir R. Ball writes:<sup>13</sup> "Neither the times nor the seasons, neither the gravitation nor the other destructive features of the moon would permit it to be an endurable abode for life of the types we are acquainted with."

Thirdly, as to the planets of the solar system. These are called *inferior* and *superior*, according as they are *within* or *without* the earth's orbit. In the order of proximity to the sun, the inferior are Mercury and Venus; the superior, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune.

First, then, the inferior planets are not inhabited.

Not Mercury. Its mass is but one-thirtieth that of the earth. Hence, oxygen, nitrogen and aqueous vapour would necessarily escape from it. Moreover, the relative distances from the sun of Mercury and earth are as four to ten, so that Mercury is but two-fifths of the earth's distance from the sun.<sup>14</sup> Mercury, therefore, receives over six times as much solar heat as does the earth. It is, therefore, intensely hot. Nor is that all. Mercury keeps always one and the same face towards the sun, so that one side of the planet is hard-baked, the other side is hard-frozen. Consequently, even if there once had been oceans on Mercury—of which there is no proof—they must long ago have been boiled off the hot side and condensed into mountains of ice on the cold side. Therefore, A. M. Clerke<sup>15</sup> writes: "Mercury is, according to our ideas, totally unfitted to be the abode of organic life."

Nor Venus. The relative distances from the sun of Venus and earth are as seven to ten. Venus, therefore, is only seven-tenths the earth's distance from the sun, so that she receives about twice as much solar heat as the earth. She, too, must therefore be very hot. The thermometer in London in August, 1896, registered 93 degrees in the shade. But what would 186 degrees in the shade be like? Again, Venus, like Mercury, rotates on her axis during the same time that she revolves round the sun, and therefore she, too, presents always the

<sup>13</sup> "High Heavens," p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> The mean distance, from the Sun, of Mercury is 36,000,000, of the Earth 92,750,000 miles.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, c. IV., p. 277.



same face to the sun. Consequently, one-half of the planet has perpetual day; the other half has perpetual night, with the result that the cold side must be deeply wrapped in perpetual ice, while the hot side must rise to a temperature far too high for animal life. Miss Clerke sums up in these words: "With due reserve it may be added that Venus and Mercury have been rendered unfit to be the abodes of highly-developed organisms."<sup>16</sup>

Secondly, the superior planets are not inhabited.

Not Mars. The case of this planet we reserve for more detailed discussion later.

Not Jupiter. This mighty planet is not a solid body at all, but either a gaseous or, at any rate, a molten mass. A. M. Clerke writes: "Jupiter is a semi-sun, showing no trace of a solid surface. . . . It is a fluid globe."<sup>17</sup> Hence it is uninhabitable. "I see no likelihood," wrote Sir Robert Ball,<sup>18</sup> "that Jupiter can be the home of any life whatever."

Not Saturn, Uranus or Neptune. Of these outermost planets it is unnecessary to speak in detail. Richard A. Proctor, who stoutly upheld the antecedent probability that the planets are inhabited, and wrote two learned works to maintain his view—"Other Worlds Than Ours" and "Our Place Among Infinities"—comes to the conclusion that the three planets in question are unfit for habitation, and he bases his inference on plain astronomical and physical facts.

Like Jupiter, Saturn is not even a solid. A. M. Clerke<sup>19</sup> says: "There is no probability that either Saturn or Jupiter is, to any extent, solid." And, as is evident, man cannot flourish on a molten globe.

To Uranus the same objection applies. For this planet is still so hot that water could not exist on its surface; nay, that aqueous vapour would be decomposed into its constituent gases, oxygen and hydrogen. Miss Clerke<sup>20</sup> writes: "Uranus is presumably, almost certainly, still too hot to permit the combination of hydrogen and oxygen. And the absence from its spectrum of the slightest trace of aqueous absorption strengthens this inference." Life is certainly impossible under so tremendous a temperature.

Neptune is in like condition. It is so hot that water on its surface would be broken up into its component gases. Miss Clerke<sup>21</sup> writes: "It may be inferred that this planet also is too hot to contain water."

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 326.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 349.

Yet, in spite of this excessive heat from its own interior, Neptune receives so little sunlight and sun-heat that these essential requisites of high organic life are also wanting. For Neptune lies thirty-eight times further off from the sun than does the earth, so that it receives from the sun fourteen hundred times less heat and light than the earth. As Sir R. remarks:<sup>22</sup> "This fact alone would seem to show an insuperable obstacle to the existence of any life on Neptune resembling those types of life with which we are familiar."

It has indeed been argued that these outer planets are cooling down to habitability. The reply is obvious that habitability requires many other vital conditions besides this cooling down. Moreover, such cooling down may take many millions of years. Now, on the materialistic hypothesis, the evolution of life from the lowest forms up to man would take many more millions of years. But the sun is also cooling down, and will one day be as cold as the moon. Lord Kelvin gives the sun only about five or six million years more. He writes: "It would be exceedingly rash . . . to reckon more than five or six million years of sunlight for time to come."<sup>23</sup> Life, under those conditions, with a moon-like sun, would be impossible, for, as Wallace observes,<sup>24</sup> "Jupiter, and the planets beyond him, whose epoch of life-development is supposed to be in the remote future, when they shall have slowly cooled down to habitability, will then be still more faintly illuminated and scantily warmed by a rapidly-cooling Sun, and may thus become, at the best, globes of solid ice."

The case of Mars we have yet to consider. But so far these two points seem to be clear:

First, that even if the essential conditions of life obtained on any other planet, besides the earth, it could not be shown that life had been introduced into that planet, for the assertion that life can be, and would be, evolved by natural processes from non-life is a mere fable.

Secondly, that—Mars for the present apart—no other planet, besides the earth, possesses those complicated and accurately-balanced conditions which are absolutely essential to life.

No other planet is habitable. And even if it were, that would not prove it to be inhabited.

Every other planet is uninhabitable. Therefore, it is uninhabited.

Man, on this earth, is consequently the crown and climax of the universe.

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> Lecture at Royal Institution, published in *Nature Series*, 1889.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, c. XIV., p. 280.

## VI.

Sir Robert Ball<sup>25</sup> tells us that "Mars is the most world-like of all the other globes which come within the range of effective observation."

We have already seen that proof is conspicuous by its absence of the habitability of the other planets—except Mars—of the solar system. The habitability of the stars we need not discuss, for they are beyond "the range of effective observation." And if we cannot prove even for our planets that consummation devoutly to be wished by so many materialists, it is waste of time to try and prove it for the stars.

If man lives a natural life anywhere outside this Earth of ours, every probability points to Mars as that place of abode.

Does man, then, live on Mars?

Let Dr. Ball make answer: "The laws of probability pronounce against the supposition that there is intelligent life on Mars."<sup>26</sup>

We now take up the discussion of this question.

In an astronomical work that was at one time much read<sup>27</sup> the point in question is assumed as indisputable. Having drawn out the analogies between the earth and Mars, the writer says: "Were we warranted, from such circumstances, to form an opinion respecting the physical and moral state of the beings that inhabit Mars, we might be apt to conclude that they are in a condition not altogether very different from that of the inhabitants of our globe."

The actual existence of such beings he takes to be a matter of course; it is only their "condition" that he has any doubts about. Nay, he actually gives a census of the Martian population, and it is instructive to learn from Mr. Dick that it amounts to "twelve times the number of the population of our globe!"

That able astronomer, Richard A. Proctor,<sup>28</sup> finds in Mars so many resemblance to, and so many analogies with, our earth that he, too, holds that planet to be, almost for certain, inhabited.

Flammarion, however, the Parisian astronomer, calls in question Proctor's premises, and concludes to the contrary that "the general order of things is very different on Mars and on the Earth."<sup>29</sup> Flammarion denies, indeed, that man's abode is Earth alone, and in dramatic fashion observes: "Yes, life is universal and eternal, for time is one of its factors. Yesterday the moon, to-day the earth, to-morrow Jupiter. In space there are both cradles and tombs." And if we want proof of this fine language, M. Flammarion is ready

<sup>25</sup> "In the High Heavens," c. VI., pp. 123-124.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>27</sup> Dick's "Celestial Scenery," 12th thousand, c. III., n. 4; "Mars," p. 122.

<sup>28</sup> "Other Worlds Than Ours" and "Our Place Among Infinities."

<sup>29</sup> *Scientific American*, February 29, 1896.

with a copious supply. Here it is: "Infinity encompasses us on all sides; life asserts itself, universal and eternal; our existence is but a fleeting moment, the vibration of an atom in a ray of the sun, and our planet is but an island floating in the celestial archipelago to which no thought will ever place any bounds." And should we suggest to the French savant that all this rhetoric is but "words, words, words," he would plaintively tell us that "in our solar system this little earth has not obtained any special privileges from Nature, and it is strange to wish to confine life within the circle of terrestrial chemistry."<sup>30</sup>

We have really no wish to "confine life within the circle of terrestrial chemistry," if either M. Camille Flammarion or any one else will furnish aught besides eloquence in proof that life exists outside. But it is for him to prove that life exists outside that circle, not for us to prove that it exists only within. We are, however, absolutely certain that we have already furnished ample evidence of the fact that "this little earth *has* obtained" a good many "special privileges from Nature."

Proctor argued that Mars was habitable, and that it must therefore be inhabited. Man might be there; therefore, he must be there. But the writer did not prove his premises.

This is the form of Proctor's argument:

"What is habitable must be inhabited.

"But Mars is habitable.

"Therefore, Mars is inhabited."

Now of this argument he demonstrated neither the major nor the minor premise.

First of all, his major premise, that the habitable *must* be inhabited, he did not prove. His inference is invalid from *might* to *must*. The scholastic axiom is obvious that *a posse ad esse non valet illatio*; you cannot conclude from possibility to actuality. A thing must be possible before it can exist, but it need not exist because it is possible. Proctor based his major premise on vague theological grounds, which, whatever else they might be, were certainly not scientific. Science, as we are being continually and proudly assured, argues only from "observation and experiment." But neither observation nor experiment affords any clue to the presence of man on Mars. Nay, even if (by hypothesis) the planet were inhabited, nevertheless the Martian man could not be perceived either by observation or experiment, for, under the most favorable conditions, Mars is distant from the earth never less than thirty-five million miles. At this time its apparent diameter is that of half a sovereign viewed at two thousand yards from the spectator!

<sup>30</sup> *Knowledge*, June, 1903.

We have all, indeed, heard of the possibility of signals between Mars and the earth! But if the whole planet, forty-two hundred miles wide, looks only as big as half a sovereign over a mile off, what size would a man look? Over a million times smaller than the gold piece in question. The signaling flags, to be visible at all, would have to be larger than Ireland. And Brobdingnagians, indeed, would the signal men have to be who should lightly wield flags of those dimensions!

Nor could we solve the problem by viewing Mars through the gigantic Lick telescope, which reduces the apparent distance of an object to about one-thousandth part of its actual amount. It would lessen the distance of Mars from thirty-five millions to thirty-five thousand miles. But that is a dozen times as far away as is Europe from America. You can hardly see a man half a mile away. A score of miles away—say, in a balloon—he would be quite imperceptible. The smallest visible speck on Mars, viewed through the Lick thirty-six-inch instrument, would have to be as big as London. A Martian Liverpool and Manchester, united into one city, would not look as large as a pin-point.

It may be objected against us that if a house is habitable, it was at least meant for habitation; and therefore if Mars is habitable, it was at least meant for habitation. We reply, however, that that is a false analogy. For we know that the sole purpose of a habitable house is that it should be used for habitation. But we cannot prove that the sole purpose of Mars, even if habitable, is that it should be inhabited. A house is habitable *per se*; Mars might be habitable *per accidens*. The conditions which make for habitability might also make for some other purpose of an entirely different kind—a purpose of which we are quite ignorant.

Therefore, to the question: "If Mars be habitable, is it inhabited?" we can give no answer. It might be, or it might not. We know absolutely nothing about it.

Against this last statement, however, it may be urged that we know, by inference, of the presence of man on Mars. For Mars is intersected by a network of *artificial* canals, dug by Martian men for the purpose of irrigating the Martian Saharas! A well-known astronomer, Mr. Percival Lowell, has no doubt of this fact. He tells us that, undoubtedly, certain districts of Mars are "artificially fertilized by the canal system. . . . Here, then, we have an end and reason for the existence of canals, and the most natural conceivable—namely, that the canals are constructed for the express purpose of fertilizing the oases."<sup>31</sup>

Mr. Dick has informed us of the number of Mars' population.

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<sup>31</sup> "Popular Astronomy," Vol. I, 1895, p. 348.

Mr. Lowell now informs us of the engineering works with which this population has improved the planet it inhabits!

Professor Tyndall, it would appear, was not the only one who indulged in the use of the "Imagination in Science!"

Sir Robert Ball, a not incompetent authority, does not share in Mr. Lowell's confidence. He writes:<sup>32</sup> "Speculations have naturally been made as to the explanation of these wonderful canals. It has been suggested that they are rivers. But it hardly seems likely that the drainage of continents on so small a globe as Mars would require an elaborate system of rivers, each sixty miles wide and thousands of miles in length. There is, however, a more fatal objection to the river theory in the fact that the marks we are trying to interpret sometimes cross a Martian continent from ocean to ocean, while on other occasions they seem to intersect each other. Such phenomena are, of course, well-nigh impossible, if these so-called canals were in any respect analogous to the rivers which we know on our own globe."

Nor are these the only difficulties against the theory of "artificial irrigation." For instance, some of these single canals on Mars are suddenly—within twenty-four hours, and that simultaneously along their whole course of thousands of miles—transformed into double canals, which "run straight and equal with the exact geometrical precision of the two rails of a railroad."<sup>33</sup>

If this second canal is also "artificial" and is "artificially" thus flooded, the Martians are something like engineers!

Professor Campbell,<sup>34</sup> however, seems to have given the "artificial irrigation" theory its deathblow. For he has proved that the "canal" districts of Mars, instead of being a flat expanse, are intersected by mountains 10,000 feet high. Now, even Martian engineers would hardly manage, we should imagine, to run canals over the tops of Martian Mont Blancs!

Mr. Lowell had confidently written<sup>35</sup> that "when we consider the amazing system of the canal lines we are carried to this conclusion (of the irrigation theory) as forthright as is the water itself." In view, however, of the fact that these imaginary engineering works are sixty miles wide, are thousands of miles long, are double, run straight and equal like curveless railway lines, and traverse mountainous regions, we may safely agree with Miss A. M. Clerke's more cautious conclusion that "these systems of canals offer at present no

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<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, c. VI., p. 144.

<sup>33</sup> Schiaparelli, of the Milan observatory, *Astronomy and Astro-Physics*, November, 1894, p. 720.

<sup>34</sup> "Publ. A. S. P.," Vol. VI., p. 273.

<sup>35</sup> L. c.

hold for profitable speculation.”<sup>36</sup> Schiaparelli<sup>37</sup> agrees with Miss Clerke and is compelled to trust to “the courtesy of nature” for some future ray of light wherewith to penetrate the mystery. And, not unwisely, he deprecates recourse to human beings with their engineering exploits. Indeed, he thinks that such arbitrary modes of dealing with grave problems hinder the advance of science and impede the acquisition of truth. Science should make theories square with facts, not facts with theories. In science the wish should not be father to the thought.

Having disposed of this “canal” objection, we may now resume our argument. We turn, therefore, to Proctor’s minor premise that Mars is habitable. We reply that Mars has not been proved habitable. On the contrary, all the data are against habitability.

If Mars were habitable, it would possess water and water-vapor. For these two are among the essential requisites of life. Does Mars possess them? Whether it holds water-vapour or not depends—as explained already—on the planet’s mass and on its consequent ability to retain the vapour. Now, the mass of Mars is only one-ninth that of the earth, and therefore the probability is that its force of gravity—not more than two-fifths that of the earth—is insufficient to retain water-vapour. Dr. Alfred Wallace says unhesitatingly: “Mars has not sufficient mass to retain water-vapour, and without it cannot be habitable.”<sup>38</sup> Professor Ball, however, thinks that the mass of Mars is enough to retain this vapour, but that Mars is the minimum mass that can do so. If this latter opinion be correct, the earth’s mass is the maximum, Mars’ the minimum, of habitability.<sup>39</sup> Ball confesses, however, that “clouds are comparatively an unimportant feature on Mars.”<sup>40</sup> No one, indeed, denies that there are clouds, very thin clouds, on Mars, but it has to be shown that they are formed of water. And even if they are, they are not rain-clouds, but must be those whitish masses of suspended crystals which we call cirrus-clouds, such as are formed in our own atmosphere by the condensation at heights of from 17,000 to 20,000 feet of vapor into the solid form. Hence Miss Clerke writes<sup>41</sup> that “in the atmosphere of Mars it would be rarely possible to find collections of cloud capable of producing rain of any consequence.”

If Mars possesses water-vapour, does the planet also contain water from which the vapour is evaporated? Dr. Wallace<sup>42</sup> thinks it does

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, c. VI., p. 305.

<sup>37</sup> L. c.

<sup>38</sup> “Man’s Place in the Universe,” c. XIV., p. 266.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, c. II., p. 133.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

not. "It is almost certain that it contains no water." And to the plausible objection that Mars shows polar snows, which melt in the Martian summer, and thus produce water, Wallace replies that these snows are "caused by carbonic acid or by some other heavy gas."<sup>43</sup> Even Ball is far from asserting that the snows at the poles of Mars are snows in our sense of the word. He says:<sup>44</sup> "These polar snows must be some white material . . . possibly of some liquid other than water."

Therefore, whether or not there be on Mars either water-vapour or water is, at least, uncertain. It is not proven. But if there be any water, it must be very little. A. M. Clerke<sup>45</sup> tells us that "the proportion of water to land is much smaller on Mars than on the earth. Only two-sevenths of the disc are covered by the dusky areas, and of late the aqueous nature of some, if not of all of these, has been seriously called in question." Professor Pickering<sup>46</sup> showed that "the permanent water area upon Mars, *if it exist at all*, is extremely limited in its dimensions." And he estimates this hypothetical water area at half the size of the Mediterranean! Professor Schaeberle<sup>47</sup> does not believe that the so-called seas are seas at all. And Professor Barnard, with the great Lick telescope, discovered that these seas resembled, and probably were, a mountainous country broken by cañon, rift and ledge!

The *onus probandi* lies on those who affirm the habitability of Mars; yet so far, in their attempts to prove the presence of water and water-vapour, they have made many bold assertions, but have adduced uncommonly little evidence.

Next, as to the temperature of Mars. We have considered already the delicate combination of nicely balanced conditions necessary for the production of a climate fitted for human life. What proof positive is there that such conditions obtain on Mars?

A definite amount of sunshine is necessary to sustain the life of man. He can live permanently neither in an ice house nor in a furnace. Yet Mars must be something like an ice house. For the planet receives, per unit of surface, considerably less than half the sunshine which warms the earth. Again, the Martian atmosphere must necessarily be very thin. It has been calculated that the density of this atmosphere on the surface of the planet can be only about one-seventh that of the earth at sea-level. In other words, the air on the surface of Mars is twice as thin as on the peaks of the Himalayas! That fact alone seems fatal to life. For in an air of such tenuity it would be hard for man to breathe; he could only gasp. Again, an atmosphere with such a lack of density would

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 267.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 140-141.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 305.



make it impossible for the planet to retain during the night the comparatively small amount of heat which it had absorbed during the daytime. Sir R. Ball<sup>48</sup> writes: "It is the atmosphere which to a large extent mitigates the fierceness with which the Sun's rays would beat down on the globe, if it were devoid of such protection. Again, at night the atmospheric covering serves to screen us from the cold that would otherwise be the consequence of unrestricted radiation from the earth into space. It is, therefore, obvious that the absence of a copious atmosphere, though perhaps not so absolutely incompatible with life of some kind, must still necessitate types of life of a wholly different character from those with which we are familiar." Mars, being devoid of a "copious atmosphere," cannot, then, be the abode of man at any rate.

Mars must be intensely cold; so cold, indeed, that "the theoretical mean temperature is 61 degrees Fahrenheit below the freezing-point."<sup>49</sup>

Schiaparelli<sup>50</sup> writes: "The climate of Mars must resemble that of a clear day upon a high mountain. By day, a very strong solar radiation, hardly at all mitigated by mist or vapour; by night, a copious radiation from the soil towards celestial space, and hence a very marked radiation, consequently a climate of extremes and great changes of temperature from day to night and from one season to another . . . would be notably increased by their long duration."<sup>51</sup>

Alfred Wallace<sup>52</sup> holds that "during the greater part of the twenty-four hours the surface temperature of Mars would probably be much below the freezing-point of water; and this, taken in conjunction with the total absence of aqueous vapour or liquid water, would add still further to its unsuitability for animal life."

Furthermore, what are the constituents of the atmosphere of Mars? For, as we saw formerly, it is absolutely essential to life not only that the air which plants and animals breathe should be composed of certain constituent gases, but also that these gases should be mixed in a certain definite proportion. Is the air of Mars thus constituted of the right gases and mixed in the right proportion? There is not the slightest proof forthcoming that it is.

First of all, without oxygen and nitrogen in given proportions

<sup>46</sup> *Astronomy and Astro-Physics*, August, 1894, p. 554.

<sup>47</sup> "Publ. Astro. Soc. of the Pacific," Vol. II., p. 196.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>49</sup> Clerke, *Ibid.*, p. 308.

<sup>50</sup> *Astronomy and Astro-Physics*, October, 1894, p. 640.

<sup>51</sup> The Martian day is twenty-four hours, thirty-seven minutes. The Martian year is 687 days—nearly twice as long as that of the Earth—with the result that the Martian seasons are nearly twice as long as ours.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

organic life cannot exist. Does the Martian atmosphere contain oxygen and nitrogen thus properly mixed? There is no evidence that it does. There is no real evidence that this essential composition of gases is there at all, nor are we sure that, even if it were there, the small density of Mars due to its small mass would enable the planet to retain it. Sir R. Ball<sup>53</sup> writes that "as to what the composition of the atmosphere on Mars may be, we can say but little," and he quite recognizes the fact that "there may now be no free oxygen in its atmosphere."

To sum up. Not only, then, have we no jot of proof that Mars is inhabited by man, we have not even any tittle of evidence that the planet is habitable by man. Nay, facts point strongly in the other direction. Even so very sanguine a writer on this subject as Dr. Ball is compelled to admit that "it is not in the least likely that any man, woman or child transplanted from this Earth to Mars could live and thrive there. The temperature might be endurable, and water appears to be not wanting, but I do not think we have any reason to expect that the atmosphere would suit human beings, either in quantity or in quality."<sup>54</sup>

Here we conclude. The materialistic evolutionist argues against Christianity that man is not restricted to the Earth among the spheres any more than he is restricted to Europe upon the Earth; and, therefore, to affirm that God died only for terrestrial man is as absurd as to affirm that He died only for European man. To this objection we have supplied, as it seems to us, a crushing answer. For, according to the highest scientists, the Earth alone is inhabited and is inhabitable by man. Not only is there no proof that an extra terrestrial man exists; there is no proof that there is any place where he could exist. That other planets are inhabited, or even inhabitable, is a wild assertion for which no shadow of real evidence has up to this been produced.

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<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, c. II., p. 51.

## A HARMONY OF THE RESURRECTION.

HERE is much more in the Gospel than it explicitly contains, even regarding it simply as history. A striking characteristic of the Evangelists is their reserve. Not only did St. Luke address his Gospel to one already instructed (St. Luke i., 3-4), but it is evident that the other Evangelists also wrote primarily for those who were familiar with unrecorded facts which threw light on the Gospel narratives.

Our ignorance of many things known to the first readers of the Gospel obliges us to resort to conjecture; and often when we would like to be certain we must say "perhaps."

But while we must remain in uncertainty as to some points of Gospel history, at the same time there is no difficulty in the way of a harmony of the Evangelists for which a reasonable explanation cannot be found. And many hidden truths of Gospel history are revealed through a careful comparison of the Evangelists.

Writing of events which took place in their own time, events in which they took an absorbing interest, the presumption is that the Evangelists knew the exact truth and recorded nothing contrary to it. A contradiction even regarding a detail would not be a matter of slight importance. The judgment of Daniel condemning the elders rested on the detail of the difference between two trees.

That the Evangelists in writing of the Resurrection do not undertake to give a full and complete account of the apparitions of Christ is sufficiently shown by the fact that they do not give any account of the special apparition to Simon-Peter (I. Cor. xv., 15); it is only referred to (St. Luke xxiv., 34), and the special apparition to James, of which the Evangelists must have known, since it was known to the Apostle of the Gentiles (I. Cor. xv., 7), is not even mentioned in the Gospel. Neither is there recorded any apparition to the Mother of Christ.

There is no part of the Gospel so difficult to harmonize as the part dealing with the Resurrection. To show that the seemingly contradictory Evangelistic accounts of the day on which Christ rose again from the dead are not in reality contradictory, is to refute one of the strongest charges against the historical accuracy of the Gospel.

The difficulties which have seemed to make it impossible to give a harmonious account of the recorded events of the Resurrection day are chiefly in regard to the women to whom the angelic announcement was made.

It seems to be implied by the Synoptic Evangelists (in a different way by each of the three) that Mary Magdalene heard the angelic

announcement at her first coming to the sepulchre; but it is certain from the Fourth Gospel that she did not (St. John xx., 2).

It would seem from St. Luke that Mary the mother of James was one of the women to whom the Resurrection was announced at early dawn (St. Luke xxiv., 1-10); yet according to St. Mark, Mary the mother of James was one of the women who, when the sun had risen, were coming to the sepulchre, questioning who would roll away the stone for them (St. Mark xvi., 1-3). The chief difficulty, however, is this: According to the Fourth Gospel, when Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene on the morning of the Resurrection she was weeping for Him, not knowing that He had risen (St. John xx., 15), yet it is certain from St. Matthew that she was one of the women who heard the angelic announcement (St. Matt. xxviii., 1-6). The Evangelists here seem to conflict irreconcilably. But it may be that even after she had seen the risen Lord she did not understand the truth of the Resurrection. She may not have understood it until she was convinced by the angelic announcement that Christ had appeared to her in the same body that had been placed in the tomb.

It would not be strange if Mary Magdalene did not realize the truth of the Resurrection immediately upon seeing the risen Lord. She was by no means credulous as she is sometimes represented to have been. When she found the sepulchre empty she did not even hope that Christ had risen, but ran to Peter and John and said to them: "They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him." (St. John xx., 2.)

So when Christ, after He had spoken to her, suddenly disappeared, she would naturally think that she had seen a spirit, as the Apostles thought that they saw a spirit when He appeared in the midst of them, until He assured them of the reality of His risen body, saying to them: "Handle and see, for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as you see Me to have." (St. Luke xxiv., 37-39.)

The Fourth Evangelist says nothing of the incredulity of Mary Magdalene as to the reality of Christ's risen body, but neither does that Evangelist mention the incredulity of the Apostles when he tells of the apparition to them (St. John xx., 19-24). It is St. Luke who mentions that the Apostles thought that they saw a spirit, and it is St. Matthew who, in making known that Mary Magdalene heard the angelic announcement, gives ground for the supposition that she, also, thought that Christ was a spirit.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to St. Matthew we find that he prefaces the angelic announcement by saying: "The angel answering said to the women" (St. Matt. xxviii., 5), and though Salome was present, as we see from

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<sup>1</sup> Up to the time that she recognized the Lord, she was reiterating her belief that His body had been taken away (St. John xx., 13-15).

St. Mark, the only women St. Matthew mentions in his account of the Resurrection are Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James; so that we must conclude that Mary Magdalene was one of the women addressed by the angel.

It is impossible to suppose that after hearing the angelic announcement she stood at the sepulchre weeping; for doubting the word of an angel Zacharias was stricken dumb (St. Luke i., 19-22). Moreover, the women, of whom Mary Magdalene was one, when they came out from the sepulchre went quickly, as they had been told by the angel to go—they ran (St. Matt. xxviii., 7-8).

But like Peter and the two disciples of Emmaus, Mary Magdalene saw the Lord twice on the first Easter day. Having disappeared from her at the sepulchre that she, as well as the other women, might hear the announcement of the Resurrection from the appointed messengers, He appeared to her and her companions as they were returning with great joy (St. Matt. xxviii., 8-9). And it may thus be that the message in regard to the Ascension which the Fourth Evangelist records (St. John xx., 17), was not given to her until after she heard the angelic announcement.

It being in accordance with the spiritual body (I. Cor. xv., 44) with which Christ had risen to suddenly appear and disappear, there is only the question as to when the disappearance from Mary Magdalene took place. We seem justified by St. Matthew's Gospel in supposing that it was before she received a message to take to the Apostles; in other words, that when she recognized the Lord He disappeared, as He vanished from the sight of the two disciples at Emmaus when they knew Him in the breaking of bread (St. Luke xxiv., 31).

It is no more remarkable that St. John omits to mention the angelic announcement and the second apparition to Mary Magdalene than that the same Evangelist in his history of Passion omits to mention the sending of Christ to Herod and the return to pilate.

Important events always give the impression of occupying much time; but even though the angelic announcement intervened, the two apparitions to Mary Magdalene may have been only a few minutes apart. It may have been very near the sepulchre that Christ met the women as they were running. The two apparitions are so closely connected as to be almost one.

In reading the Fourth Gospel we receive a strong impression that the words which followed Mary Magdalene's recognition of the Lord followed immediately; it seems at first like doing violence to the text to suppose otherwise. But not when we consider the method of the Evangelists—that they omit much which an ordinary writer would be certain to record. The Fourth Evangelist expressly

states that he left unrecorded many signs which Jesus did (St. John xx., 30). St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles specifies that between the Resurrection and the Ascension forty days intervened, during which Christ showed Himself to the Apostles by many proofs (Acts i., 3); and yet St. Luke in his Gospel, "the former treatise," having told of only the first apparition to the Apostles, proceeds to record the Ascension as though no other apparitions had intervened (St. Luke xxiv., 36-53).

Such being the method of the Evangelists, it does not seem much to suppose that the words which to judge from the Fourth Gospel alone, followed immediately upon Mary Magdalene's recognition of the Lord, were not spoken until a few minutes later.

Thus even though, according to the Fourth Evangelist, Mary Magdalene saw the Lord as she was at the sepulchre weeping, not knowing that He had risen, while according to St. Matthew she was one of the women who heard the angelic announcement, it cannot be said that the Evangelists therefore contradict one another, for it must be admitted that it is at least possible that she heard the announcement after she saw the risen Lord, but before she fully realized the truth of the Resurrection.

It is at least possible; and the fact that it seems to be the *only* possible explanation of the difficulty makes it more than possible to a believer in the historical accuracy of the Gospel.

We might infer from St. Matthew's Gospel that Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James arrived at the sepulchre at the very beginning of the dawn when the angel rolled away the stone, and that they immediately heard from that angel the announcement of the Resurrection (St. Matt. xxviii., 1-5). But the Greek in the first verse of the last chapter of St. Matthew allows of the interpretation that at the beginning of the dawn, when the angel rolled away the stone, the two women had only set out for the sepulchre.

As the Greek verb (*elthen*) in St. Matthew xxviii., 1, which is translated "came," may be translated "went;" instead of reading "Came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre," we may read, "Went Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre." The substitution of *went* for *came* not only reconciles St. Matthew with St. John, but also St. Mark, who makes known that when the Resurrection was announced to these women the sun had risen (St. Mark xvi., 1-6). From the Vulgate we may read: "Cometh Mary Magdalene and the other Mary." And although the primary meaning of the verb "*venit*" does not grammatically agree with the Greek verb, which requires either "went" or "came," yet essentially the same meaning is conveyed, for as soon as the women have set out it can be said that they are coming.

The question of the time of their arrival is thus left open so far as St. Matthew's Gospel is concerned. While Mary of James perhaps stopped on the way for Salome, Mary Magdalene, hastening on to the sepulchre, arrived for the first time when it was still that part of the dawn which more resembles night than day (St. John xx., 1). Before Mary of James arrived with Salome, when the sun had risen, Mary Magdalene may have had time to come for her second visit to the sepulchre. We do not know where Peter and John were when she saw them, but we do know that she *ran* to them, and that they *ran* to the sepulchre (St. John xx., 2-4). Having seen for themselves that Christ was not there, they departed. But Mary stood there weeping (St. John xx., 10-11).

When Christ appeared to her she may not have looked closely at Him, which would account for her supposing Him to be the gardener, the sepulchre being in a garden. The Greek verb "*theorei*" in St. John xx., 14, does not indicate an attentive gaze, but simply that she observed Him. When it is said, for instance, that the maid at the fireplace looked intently at Peter (St. Luke xxii., 56), another verb (*atenisasa*) is used, which indicates that manner of looking.

As Mary Magdalene straightened up from the stooping posture which she had to assume in order to see into the sepulchre, she became aware that some one was standing near her; but, without looking attentively to see who it was, she may have turned aside to hide her tears. And it seems that, her mind being preoccupied, she did not hear Christ's first recorded words: "Woman, why weep-est thou?" for she did not answer His question. And when He spoke again, calling her by name, she was not yet looking towards Him, for she turned to say to Him: "Rabboni" (St. John xx., 11-16).

It does not follow from St. Mark's Gospel that the women who bought spices when the Sabbath was past all came to the sepulchre together. As St. Mark in his account of the Resurrection mentions two women besides Mary Magdalene, when he speaks of the women in general Mary Magdalene may, for sufficient reason, be excepted.

So then, the sun having risen, Mary the mother of James and Salome came to the sepulchre, asking one another who would roll away the stone for them (St. Mark xvi., 2-3). And the angel who at the beginning of the dawn had rolled it away, appearing at the entrance of the sepulchre, made known to them and to Mary Magdalene that Christ had truly risen (St. Matt. xxviii., 2-7).

If she thought that Christ had appeared to her as a spirit she would naturally be troubled and affrighted, as the Apostles were under a similar misapprehension; so that the admonition to the women not to fear would apply to her in a special manner. And the words of the angel, "He is not here, for He is risen" (St. Matt.

xxviii., 6), would give her the assurance that Christ had appeared to her in the same body that had been placed in the sepulchre. Until she received that assurance she would not give up her search for the crucified body of Christ (St. Matt. xxviii., 5).

The words of the angel, "Come and see the place where the Lord lay," would seem to have been addressed exclusively to the women who had come to the sepulchre for the first time, but those words may have been meant also for Mary Magdalene, even though she had seen that Christ was not there. She was to look upon the sepulchre with different eyes. Having regarded it as the desecrated place of Christ's burial, at the invitation of the angel she was to look upon it as the glorious place from which He had risen. And having gone of her own accord to tell the disciples that the body of the Lord had been taken away, now she was to go to them with messages from heaven that He had risen (St. Matt. xxviii., 7), and would go before them into Galilee (St. Mark xvi., 7).

According to the Fourth Gospel Mary Magdalene, just before she saw the Lord, had seen two angels seated in the sepulchre who asked her why she wept (St. John xx., 11-13). And it is evident from a comparison of the Gospels that both angels proclaimed the Resurrection to her and her companions. The women were without when the first angel, appearing at the entrance to the sepulchre, spoke to them, for he said to them: "Come see the place where the Lord lay" (St. Matt. xxviii., 6). And on entering the sepulchre they saw the other angel seated within, who said to them: "Behold the place where they laid Him!" (St. Mark xvi., 6).<sup>2</sup>

The message which the first angel gave the women for the disciples was simply that Christ had risen (St. Matt. xxviii., 7). The message from the second angel was that Christ would go before His disciples into Galilee, where they should see Him (St. Mark xvi., 7). The Apostles were to see Christ that very day in Jerusalem (St. John xx., 19), yet the angel spoke of the meeting in Galilee, for that meeting was to be in fulfillment of a prophecy which Christ had made on the night before His death (St. Mark xiv., 28).

The women were penetrated with the fear which a manifestation of the supernatural inspires. The first angel had said to them, "Fear not;" and the words of the second angel were also reassuring, yet when they went out from the sepulchre they were trembling (St. Mark xvi., 8). With fear and great joy they ran to tell the disciples (St. Matt. xxviii., 8), but they said nothing to any one (in the way); for they were afraid (St. Mark xvi., 8). And Christ, meeting them, said to them: "All hail" (St. Matt. xxviii., 9).

<sup>2</sup> Quæritis in St. Mark xvi., 6, may be translated "sought" instead of "seek."



The fact that the women, coming up to worship Him, took hold of His feet (St. Matt. xxviii., 9), would go to show that He had not said to Mary Magdalene at the sepulchre, "Do not touch Me" (St. John xx., 17), but rather that He now said to her, as the words may be translated, "Do not cling to Me."

We can well believe that Mary Magdalene, willing that the others should precede her with the good tidings, had kept hold of Christ's feet, fearing that He would again disappear. It was the same Lord who in Galilee had been pleased when the woman who was a sinner kissed His feet (St. Luke vii., 45). Now He said: "Do not cling to Me," but honored Mary Magdalene above the other women, sending her to prophesy the Ascension (St. John xx., 17).

It was to women that the Resurrection was announced. And they were thus honored, not simply because they came to the sepulchre, but it was to be so. Peter and John came, but saw only the linen cloths and the napkin (St. John xx., 4-10).

At least five women were at the sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection. For St. Luke, having mentioned three by name—Mary Magdalene, Joanna and Mary of James—adds: "And the other women with them" (St. Luke xxiv., 10).

The Gospels show on comparison that two distinct groups of women heard the angelic announcement. Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James and Salome, who bought spices when the Sabbath was past, heard the Resurrection announced when the sun had risen (St. Mark xvi., 1-6). But the Gospel tells also of Joanna and her companions, who having prepared spices before the Sabbath (St. Luke xxiii., 55-56), came at early dawn (*orthrou batheos*) to the sepulchre and returned to tell the Apostles that they had found it empty, and had had a vision of angels announcing the Resurrection of the Lord (St. Luke xxiv., 1-8). This group of women, comparatively unknown, had the honor of being the first to whom the Resurrection was announced.

It was of Joanna and her companions that the two disciples on their way to Emmaus spoke, saying: "Certain women of our company affrighted us, having been at the sepulchre before it was light, and not finding His body, they came saying they had seen a vision of angels, who say that He is alive" (St. Luke xxiv., 22-23).<sup>8</sup>

The circumstances of the announcement to Joanna and her companions show it to be entirely distinct from that to Salome and her companions. One announcement was at early dawn, the other when the sun had risen. The first was made by two angels

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<sup>8</sup> Judging from the conversation of the two disciples, they had left the company of the apostles before the return of the women, who met the Lord in the way.

as they stood beside women who were within the sepulchre; the second was made by an angel to women who were yet outside of the sepulchre, and was confirmed by an angel whom they saw seated within when they entered.

Mary Magdalene may have been with the women who came at early dawn to the sepulchre (St. Luke xxiv., 1); but she must have left them before the apparition of the angels.

It was not immediately upon the arrival of Joanna and her companions that the angels appeared. These women were standing within the sepulchre, at a loss at not finding there the body of the Lord, before the angels stood by them, saying: "Why seek you the living among the dead?" and announced to them the Resurrection (St. Luke xxiv., 4-7).

The disciples were to be convinced first that the sepulchre was empty, and then that Christ had risen. To those who were yet incredulous of the Resurrection the one important fact was that the sepulchre was empty. The disciples of Emmaus told their unknown companion that those who went to the sepulchre that day found it even so as the women had said (St. Luke xxiv., 24); that is, they found that Christ was not there (St. Luke xxiv., 12; St. John xx., 3-10)<sup>4</sup>.

Though St. Luke, after telling of the coming of the women at early dawn, of their finding the sepulchre empty and of the announcement of the angels to them, mentions Mary Magdalene among the women who told these things (St. Luke xxiv., 10), yet he does not say that *each* of the women mentioned by name told *all* these things. It suffices, so far as Mary Magdalene's first visit is concerned, that she found the sepulchre empty, and in her own way made known the fact.

Having gathered together the recorded events of the Resurrection day, we may say, "The four Evangelists tell these things," though each does not tell all.

As St. Matthew is reconciled with St. John in regard to Mary Magdalene's first coming by the supposition that she and Mary the mother of James set out for the sepulchre at the beginning of the dawn, the Greek allowing of that interpretation, and as St. Mark is reconciled with St. John by the supposition that Mary Magdalene was not with Mary the mother of James and Salome as they approached the sepulchre, it not being said that they all three came together, so St. Luke is reconciled with St. John by the supposition that Mary Magdalene was not with Joanna and her companions when the angels appeared, it not being said that each of the women told all these things.

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<sup>4</sup> *Ipsium vero non invenerunt* (St. Luke xxiv., 24).

For though judging from each one of the Synoptic Evangelists, it seems most probable that Mary Magdalene heard the angelic announcement at her first coming to the sepulchre, the probability of the three to that effect, is outweighed by the certainty of the Fourth Evangelist to the contrary. It is not three against one, but the seeming probability of three against the certainty of one.

Now *if* St. Luke, when he says of the women whom he mentions by name that they told these things to the Apostles, means not merely the things in general concerning the sepulchre being found empty, and the Resurrection being announced, but that they told what they had learned (at least in part) under the very circumstances which he had just recorded, then there must have been a second Mary of James who came to the sepulchre. For she who came with Salome when the sun had risen, questioning who would roll away the stone (St. Mark xvi., 1-2), could not have learned at early dawn that the body of Christ was not in the sepulchre (St. Luke xxiv., 1, 3, 10, 22). There is no good reason why there may not have been among the followers of the Lord two women called Mary of James. There was more than one James even among the Apostles. Moreover, "Mary of James" might mean the mother, the wife, the daughter or the sister of James. She who came with Salome was the mother of James the Less (St. Mark xv., 40). That there may have been with Joanna a certain Mary of James, mentioned only once by St. Luke (Chap. xxiv, 10), and not mentioned at all by the other Evangelists, does not appear especially remarkable when we consider that there were several persons who are each mentioned in the Gospel only once. There is Susanna, mentioned only once, when Luke distinguishes her by name among the women disciples of Christ in Galilee (St. Luke viii., 3). Then there is the case of Alexander and Rufus. St. Mark describes Simon of Cyrene as the father of Alexander and Rufus (St. Mark xv., 21), yet these two sons of Simon had not been mentioned before nor are they mentioned afterward in the Gospel.

The early Christians would know who was meant by each Mary of James, just as they knew who was meant by Susanna, Alexander and Rufus. The two Marys might be called by the same name even though one of them had a distinctive name. The leader of the Apostles had the distinctive name of Peter; yet we find him sometimes called Simon (St. Luke xiv., 37; xxii., 31), notwithstanding the fact of there being another Apostle Simon.

There is a popular belief that (including Mary Magdalene) there were "three Marys" at the sepulchre. If this belief is the survival of a tradition to that effect it is easily seen how in the course of time the name of Mary came to be ascribed to Salome, she being closely

associated with Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James in the account of the Resurrection.<sup>5</sup>

St. Luke can be reconciled with St. Mark, and incidentally the three Marys can be accounted for on the supposition that the Mary of James mentioned by St. Luke was a different person from Mary the mother of James the Less, who with Mary Magdalene (and Salome) heard the Resurrection announced when the sun had risen.

Cleophas and his companion, who recognized the Lord at Emmaus on the day of the Resurrection (St. Luke xxiv., 13-31), returning to Jerusalem, were present at the apparition of Christ to the Apostles when it was late that same day (Comp. St. Luke xxiv., 33-41; St. John xx., 19-20). The two disciples are usually represented as arriving at Emmaus about sunset, because on reaching there they said to their unknown Companion: "Stay with us, for it is toward evening, and the day is now far spent." But even supposing that they did not exaggerate the lateness of the hour in urging Him to be their guest, who had made their hearts burn within them as He spoke (St. Luke xxiv., 32), still the Jewish day, as it ended with sunset, was far spent by about the ninth hour, at the time of the evening sacrifice. If they left Emmaus in the evening of the declining sun, that is to say, the late afternoon, they may well have reached Jerusalem before the day was ended, Emmaus being is made known incidentally that before the rest of the Apostles saw only about seven miles from Jerusalem (St. Luke xxiv., 13). Considering the circumstances under which they had seen the Lord, they would be apt to think that they were the only ones who had seen Him, and they doubtless returned with eager haste, as those who have joyful and startling news to tell. On their return they were greeted with the announcement that the Lord was risen indeed, and had appeared to Simon (St. Luke xxiv., 33-34). And thus it is made known incidentally that before the rest of the Apostles saw the Lord Peter had seen Him, and had been the cause of others earning the blessedness of those who had not seen and yet believed (St. John xx., 29).

The two disciples found the eleven gathered together, and they found those who were with the eleven saying: "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon." Such seems to be the meaning of the sentence in St. Luke xxiv., 33-34. It could not have been the eleven who were expressing belief in the Resurrection, for they did not believe until they saw for themselves (St. Luke xxiv., 41; St. Mark xvi., 14).

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<sup>5</sup> St. Matthew's expression, "the other Mary," in verse 61, chapter xxvii., considering the connection in which it is used (see verse 56), implies that Salome's name was *not* Mary.

The story of Joanna and her companions concerning the empty sepulchre and the vision of angels seemed to the Apostles absurd (*deliramentum*), and they did not believe it (St. Luke xxiv., 10-11). They did not believe Mary Magdalene when she told them as they mourned and wept that the Lord was alive and had been seen by her (St. Mark xvi., 9-11); neither did they believe the two disciples (St. Mark xvi., 13). The two disciples themselves did not believe until they saw Christ break bread (St. Luke xxiv., 30-31); perhaps it was then that they noticed the wounds in His hands. The women believed the testimony of the angels; but the only ones of whom we read as believing on human testimony are the unknown men who greeted the returning disciples with the announcement: "The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon."

It was after Christ's Resurrection that there appeared to many, in the holy city, the many saints whose tombs were opened when the earth quaked and the rocks were rent at the death of Christ (St. Matt. xxvii., 52). Those apparitions are generally supposed to have taken place on the day of the Crucifixion, but the Evangelist who writes of them specifies that they occurred after Christ's Resurrection (St. Matt. xxvii., 53). The incredulity of the Apostles may have been increased by reports of the apparitions of those risen saints.

Christ had often told His Apostles that He would rise from the dead, but it is written that they did not understand Him (St. Luke xviii., 31-34).<sup>6</sup> Before the Crucifixion they could not believe that He was to die, so they did not know what He meant when He spoke of rising again (St. Mark ix., 8-9). And when they were convinced of His death, still less were they prepared to believe in His Resurrection. They knew that He had brought Lazarus back to life, but never yet had any one been known to rise from the dead by his own power. Moreover, they would naturally resent the humiliation of being told of the Resurrection by others. After Joanna and her companions had come telling of the angelic announcement, other women came bringing messages from the angels and from the Lord (St. Matt. xxviii., 7-9), one of the women being Mary Magdalene, out of whom seven devils had gone forth. And she also told of the approaching Ascension, saying: "I have seen the Lord" (St. John xx., 18).

If Christ had risen, why had He not appeared to them, the chosen eleven? The day was almost ended, and they had not yet seen Him when the two disciples returned from Emmaus telling of

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<sup>6</sup> Renan says ("Vie de Jesus," 15 ed., 1876, a pp. 42) that the statement in the fourth Gospel that Peter and John on the morning of the resurrection as yet knew not the Scripture that Christ must rise from the dead (St. John xx., 9) is a flash of light showing that He had not foretold His resurrection. As if the Scripture at the time of Christ could mean the words of Christ to His apostles. Renan's "flash of light" seems to have been blinding.

having talked with Him in the way, and of His having made Himself known to them in the breaking of bread. It is not surprising to read that neither did the Apostles believe them (St. Mark xvi., 12-13). Though Peter had seen the Lord, as those who were with the eleven testified, still the Apostles were the men who even at the Last Supper were disputing among themselves which of them was accounted greatest (St. Luke xxii., 24). The very earnestness of their desire for the Resurrection may have stood in the way of their belief. It is true, men often believe what they wish to believe; yet when there is much at stake the fear of reaction in the near future will cause them to guard themselves carefully against the danger of being deceived. The object of their desire must then be clearly proved, even as though it were something they did not wish to believe.

The patriarch Jacob would not believe those who told him that the son whom he mourned as dead was alive, and had been seen in Egypt (Gen. xlv., 26).

It seems likely that when Christ appeared to the Apostles on the Resurrection day He appointed not only the mountain in Galilee where they were to meet Him (St. Matt. xxviii., 16), but also the time of their going into Galilee; since they did not go at once, as we might suppose they did from St. Matthew's Gospel, but remained in Jerusalem until the octave of the Resurrection day, the second Christian Sabbath, when Christ again appeared to them (St. John xx., 26).

Before they went into Galilee, even Thomas had been convinced of the reality of the Resurrection (St. John xx., 24-28). So that if it was some of the Apostles, and not some other disciples, who doubted when they saw the Lord on the mountain (St. Matt. xxviii., 17), it must be that they failed to recognize Him immediately, as some of them failed to recognize Him at the Sea of Tiberias (St. John xxi., 4), when He was not far from them (St. John xxi., 8).

We know that Peter and John had not been afraid to venture to the sepulchre on the morning of the Resurrection; moreover, Cleophas and his companion conversing freely on that day, as they went to Emmaus, with one whom they thought was a stranger, spoke of some of their company having been to the sepulchre (St. Luke xxiv., 24). It would appear, therefore, that the fear which made the disciples gather together within closed doors (St. John xx., 10), was caused by hearing the report that they had stolen away the body of Christ (St. Matt. xxviii., 12-15). But that story of the "sleeping witnesses," even while repeated, was likely believed by few, if any, being too preposterous. The Apostles soon recovered from their fear.

Though it was not until after the descent of the Holy Ghost that

they came forward and preached to the people (Acts ii., 14), yet they did not then come forth as men who up to that time had been in hiding. Having journeyed to Galilee (St. Matt. xxviii., 16), they returned again to Judaea,<sup>7</sup> where they saw Christ ascend into heaven (Acts i., 10-12), as He had prophesied through Mary Magdalene (St. John xx., 17-18),

#### AN OUTLINE OF THE FIRST EASTER.

The reasonable inferences drawn from the four Gospels make possible the following logical composite outline of the recorded events of the first Easter day.

When Saturday's sun had set Mary Magdalene, Salome and Mary the mother of James bought spices that, coming in the morning, they might anoint Jesus (St. Mark xvi., 1).

And at the beginning of the dawn, as Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James set out for the sepulchre, an angel rolled away the stone and terrified the guard (St. Matt. xxviii., 1-4).

Mary Magdalene, finding the sepulchre empty, departed in haste (St. John xx., 1-2).

The Resurrection was announced to Joanna and her companions (St. Luke xxiv., 4-8).

Peter and John ran to the sepulchre. And after they had departed Mary Magdalene, as she stood there weeping, saw two angels, and then she saw the Lord (St. John xx., 3-6).

Salome and Mary the mother of James arrived when the sun had risen (St. Mark xvi., 2-4).

The first angel announced the Resurrection (St. Matt. xxviii., 5-7).

The second angel confirmed the announcement (St. Mark xvi., 5-8).

The women met Christ in the way (St. Matt. xxviii., 9-10).

Some of the guard were bribed by the chief priests (St. Matt. xxviii., 11-15).

Cleophas and his companion recognized Christ at Emmaus, and were told on returning to Jerusalem of the apparition to Simon-Peter (St. Luke xxiv., 13-36).

And Christ appeared to the Apostles before the day was ended (St. John xx., 19-23).

A. G. EWING.

Washington, D. C.

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<sup>7</sup> The return of the apostles from Galilee to Judaea between the time of the resurrection and the ascension is not mentioned in the Gospel. It must be inferred from the fact that whereas they went into Galilee after the resurrection (St. Matt. xxviii., 16), yet it was from Judaea that they saw Christ ascend into heaven (St. Luke xxiv., 50-52; Acts i., 10-12).

## THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN FRANCE.

WHEN the present state of things in France is discussed by a French priest with a sympathizing American or Englishman the ever recurring question is: How can a Catholic country allow her government to trample on her religion? This seems an insoluble problem to many a foreign mind.

To solve it, it is necessary to answer first another question: In what degree is France a Catholic country?

Not every Frenchman, even well informed, would give the same answer to that question. There are in the country elements discrepant enough to justify widely different appreciations. Six years ago, before the recrudescence of the persecution and the havoc it has wrought, it was possible, by carefully selecting the features, to draw two pictures of Catholic France, the one glowing with the most splendid colors, the other gloomy and desponding. A blending of both pictures might be said to reproduce exact reality.

It was possible to say that the development of Catholic life in the past century had been wonderful; the old religious orders were reëstablished and flourishing; many new ones had been founded; it may be questioned whether France had ever numbered more members of religious societies; certainly the nuns had never been so numerous. The Catholics had studded the country with their free schools, which they maintained out of their own purse, without any help from the State; fifteen thousand Christian Brothers, besides other congregations, were teaching in the boys' schools. It is hardly possible to estimate the number of the teaching Sisters. Catholic charity had done wonders in the way of building hospitals and founding Sisterhoods for the care of the aged, the sick and the destitute. It will be sufficient to mention that the Little Sisters of the Poor are a French order. Many of the clergy had displayed a multiform activity; there were renowned preachers, devoted parish priests. New institutions had sprung into existence to meet new exigencies; there were Catholic workmen's clubs, young men's associations, and so forth. More missionaries were sent from France to the heathen than from any other country, and France gave them more money than all the rest of the Catholic world together. Crowds went to the celebrated shrines of Lourdes, Montmartre, La Salette—cheered, sung and rose to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. A thirst for knowledge of every kind spread among the younger clergy; the Catholic universities had been established to supply this want, and did very good work. It may be safely said that since the Revolution the French clergy has never been able to show such a body of learned men as now.



At the same time it might be pointed out that the country churches were becoming more and more empty; that many a priest had a congregation of five or six old crones to listen to his sermon on Sundays; that in the big towns hundreds of thousands were little better than heathens, and if, on a great occasion, the walls of a church were nearly bursting with the multitudes they contained, that there were much greater crowds outside who did not care at all about religion; that, in spite of schools and colleges, the cultivated section, and especially the masculine intellect of the nation, for the greater part escaped the influence of the Church; that there was a malignant disposition in the public whenever a priest was concerned. The scandals given by Freethinkers or Republican politicians were easily condoned; but clerical scandals, true or false, were reverberated by public opinion like a gigantic sounding-board.

If to be baptized in the Catholic Church is to be a Catholic, then France is a Catholic nation. The Protestants and Jews, although a power in the land, are few. Among the others the number of the unbaptized, in spite of a steady increase in the large towns, is still very small. Those who are married or buried without the rites of the Church are more numerous, but form on the whole an insignificant minority. The great bulk of the French nation receive the Sacraments of Baptism, the Eucharist at least once (on the day of First Communion), are married before the priest and have the prayers of the Church at their burial, and probably a considerable majority of them receive the sacraments before dying.

How is it, then, that these men send to the Chambers of Deputies members who are bent upon destroying the Church and her sacraments? If we are to judge of a people by its elected representatives, France is far from being a Catholic nation. Not only is the majority bitterly anti-clerical, which is, in fact, synonymous with anti-religious, but in the Opposition itself there are many members whom the Catholics have voted for, though they are not Catholics, but only Liberals, ready to concede liberty to a creed in which they do not believe and to a Church whose beneficial influence they appreciate, while not deeming it of Divine origin.

Of course, electoral corruption accounts for some elections; but it cannot account for all. In some parts there has been no corruption; in many, the large majorities could not be obtained by corruption. It cannot account for the fact that the true practical Catholics are few in number among the Deputies. To find out a more complete explanation, we must study the present attitude of the French mind toward religion.

In many cases the religious practices that subsist are mere formalism, rites that have to be performed because they are traditional;

that are gone through sometimes reluctantly, as a concession to social conventions, sometimes with a fond attachment to them, because of the halo time and habit have surrounded them with, and because they are family rites. But these people, who are married and buried with the ceremonies of the Church, do they or did they believe? This is the crucial question. Certainly there are some of them who do not believe. Atheists are married in church to please their bride; some of the most violent antagonists of Catholicism have been carried before the altar after their death. Even the last sacraments are often received because "it looks so much better for the family." Rites, not faith.

But God only knows who has faith and who has not. There are no statistics of believers and unbelievers. If we are to gauge the depth of French Catholicism we must find some outward sign of the inmost dispositions of the soul. It seems to me that the best sign is the usual attendance at church on Sundays.

I know very well that practice is not always coterminous with faith; that some people go to church with nothing but a vague and indeterminate faith in a God; that more people, keeping their faith alive in the recesses of their hearts, do not go to church out of fear or negligence. Yet, on the whole, and failing a better sign, I think attendance at Mass—and Easter Communion, too—a fairly good barometer of Catholic life in France.

Judging from that standpoint, there are vast differences between one part of France and another. In nearly all the industrial towns there are great masses of population that seem impermeable to religion. They never go to church, unless it be for a wedding or a funeral. Nobody has obtained for Paris the same religious statistics as Mr. Charles Booth compiled for London; but, from what I hear, I should say that not one-tenth of the population goes to church; and if we consider only the quarters inhabited by work-people, the proportion would be still smaller. For instance, in the parish of Clignancourt there are 121,000 souls, and to minister to their spiritual needs one church and two chapels, neither of which is very large. It is evident that if any considerable proportion of the population came to church, these buildings would soon be found inadequate.

There are rural districts in which the case is quite as bad, and the non-religious area is much larger than is supposed even by many Frenchmen, and is spreading. In all the country around Paris—in Touraine, Champagne, Burgundy and several regions of the south—the practical Catholics are the exception and the others are the rule. And those others are not only indifferent; they are often hostile, and of late years they have become more and more so.

Amongst the workmen of the towns and the peasants of those regions there is a general distrust and hatred of the priest, though not always of the particular priest they happen to know. The favorite amusement of more than one Mayor and petty village tyrant consists in worrying his priest from the beginning of January to the end of December.

That such centres and regions should send anti-clerical Deputies to Parliament is quite natural and logical. When in a village the Sunday congregation is composed of eight or ten women without a single male worshiper, and in election time two-thirds of the votes cast go to the government candidate, we cannot say that this is the result of electoral pressure or corruption. The minority does not even represent Catholics, but moderates who are for peace and order.

It is more difficult to understand the vote of some other provinces. Normandy, for instance, votes for the most part against the government; yet, although things are better there than in the last mentioned countries, the male worshipers cannot be said to be in a majority; but there is a strong conservative current in that province. But what is much more difficult to explain is that some regions where nearly all people of either sex go to Mass and to Communion at Easter elect only anti-religious members. Local interests which have a liking for the stronger side, together with a distrust of the political action of the priest, offer the most plausible explanation.

To sum up, there are large regions and populous centres where religion cannot be said to exist (except in the form of some dead ceremonies) outside small groups of population, and where a spirit of bitter anti-clericalism is prevalent. There are also large regions where the priest is still respected and influential, where religion is practiced by a not inconsiderable body, but where the abstainers are at least as numerous. And there are some parts of Brittany, Flanders, the central mountains and the Alps where nearly the whole of the population is practically Catholic. I say "some parts," for even the best provinces have black spots, and Brittany itself has its good number of Freethinkers.

On the whole, the practical Catholics are certainly a minority amongst the men, and perhaps amongst the women, too. It is impossible to give figures, even approximate figures; but we may say that this minority, very weak in some parts, if taken altogether, is still pretty strong and has given those proofs of its vitality which I mentioned before and whose splendor created the delusion of a Catholic France. Therefore it should be able to make itself respected.

There has been much discussion about the causes of that decline

of the faith in France. English and American priests often say it comes from the special formation of the French clergy. But the problem cannot be dismissed so easily. It is possible, nay, let us say it is true, that the French clergy, in consequence of their education, have kept too much aloof from the people of their time. It is true that, being men, they have often fallen below their ideal. But to lay the whole blame on the clergy, without taking into account the difficulties they had to encounter, would be very unjust.

The intellectual heritage of the eighteenth century philosophers, of the Voltaires and Diderots, has remained with the French; their thought has been instilled into the French soul, diffused through the French atmosphere, the spirit of scoffing, the dry light of rationalistic reason, the aversion to anything mysterious and beyond man are still with us; they create a state of mind easily receptive of negation and doubt, repugnant to faith. I doubt whether the Church has elsewhere, except perhaps in Germany for other reasons, such a formidable obstacle to overcome when addressing the intellectual class.

Moreover, the great democratic surge that has flooded France has been prejudicial to the Church. Catholicism in itself is neither for nor against democracy in itself; it has lent itself to all kinds of régimes. But democracy, on account of historical circumstances, may be for or against Catholicism. Now in France, where the leveling tendency is very strong and the uprooting tendency has been exhibited several times on a large scale, the great sweep of democracy carries away before it all that belonged to the old order. The Church, of course, in itself is not more of the old than of the new order; but, in fact, the Church in France occupied a prominent place in that old order; it must be swept away with it. All that was up must be down; the nobility was up; we have put it down; the Church was up; we will put it down. This is how even the peasants who go to Mass vote against the priest's candidate, as they vote against the Count's or Baron's candidate, to prove that they are independent of the two influences that ruled over them in former times—the Presbytery and the Castle. The case is very different in England and America, where the Catholic Church has not been in power, or not for a long time, and where the leveling tendency of democracy is much less radical. Democracy, flushed with the pride of her triumph, is one of the chief causes of anti-clericalism in France. A different formation of the clergy might have averted some of the evils it has inflicted; but our past being what it is—and we cannot change it now—it was impossible to prevent them completely.

At the same time the spirit of industrialism, that generates the

spirit of materialism, has averted the minds of our generation from religion. But this is not special to France, and I shall lay no stress on it.

There are many other causes. Those that will read that penetrating book "*L'Anti-cléricalisme*," by one of the most distinguished French writers, Emile Faguet, will understand that the existence and growth of that feeling is not due only to deficiencies of the clergy.

A sedulous care has been taken to nourish and foster it. A propaganda has been strenuously maintained that is at the same time violent and skillful. Irreligion has its apostles, sincerely convinced that the Church is the greatest hindrance to progress; that she is the mother of darkness, and should be crushed and suppressed to promote the happiness of mankind. In some of these earnest and narrow minds this idea has taken root and absorbed all other considerations, so that it looks like a monomania. And politics have their intriguers, their *arrivistes* as they are called in France, men who want to succeed by any means; and they know very well that anti-clericalism is the best spring-board to help you to jump into a seat; they know that the greatest part of the electoral struggle consists in hurling at your adversary or parrying the dreaded epithet of clerical. Knowing this, they harp on that chord as frequently as possible and so inflame the already burning passions of the multitude.

The instrument of the anti-religious propaganda has been twofold: the press and the schoolmaster. Not only the great newspapers of Paris, but still more the local papers, have been instrumental in creating an atmosphere of hatred and distrust around the priest. By their personal attacks upon men whom their readers knew, by inventing scandals or raising a great noise around real ones, they have done more harm than the biggest papers of the capital. And in this matter, as in many others, the children of this world have been wiser than the children of light. The children of light had their papers, too; but the others were better informed, more alert, and, being spiced with the additional zest of scandal, commanded a greater circulation.

The schoolmaster has been pampered and flattered by the anti-clerical governments, that he might be set up in every village against the priest, that he might become "the priest of secularism." He was carefully trained for that mission and rewarded with preferment if he fulfilled it with zeal. When the impulse he gave was in accordance with an already existing tendency, his influence soon overpowered the priest; he was the great electoral agent, the real power behind the Mayor and the Municipal Council. The neutral school has remained a fiction; wherever the well-known sentiments of the

population did not enjoin prudence, the State school has been an anti-clerical school. The schoolmaster is largely responsible for the present phase of anti-clericalism, and is proud of it; for it is not deemed necessary now to keep up the old fiction of neutrality.

Anti-clericalism is the outcome of historical circumstances, national tendencies and an indefatigable propagandism. This flame that has burnt steadily for such a long time has been fanned by the Dreyfus case into a great conflagration, which is still raging and will rage for years. Many of the so-called champions of truth and innocence were simply enemies of the Church that spied a good opportunity and chose a coign of vantage from which they could deal their blows with greater force. On that ill-chosen ground a great battle was accepted, fought and lost. All the inimical forces—intellectual, social, political—were brought to bear at the same time on the same point. They are now storming the citadel, and one of the phases of the storming is the Separation Law.

To understand the meaning of that law it was necessary to state clearly the situation, the frame of mind of the legislators and the country. The separation of State and Church, although condemned in theory, may give good practical results, as in the United States, because separation there does not mean oppression. It does in France.

It is evident from what has been said about public opinion and the trend of French politics that the law cannot have been framed so as to give liberty to the Church. The aim of the predominant faction is the destruction of the Church. The old hypocritical pretences of distinguishing between clericalism and religion have been cast aside. Some retain them still because they cherish self-delusion; some, by sheer love of hypocrisy, cling to it when it has ceased to be necessary. But many are candid enough to say that, all religion being prejudicial to society, they aim at the abolition of Christianity. These men have helped to frame and carry the law; we cannot expect that law to be favorable to the Church.

At the same time they know the vitality of the Catholic religion. They have no hope of strangling it at once; the death they try to cause is death by atrophy. For that reason they introduced into the law some liberal provisions as a bait to make it accepted.

Whether it was better to make the most of the facilities granted and risk the dangers of the law, or to face the formidable consequences of a refusal and a resistance to the established powers, was a matter of opinion before the Pope spoke. Many good Catholics, quite sincere, intelligent and cultivated people, thought that the law should be accepted, although reluctantly and with precautions to minimize its effect. A petition, signed by celebrated Catholic lay-

men, was sent to the Bishop to that effect. To decry them was unjust; there was much to say on their side, and much on the other side, too.

Such was the situation—a law framed with the intention of injuring the Church, yet presenting some advantages, and a divided opinion in Catholic circles, when the Pope's word fell like a thunderbolt, cleared the clouds and effected unity.

The law was to be rejected. No associations were to be formed according to the Separation Law, because they were contrary to the constitution of the Church; future events had to be awaited and confronted. It was a bold decision; its ready acceptance by the French clergy was a heroic deed, for it might mean the loss of all their present means of subsistence, the confiscating of all church property and the closing of the churches. Now the assent was not only unanimous; it was joyful. There was clapping of hands and exulting of hearts in many a village presbytery—and the village priests would have to suffer most—when the answer of the Pope was known.

The next day after the publication of the encyclical the *Times* characterized it as very apostolic, but not prudent. Apostolic it was, undoubtedly; but now that the first smoke has cleared off, it appears to many Catholic minds that it was very wise, too. It was certainly strong and bold, but in a decisive crisis a strong and bold action is often the most prudent course. It spread dismay among our allies, the Moderates; but it spread dismay among our adversaries, too, and they were some time before recovering from their surprise and deciding what they should do.

What will they do? What is to be expected? What will happen to us? A forecast is very difficult; so many circumstances may spring up that are not foreseen. One thing is certain, that much suffering is in store for the French Catholics. But suffering is a tonic; it may give strength and awaken dormant energies. The government know it; they intend to dole out that suffering in small quantities, to let it drip, now here and now there, so that it may occasion the twitching of a nerve, but not a convulsion of the whole body. How far they will be able to carry out this policy remains to be seen.

According to ministerial declarations, no churches are to be closed, "not one door, not one window." These declarations are most likely sincere, since they are in accordance with the governmental plan of avoiding disturbances as much as possible; nevertheless, they are but straws in the wind; we cannot trust them, especially when the wind is threatening to become a tempest. Suppose the Ministers intend to keep their word: who knows how long they will be in

office? We have the precedent of the congregations. Waldeck-Rousseau was the President of the Cabinet; he had framed a law that was certainly not a liberal law, but did not seem intended to crush all religious associations. Its chief defect lay in its arbitrary character; it was very difficult for a religious order to get authorized; an act of Parliament, preceded by a long inquiry, was necessary. But to dissolve a congregation, a simple decree issued by a Minister was sufficient. The government could suppress any congregation at any time without giving any reason, and there was no recourse at law against it. But then Waldeck-Rousseau gave assurances that the law was made only against some militant orders, such as the Jesuits and the Assumptionists; that the others had only to submit and would be allowed to live in peace. Many complied, sued for authorization and sent in the information required. Then Waldeck-Rousseau disappeared, Combes came in his place and executed the law most ruthlessly, without any regard to the promises of his predecessor. Not *one* congregation got the authorization; the information they had given was used against them; many that were authorized before were suppressed by decrees, and as a result thousands and thousands of men and women have sought religious liberty outside the frontiers of France.

It is therefore plain that a Minister's word is but a straw in the wind. The anti-clerical mob in the street and anti-clerical opinion in the press may become too strong for the intended moderation of the Ministers, and nobody knows what unexpected developments the entanglement of the social with the religious question may lead to. The advance of the lower classes may baffle the most skillful calculations. The future is a blank on that point.

Even if no churches are closed, much harm may be done. The clergy will be liable to be fined and imprisoned for celebrating public worship against the regulations of the law. The priests under twenty-six years of age will be called back to the barracks. Most probably church property will be confiscated, because that is not likely to cause disturbances. In December that property will be sequestered, and after a year assigned to some secular charitable institution. So many of the *Petits Seminaires* will be wiped out of existence in the midst of general indifference.

In spite of the efforts of the government, but as a consequence of their doings, a great struggle is beginning. Those who were chiefly afraid of death by atrophy rejoice at it. But that joy cannot but be mingled with some heaviness of heart if we think of the difficulties to be overcome, of the ruins and wrecks we must be prepared for, of the length of time this distressful period may last. No exact comparison can be drawn from the Kulturkampf. The



German priests had a great advantage; they had their populations at their back. Many French priests are captains without troops; they will have to fight single-handed or with a handful of retainers. It will be a hard fight, and the harder morally if it is not materially hard.

The two armies as yet have done nothing but skirmishing work; each tries to get information about the strategy of the other side. The two general staffs are observing each other. I mean the Assembly of the Bishops and the Masonic Grand Lodge. Those two non-official councils may be said to be now more powerful in France than both houses of Parliament. What the Masonic Grand Lodge decides the Parliament will vote, and it will be executed as far as the resistance of the Catholics, led by the Bishops, will allow of it.

Even if the government came to some compromise and altered the law so as to make it acceptable to the Pope, the ground would be shifted, the conflict would not be so fierce, but the struggle would go on, because it is not against a few men sitting in debate Catholicism has to fight, but against a state of mind created and fostered by many powerful influences.

To conclude, however obscure the conditions of the future struggle may be, it is certain the French Catholics will have to fight hard for their religion. They will lose much; but their losses will be compensated if a number of them gain strength and acquire that toughness which in the end tires out all persecutors. No great upheaval, no sudden overturning of the government is to be expected, but a gradual strengthening of the religious fibre in the Catholic body is to be hoped for. A good effect that the present situation may have is to help Catholics and the clergy to realize a situation which has been somewhat obscured by the exaggerations of high-flown oratory. It is time to abandon that fiction of 36,000,000 of Catholics oppressed by 26,000 Freemasons. It is always good to know one's ground and dangerous to believe the numbers of the enemy are weak when they are strong. We are, in fact, a minority oppressed by a majority. The Freemasons are the leaders of the oppression, but they do not stand alone; they are surrounded by dense multitudes. We have to teach that majority that we have equal rights with them. This is where we stand; the position will appear more and more clearly as the withdrawal of State aid separates the faithful from the rest.

Another good effect of the present situation may be the reorganization of the parish system. In the irreligious regions its effects are deplorable. The parishes being mostly small, young priests are sent there even without having served as curates before, new-fledged from the *Grand Seminaire*. They are full of zeal, ready to work

for the salvation of souls. After a few months their zeal has been wrecked upon the solid rock of the indifference or hostility of their parishioners. They are soon convinced that nothing is to be done, and set down to live a life of isolation and idleness. They have nothing to do, because nobody comes to them, and many shun even their approach. Their catechism is their only occupation, and then the peasants scoff at them for doing nothing. These priests are lost forces.

It is the opinion of many a thoughtful Catholic that such regions should be treated as missionary countries, and the want of resources may lead to that solution. The small parishes with no good-will in the population will be unable to maintain a priest. Why then not have here and there centres where a few priests would live together, sheltered from the terrible dangers and depressing effects of isolation, and whence they would radiate to evangelize the neighborhood? This is a possibility which the pressure of events may convert into a fact.

So the dark outlook of the present hour is not without its glimpses of hope. The purifying and strengthening effect of sorrow may impart a new life to the Church. We are now taking a plunge into the unknown, and it may refresh and revigorate us. But the ways God is preparing to use to bring about that end are unfathomable to man.

ABBE HERMELINE.

Paris, France.

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## PREACHING AND POPULAR ACTION.

PIUS X., POPE, TO HIS VENERABLE BRETHREN THE ARCHBISHOPS  
AND BISHOPS OF ITALY.

*Venerable Brethren, Health and the Apostolic Benediction:*

WITH our soul full of fear for the strict account we shall have to give one day to the Prince of Pastors, Jesus Christ, with regard to the flock entrusted to us by Him, we pass our days in continual anxiety to preserve the faithful, as far as possible, from the most pernicious evils by which human society is at present afflicted. Hence we regard as addressed to us the word of the prophet: "Cry, lift up thy voice like a trumpet" (Is. lviii., 1); and we fail not, now by word of mouth and now by letter, to warn, beseech, reprehend, exciting, above all, the zeal of our brethren in

the episcopate so that each of them may exercise the most eager vigilance in the portion of the fold over which the Holy Spirit has set him.

The cause which induces us to raise our voice anew is of the gravest moment. It is a question demanding all the attention of your mind and all the energy of your pastoral office against a disorder from which the most baleful effects are already experienced; and if it is not removed with a strong hand in the most radical manner, consequences still more fatal will be felt in the progress of years. We have, in fact, before us letters from not a few of you, Venerable Brethren—letters full of sadness and tears, deploring the spirit of *insubordination* and *independence* displayed here and there amidst the clergy. All too surely a poisonous atmosphere largely corrupts men's minds in our days, and the deadly effects are those which the Apostle St. Jude formerly described: "These men in truth defile the flesh and despise dominion and blaspheme majesty" (Jude i., 8); that is, besides the most degrading corruption of manners there is an open contempt for authority and for those who exercise it. But that this spirit should penetrate in any wise into the sanctuary and infect those to whom the words of Ecclesiasticus ought most fittingly to be applied: "Their generation obedience and love" (iii., 1)—this is what overwhelms us with grief. And it is especially amongst young priests that this unhappy spirit is doing damage, new and reprehensible theories with regard to the very nature of obedience spreading themselves amongst them. And, what is more serious, as if to acquire new recruits for the growing troop of rebels, such maxims are being propagated more or less secretly amongst the young who in the enclosures of the seminaries prepare themselves for the priesthood.

Wherefore we consider it a duty, Venerable Brethren, to make an appeal to your conscience in order that, laying aside all hesitation, you should, with vigorous minds and not less vigorous firmness, exert yourselves to destroy this evil seed, fruitful in destructive consequences. Always remember that the Holy Spirit has placed you to rule. Remember the command of St. Paul to Titus: "Rebuke with all authority. Let no man despise thee" (ii., 15). Require rigorously from priests and clerics that obedience which is absolutely obligatory on all the faithful, but constitutes the chief part of the sacred duty of priests.

To prevent effectually the multiplication of these quarrelsome souls, it will be well, Venerable Brethren, ever to bear in mind the sublime warning of the Apostle to Timothy: "Impose not hands lightly upon any man" (I. Timothy v., 22). It is in truth the facility of admitting to sacred orders that naturally opens the way to a *mul-*

*tiplication of people* in the sanctuary who *do not increase joy*. We know that there are towns and dioceses where, far from there being cause to lament a scarcity of clergy, the number of priests is much greater than the faithful need. Ah, Venerable Brethren, what ground can there be for imposing hands so frequently? If the scarcity of the clergy cannot be a sufficient reason for haste in a matter of such gravity, where the clergy are more numerous than the requirements demand nothing excuses from the most delicate caution and the greatest rigor in the selection of those who are to receive the honor of the priesthood. Nor can the urgency of the aspirants lessen the fault of a too ready facility. The priesthood, instituted by Jesus Christ for the eternal salvation of souls, is surely not a human profession or office to which every one who desires, for whatever reason, has a right freely to devote himself. Let the Bishops then promote to sacred orders not according to the desires and pretexts of those who aspire to the priesthood, but as the Council of Trent prescribes, according to the necessities of the dioceses; and in promoting this they can only select those who are really fit, dismissing those who have inclinations contrary to the priestly vocation, the chief of which inclinations are a disregard for discipline and the pride of mind that begets it.

In order that youth who display qualities suitable to the sacred ministry may not be wanting we wish, Venerable Brethren, to insist with greater earnestness on what we have already pointed out several times, namely, the obligation that rests upon you—a most serious one before God—to watch over and further with the utmost solicitude the right conduct of the seminaries. Your priests will be as you have trained them. Most important is the letter on this subject which was addressed to you on the 8th December, 1902, by our most prudent predecessor, as a testament from his long Pontificate. To that we desire to add nothing new; we shall merely remind you of the rules it lays down; and we strongly recommend the immediate execution of our orders, published through the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, on the concentration of the seminaries, especially for the study of philosophy and theology, in order to secure in this way the great advantage resulting from the separation of the greater seminaries from the smaller ones and the other advantage, not less great, attaching to the necessary instruction of the clergy.

Let the seminaries be jealously maintained in the spirit that properly belongs to them, and let them remain *exclusively* destined to prepare youth not for civil careers, but for the exalted mission of ministers of Christ. Let philosophy and theology and the kindred sciences, especially Sacred Scripture, be studied in accordance with

the Pontifical directions and with the teaching of St. Thomas recommended by our venerated predecessor so often, and by us in the Apostolic Letter of the 23d January, 1904. Let the Bishops, then, exercise the most scrupulous vigilance over the masters in their doctrines, recalling to a sense of duty those who run after certain dangerous novelties and removing, without any regard, from the office of teaching all who do not profit by the warnings received. Frequentation of the universities is not to be permitted to young clerics except for very grave reasons and with the greatest precautions on the part of the Bishops. Seminary students are to be absolutely forbidden to take part in any way in outside agitations, and we accordingly prohibit them from reading papers and periodicals except, in the case of the latter, some of sound principles that the Bishop may deem suitable for study by the students. Let discipline be ever maintained with increasing vigor and vigilance. Lastly, there must be in every seminary the spiritual director, a man of more than ordinary prudence and experienced in the ways of Christian perfection, who is, with indefatigable zeal, to train the youth in that solid piety which is the first foundation of the spiritual life. These rules, Venerable Brethren, where conscientiously and firmly followed, will afford you a sure guarantee of seeing growing up around you a clergy that will be your joy and your crown.

Otherwise the disorder of insubordination and independence, which we now lament, will go a good deal further in some of the young clergy and cause much greater harm, because there are not wanting those who are so much a prey to this reprobate spirit that, abusing the sacred office of preaching, they openly act as its promoters and apostles to the ruin and scandal of the faithful.

Our predecessor on the 31st July, 1894, through the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, drew the attention of the Ordinate Pharaohs who had been removed slept in peace until our own regulations laid down in this Pontifical document, laying an obligation in this respect on the consciences of the Bishops, so that the words of the Prophet Nahum may never be applicable to any of them: "Thy shepherds have slumbered" (iii., 18). No one can have power to preach "unless he first be approved of in life, knowledge and morals" (Conc. Trid. Sess. V., cap. 2, "De Refor."). Priests from other dioceses should not be admitted to preach without letters of testimony from their own Bishop. Let the subject of their sermons be that indicated by the Divine Redeemer when He said: "Preach the Gospel" (Mark xvi., 15), "teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Mark xxviii., 20). Or, according to the comment of the Council of Trent, "announcing to them the vices they should avoid and the virtues they should follow

in order that they may escape eternal punishment and attain heavenly glory" (Loc. cit.). Then, let arguments better suited to journalistic campaigning and to academic halls than to the pulpit be banished altogether from that holy place; let moral preaching be preferred to sermons that are, to say the least, fruitless; and let the preacher speak "not in the persuasive words of human wisdom, but in showing of the spirit and power" (I. Cor. ii., 4). Wherefore the principal source from which preaching will derive its strength should be the Sacred Scriptures, understood not according to the private judgment of minds most frequently blinded by passions, but according to the traditions of the Church and the interpretations of the holy fathers and the Councils.

You should judge, Venerable Brethren, conformably to these rules of those to whom you entrust the ministry of the divine word. And whenever you find that any of them, more concerned for their own interests than for those of Jesus Christ, more anxious for worldly applause than for the good of souls, depart from them, warn and correct them, and if that is not sufficient, remove them inexorably from an office for which they prove themselves completely unworthy. Vigilance and severity of this kind should be all the more readily employed by you because the ministry of preaching belongs specially to you and is a chief part of the episcopal office; and whoever outside your ranks exercises it does so in your name and in your place. Whence it follows that you are always responsible before God for the manner in which the bread of the divine word is dispensed to the faithful. To relieve ourselves from all responsibility, we point out to all Ordinaries and enjoin upon them the duty of discontinuing or suspending, after charitable warnings, even during a course of sermons, any preacher, secular or regular, who does not entirely obey the injunctions contained in the above mentioned instruction of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. It were better that the faithful should content themselves with simple homilies and explanations of the catechisms given by their parish priests than to be present at sermons that do more harm than good.

Another field in which, amongst the young clergy, too much scope and too great a stimulus is found for maintaining and advocating exemption from every bond of legitimate authority is that of the so-called popular Christian action. Not indeed, Venerable Brethren, because this action is in itself reprehensible, or from its nature conduces to the contempt of authority; but because many, misunderstanding its character, have voluntarily abandoned the rules which were laid down for its promotion by our predecessor of immortal memory.

We refer, as you are aware, to the Instructions on the Popular

Christian Action, which went forth by order of Leo XIII. from the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs on the 27th January, 1902, and which were transmitted to each of you to be carried out in your respective dioceses. These instructions we, on our part, maintain, and in the fullness of our power we renew each and all of the regulations, as we also confirm and renew all the orders issued by ourselves for the occasion in the "Motu Proprio" of the 18th December, 1903, "De Popolari Actione Christiana Moderanda," and in the circular letter of our beloved son, the Cardinal Secretary of State, dated the 28th July, 1904.

As to the foundation and direction of newspapers and periodicals, the clergy must faithfully observe what is prescribed in Article 42 of the Apostolic Constitution "Officiorum:" (1) "Clergymen are to be prohibited from directing (*moderanda*) newspapers or periodicals without the previous consent of the Ordinaries." So, also, without the previous consent of the Ordinary none of the clergy can publish any writing of the kind, whether on a religious or moral subject, or of a moral character, or of a character merely technical. Prior to the foundation of circles and societies the rules and statutes must be examined and approved of by the Ordinary. No priest or cleric can give conferences (lectures) on Popular Christian Action or any other subject without the permission of the Ordinary of the place. Any language that may inspire aversion to the higher classes is and must be regarded as altogether contrary to the true spirit of Christian charity. And in like manner are to be condemned in Catholic publications any terms which, breathing of unhealthy novelty, deride the piety of the faithful and point to *new orientations of the Christian life, new directions of the Church, new aspirations of the modern soul, a new social vocation of the clergy, a new Christian civilization and similar things*. Whilst it is praiseworthy for the priests, especially those of them who are young, to go to the people, they must nevertheless proceed in this matter with due obedience to authority and to the commands of the ecclesiastical superiors. And in devoting themselves, with the subordination already mentioned, to Popular Christian Action, it must be their noble duty "to rescue the children of the people from ignorance of spiritual and eternal things, and to induce them with active kindness to live honestly and virtuously; to strengthen the adults in the faith, removing contrary influences, and to fortify them in the practice of the Christian life; to promote amongst the Catholic laity those institutions that are truly efficacious for the moral and material improvement of the masses of the people; to uphold, above all, the principles of evangelical justice and charity which equitably apply to all the rights and duties of civil society. . . . But let them always bear in mind that even in

the midst of the people the priest ought to preserve inviolate his august character as a minister of God, being placed at the head of his brethren *animarum causa* (S. Greg. M. Regul. Past. Pars. ii., c. vii.); any mode of devoting himself to the people to the detriment of the priestly dignity and to the prejudice of ecclesiastical duties and discipline can only be reprovèd" (Ep. Encycl., 8th December, 1902).

For the rest, Venerable Brethren, to raise an effectual barrier against this extravagance of idea and this extension of the spirit of independence we, by our authority, absolutely prohibit all clerics and priests henceforward to give their names to any society that does not depend on the Bishops. In a more special manner and in particular we prohibit them under penalty, for the clerics, of inability to take holy orders and, for the priests, of suspension *ipso facto a divinis*, from becoming members of the National Democratic League, whose programme was issued from Roma-Torette on the 20th October, 1905, and whose statutes were printed in the same year, without the name of the author, by the Provisional Committee at Bologna.

Such are the directions which the solicitude of the Apostolic Office demanded from us, having regard to the present condition of the clergy in Italy and the importance of the subject. It only remains for us to excite your zeal anew, Venerable Brethren, in order that these arrangements and regulations be quickly and fully carried out in your dioceses. Prevent the evil where fortunately it does not yet show itself; suppress it speedily where it is springing up, and where unhappily it is already ripe extirpate it with an energetic and resolute hand. Laying this matter on your consciences we implore for you from God the spirit of prudence and the necessary firmness. And to this end we impart to you, with all our heart, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, on the 28th July, 1906, the third year of our Pontificate.

PIUS X., POPE.



## THE REPLY OF THE BISHOPS.

“**G**RATIAS agamus Domino Deo Nostro!” Is not this the feeling that leaps forth from all our souls at this moment when the doors of this palace close upon the first meeting of the Bishops of France for nearly a century, and is it not with a unanimous cry of gratitude that we wish to hail this hour, henceforth to be held historic, that gives back to the Church of France one of her dearest liberties?

Since the opening of last century we have been deprived of this right of assembly, which is of the essence of every duly constituted society, a law unjustly grafted upon a contract held us powerless in our isolation and forbade us to pool our lights and energies.

Six Cardinals could not meet to deliberate without transgressing the law, and their signatures placed singly and without converse of any sort to a document drafted by one of them were described as wrongful. And this the more, if a document as unimpeachable in matter as restrained in form, was put forth to the public with the signatures, given one by one, of the greater number of the Bishops of France. It seemed, indeed, as if the public authorities had no powers sufficient to deal with such a crime.

The victims amongst us so gloriously smitten, three years ago, in the name of the legislation now abolished, will rejoice over their past sufferings all the more sincerely that they have given to Rome and to the world the opportunity of seeing that in France the episcopate is of one voice and one mind on all questions of patriotism and of faith, and that the will of the Holy Father, known to all, will ever be the last word of our resolutions.

Thanks be to God, and after God to the august Pontiff with whose authorization and under whose eyes we are about to pray and take counsel together!

Most Holy Father, the law was discussed, as I can witness, though your Holiness was considering the directions to be given to the Church of France when the hour of its execution should come; and the best means of understanding the situation such as it really is, appeared to your paternal judgment to be a consultation of the episcopate considering in the fullest freedom the questions proposed by your supreme authority.

From that time the idea of a plenary assembly, now at length possible, ran in a current of enthusiasm through all our Catholic people, and from all parts rose a hosanna of gratitude to the Pastor of Pastors who gave to the French episcopate so signal a mark of confidence. Unanimously, therefore, Most Holy Father, will our

voices rise at the opening of this assembly to thank your Holiness for your fatherly condescension to a persecuted clergy, and from the bottom of our hearts we thank you for having called us together to deliberate on questions which your sovereign authority alone has the right to decide.

The first act, then, of the meeting of the Bishops of France is an act of filial love which rises to your Holiness as a sure witness of our deepest gratitude.

This blessing of praying and taking common counsel together—is it not a compensation granted by Providence for the many trials that threaten us, and have indeed already begun to press in upon us? Isolation was hard in the tranquil days of peace; how bitter it would have been in days of persecution and struggle, and how sweet it is now for us to allow that cry of the Psalmist to break forth from our pastoral and brotherly hearts: “Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.”

We are about, then, Most Holy Father, to take counsel together according to your desire, and amid our fraternal discussions, and in the shock of the various opinions which will be put forth, we shall ever have our eyes turned towards the august and infallible guardian of truth. We shall give expression to our personal views, but only in sacrificing them in advance to the judgment of Peter, which will be for us a command from on high.

The order of our labors places in the very front the study of the Papal document—a true monument at once of divine and human wisdom which judges and condemns the Law of Separation.

Already, from every pulpit in the churches of France, has been read this solemn exposition which authoritatively brands it as impious and irrevocably condemns its alleged legal procedure; already the voice of the Bishops has made itself heard in every part of the country in a respectful accord of praise and thanks to hail, as was becoming, a teaching that was at once sound and sure.

But here we are the episcopate, speaking as a body, and our voices rise in absolute unanimity to proclaim the same sentiment with still greater force and with accumulated energy the respect and love which we individually profess for the Vicar of Jesus Christ, our beloved Pontiff and Father, Pius X.

Thanks be to you, Most Holy Father, for this utterance which, grave, solemn and powerful, has resounded over a domain which was not theirs; thanks be to your Holiness for having pointed out the errors, branded the unseemliness, condemned the injustice and suspended, to the point perhaps of prohibition, the carrying out of this pernicious law.

There are in the language of encyclicals certain more solemn

formulas and weighty words from which proceeds a sentence deliberately delivered or a condemnation carefully indicated, which stand as the resumé of the whole mind of the Pontiff who is their author.

These formulas have been long and carefully thought out; they have been subjected to the most rigorous examination and placed upon the altar of prayer before being published to Christian people as the calm and strong expression of truth and justice. And have not the severe words in one of the last pages of the Encyclical *Vehementer* this character? Do they not make us shudder—those sentences launched from so high a place and with such an accent of independence and conviction, in which it seems that the authority of man is merged and lost in that of God, who speaks in his place? And after the just severity of the condemnation come tender appeals that reveal at once the love of the father and the indulgence even of the judge, to be followed by counsels which trace the lines for exhortation and cheer us on to the struggle, to suffering and, if need be, to martyrdom.

We are the sons of the Christ who was sacrificed, successors of the Apostles, happy of being deemed worthy to suffer for Jesus Christ, brothers of the victims whose blood poured out so gloriously marks the bright pages of the history of the Church. We cannot repudiate this heritage of splendid and triumphant sacrifice. We must remain faithful to the end to such traditions of Christian pride, of untarnished and valiant honor, of strong, triumphant truth.

Such, in brief, is the document so impatiently awaited by the world after the promulgation of the law. And the world has understood it, and has been struck with this statement of the truth that enlighteneth every man coming into this world, and has bowed down before this fresh testimony borne to everlasting truth.

This, Most Holy Father, is the book which we shall read and read again during these days of prayer and toil, and in it we shall find light to guide us and a source of strength to come to a decision.

It is told in the second book of Esdras that the people of God on their return from captivity, on re-entering Jerusalem and finding everything in ruins, everywhere sought the prophet that from his mouth they might hear the reading of the sacred text and the interpretation of the word of the Lord: "And they rose up to stand; and they read in the book of the law of the Lord their God four times in the day, and four times they confessed and adored the Lord their God."

Esdras mounts the raised platform which he has had erected that he might be heard, and all around him are the principal personages of the house of Israel. All the people are standing. When Esdras unrolls the volume of the Law, his first word is a cry of thanks-

giving to Almighty God, and the people answer with cries and sobs, lifting their hands, "Amen! Amen!" For the people wept, according to the testimony of the Sacred Book, on hearing read the Book of the Law: "For all the people wept when they heard the words of the law."

From this day forth it is public penance for a whole people returning from a harsh captivity. It acknowledges that it has deserved its misfortunes. No longer does it think of reproaching God with the severity of His justice. Its sole care henceforth will be to fulfill the law. Every father of a family signs his hand to this solemn pledge. All will henceforth work at the cost of many sacrifices to restore Jerusalem, its homes and its temples.

France, Most Holy Father, passed through this feverish waiting, this hope, these deep emotions and these resolutions of amendment when she was anxiously awaiting and when she heard with gladness the august word of your Holiness in the last encyclical.

With you, Holy Father, we condemn the false principles of the possible separation of Church and State; with you, under feelings of filial indignation, we suffer the unseemly and criminal audacity of a power which, burning to tear up a contract entered into with the Church, does it by itself, without any previous notice and without any communication of any sort with the Chief of the Church. With you and like you, we protest against the sacrilegious usurpation of ecclesiastical property, of churches and pious foundations; against the pretension of the civil power to regulate alone questions of the administration of church property and alone to lay down the conditions under which the organs of that administration must work.

To sum up all in a word, we blame whatever your Holiness blamed, we condemn whatever you condemned, and with eyes turned towards Rome, the mother and mistress of all Churches, we shall await in penitence and prayer the word of the future to be given to us by Peter, and then, as Catholic Bishops and Frenchmen, we shall know how to obey.

That, Holy Father, is our last word. It is also, in spite of all appearances to the contrary on the field of politics, the feeling and resolve of the great majority of our Catholic people, insufficiently enlightened as to the consequences of their votes in the election of members of Parliament. They allow themselves to be persuaded that politics and religion are two things absolutely distinct which should not be confounded; hence comes the tendency of the people to hold no account of religious interests in political matters; hence the deception of those who had seen in the election an immediate means of restoring to the Church the plenitude of her rights and liberties.

In spite of everything, however, the sentiment of faith remains inviolable at the bottom of the soul of France. Her title of eldest daughter of the Church has kept before the eyes of the people her prestige and splendor. The Roman Pontiff is heard by all French Catholics as the mouthpiece of Christ, whose Vicar he is. His word is for them sacred; his person more venerated and beloved by them than amongst any other nation, and their fidelity will not belie itself, whatever the sacrifices that may be imposed upon them, when the Bishops, united in filial submission to the Holy See, shall make known to them the practical decisions already announced in the encyclical, and for which it has pleased your Holiness to take counsel from our assemblies.

We have hopes, too, Holy Father, that your fatherly goodness will ever be able to distinguish between the people that love Christ and the Pope, His Vicar, and the hot-headed men who silence their faith for the satisfaction of their miserable ambitions. No, a thousand times no, these men are not France, and never will be; and the day when the French democracy shall be enlightened it will show itself united in the faith of its Christ and in the love of its Pope.

This is why we dare, Most Holy Father, to beg you to keep for our France all her rights as the advance guard of your sacred person, all the privileges of her protectorate of Catholic interests in the East; and also, as we remain in spite of all the great Catholic nation, that you will give us the legitimate joy of seeing replaced in your councils the Cardinals of whom death deprived us at the very moment when our trials fell most heavily.

We await, Most Holy Father, all your paternal goodness, and we cry out as Bishops beforehand, in the union of our hearts—"Long live Christ, long live His beloved Vicar, the sweet, strong, great and generous Pope Pius X.!"

## Book Reviews

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**GREAT CATHOLIC LAYMEN.** By *John J. Horgan*. "Is example nothing? It is everything. Example is the school of mankind, and they will learn at no other." 12mo., pp. 388. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Father Sheehan's introduction to this book is such an admirable essay on "Catholic Biographies," that we are glad to reprint it as a whole by way of review. We intended to quote from it, but a second reading caused us to change our purpose:

"The only reason I can advance for prefixing this introduction to a book which will speak eloquently for itself is that I believe that it was I who had the good fortune of inspiring the writer with the idea of the necessity in our age of some such handbook of Catholic biography as this proves to be. For the need, though perfectly apparent, never seems to have attracted Catholic writers; or if it did, they must have assured themselves that the time was not ripe for such a publication, or that Catholic sense and intelligence were not ripe enough to demand it. And yet who has not felt the want of some such compilation as that now presented to the public? The great writers, thinkers and workers of other religions have been glorified by studies, memoirs, biographies or reminiscences without number. Their reliques, letters—everything appertaining to them—have been published, and read eagerly by a public who delight in probing into the secrets of its heroes. Their works have been issued in every kind of novel edition, their portraits reproduced in etching, engraving and photograph. Their habits of life, their studies, their books have been eagerly searched for indisputable signs of a genius already acknowledged. For the narrower reading circles of the public, *analecta* have been culled and sifted and selected; and young authors and aspiring workers have been bidden to go to these masters to study their lives for the formation of character or intellect, and their books, their habits, etc., to learn therefrom how to take the initial steps towards the success that crowned their life efforts.

"I cannot recall the name of one great pagan, or Protestant, who has been neglected. But what of your Catholic writers and workers? You seek their names in vain in encyclopædia or dictionary of biography. The world has deemed them unworthy of notice; and we have accepted the verdict. Hence you will not find in the many volumes that are now published under the title 'Great Statesmen' a notice, much less a life, of Windthorst or O'Connell; or if these distinguished men are mentioned, it is to be dismissed in a few brief,

almost contemptuous sentences. In a series of philosophical classics what place is there for an Aquinas or a Suarez? You have Kant, and Hegel, and Fichte, and Schelling, Hume and Berkeley, Bacon and Hobbes, Comte and Cousin; but where are Augustine, and St. Thomas, and Bellarmine, and Vasquez? Where Maistre or Montalembert? Where Brownson and Newman? In a cheap reprint of the poets you will find every name but Coventry Patmore and Aubrey de Vere. And if you were to seek details of these men's lives, and few who have read their works could fail to be interested in them, where are you to find them?

"It will be said at once that hitherto Catholics, at least in these countries through the lack of university training, and, therefore, through the absence of that fine sense of appreciation for whatever is valuable or attractive in the personalities of their great co-religionists, have been conspicuously indifferent about the lives or thoughts or works of those who, clinging fast to the tenets of their faith, have wrought great deeds either through the emancipation of oppressed creeds or nationalities, or through discoveries in science made in the seclusion of their studies. And from this indifference there sprang a natural yet quite erroneous inference, that outside the domain of theology and philosophy, the Catholic Church had little to show in the industry or intelligence of her children. Apparently Catholic thinkers contributed but little towards the progressive tendencies of modern times. In art alone they seemed to have held their position. In science, in industrial improvements, in commercial advancement, in literature, embracing the different departments of history, poetry, the drama, etc., they seemed to have held no place. And as a result that word 'reactionary' has been applied to the Church itself, and the world and many Catholics who follow the world's direction and obey its behests, have labored themselves into the conviction that religion and progress are inconsistent, that dogma and science are incompatible, that there can be no truce, much less a treaty, between the ever progressive, ever advancing spirit of the modern world and the granite immobility of Catholicism. It is quite possible that some such idea underlies the persistent refusal of English statesmen to grant a university to Catholic students; and the same idea occupies the minds of many Catholics who know but little of the fundamental beliefs of the faith they profess and still less of the vast output of energy in every department of political and social science, of arts and letters, that has emanated from the genius and labors of Catholic scientists, politicians and statesmen during that period of three hundred years which marks the rise and development of all that passes under the name of modern progress and enlightenment.

"How far this misconception of the spirit and mission of the Catholic Church and this ignorance of the leading part taken by Catholics in all that subserves modern advancement may be traced to our own indolence is a debatable question. Perhaps it is the eternal question of supply and demand again. There certainly was no articulate demand for Catholic biography heretofore, and there certainly was no supply. Hence, it cannot be said that these papers, now presented in book form to the public, under the auspices of the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, are inopportune. They meet a great want, if they do not supply a great demand. They may be considered in the light of a handy reference volume for the large and increasing section who, we hope, are beginning to understand the fertility of the Church in creating scholars as well as saints. And, lest we should suppose that imagination would run riot in such panegyrics as are here offered, the author judiciously introduces extracts from the writings and correspondence of his subjects that prove every thesis of belief and action as it is advanced.

"It is quite true that this compilation does not aim at being a complete dictionary of Catholic biography. Many names will suggest themselves to every reader which, perhaps, would have an equal right for consideration with those that are here introduced. But it was necessary that there should be a selection, and the selection is a judicious one. The author has sought for 'representative men' amongst Catholics, as Emerson sought them in the large category of great men, or as Carlyle sought them for his lectures on heroes. And he has given us as patriots and statesmen Hofer, Windthorst and O'Connell; as ruler, Moreno; as journalist, Frederick Lucas; as historian and *litterateur*, Montalembert; as philanthropist, Ozanam; as scientist, Pasteur. It is a well selected and comprehensive list taken from different nationalities, and more or less different periods of time. And the author through these biographies has made evident the thesis underlying them, namely, that the Catholic Church and patriotism, the Catholic Church and politics, the Catholic Church and science, nay, even the Catholic Church and the most significant feature of the modern world—journalism—are by no means in antagonism, but that around every step and every effort of the modern world towards that millennium which, if it is but 'as the dream of them that awaken from sleep,' is yet a vision of inspiration forever beckoning forward the struggling masses of humanity, the Catholic Church casts its own illumination, all the brighter because, when the lesser lights of human knowledge are extinguished, it alone is destined to expand and continue forever.

"Outside and beyond this great lesson, which the following pages so eloquently teach, there is another, an extrinsic one, which the pub-



lication of such biographies happily suggests. This is a book written by a young Catholic layman about Catholic laymen. The smell of incense, the odor of the sanctuary does not hang about it—only that atmosphere of living faith which is common to chancel, and nave, and aisle, and which may be breathed freely by that large section that forms an integral portion of the living Church—the *Ecclesia discens*. It is a novelty, but an agreeable one. It is a new departure, but a happy one. If we might argue from it that a new spirit has been breathed into our young Catholics; that, at last, they had begun to realize their responsibilities, and to assume the duties of zeal and charity, and earnestness which these responsibilities impose, it would impress that Church which has been yearning for the help of such allies with a fresh sense of vigor and elasticity in its onerous mission to the world.

“Educationists are now teaching that one of the most serious defects in our system of teaching is the neglect of manual instruction, especially the neglect of teaching children that they have a left hand as well as a right. Might we say that one of our mistakes hitherto has been that the Church has been one-handed in its mighty struggle against the world, and that the enormous power of an educated and faithful laity has never been realized?”

“These lectures have their own lesson in that matter. What Moreno did in South America, Montalembert and Pasteur in France, Windthorst in Germany, Hofer in the Tyrol, O’Connell and Lucas in Ireland, can still be done. But they must be discovered and put in their proper grooves and encouraged by all the maternal affection and solicitude of the Church to labor in the great cause of the uplifting and regeneration of humanity.

“And these papers have this further lesson. That if a young Catholic layman burthened by professional duties and distracted by many other calls upon his time has been able to study the details and master the many facts that are embodied in these biographies, it is only reasonable to argue that many more might do the same, or similar work, in other departments, and help the common cause by zealous and judicious coöperation. If we might be privileged to hope this, would it not mean the dawning of a new era, and would not the historian of the future looking back upon the achievements of such devoted Catholics exclaim with Ozanam when he first beheld the sea, ‘The floods have lifted up, O Lord! the floods have lifted up their voice. The floods have lifted up their waves with the voice of many waters.’ (Ps. xcii., 3.)

“One brief further suggestion. Is it too much to expect that some young ecclesiastical students—better still some young priests—may be encouraged to accomplish a similar work for our great philoso-

phers and theologians? We have 'Blackwood's Philosophical Classics,' 'Great Statesmen,' 'Great Writers,' in one series after another, and the reading world seems never to tire of them. When shall we have 'Catholic Philosophical Classics,' 'Catholic Theologians,' etc.? There are few amongst the clergy who would not like to know something about De Lugo, Suarez, Franzelin, a Lapide, names consecrated to us because of their association with our college days. We have long lives of St. Thomas and St. Augustine, but we want brief, pithy biographies, such as are given of thinkers and workers of the outer world. Their writings would help us if we knew a little more of their lives."

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ESSAYS IN PASTORAL MEDICINE. By *Austin O'Malley, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D.*, Pathologist and Orthalmologist to St. Agnes' Hospital, Philadelphia, and *James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D.*, Adjunct Professor of Medicine at the New York Polyclinic School for Graduates in Medicine; Professor of Nervous Diseases and of the History of Medicine, Fordham University, New York. 8vo., pp. 363. Longmans, Green & Co., 91 and 93 Fifth avenue, New York, Bombay and London.

The preface to this book is worthy of reproduction in its entirety, and it explains the need and purpose and plan of the work better than we could do it:

"The term Pastoral Medicine is somewhat difficult to define because it comprises unrelated material ranging from disinfection to fœticide. It presents that part of medicine which is of import to a pastor in his cure and those divisions of ethics and moral theology which concern a physician in his practice. It sets forth facts and principles whereby a physician himself or his pastor may direct the operator's conscience whenever medicine takes on a moral quality, and also explains to the pastor, who must often minister to a mind diseased, certain medical truths which will soften harsh judgments and other facts which may be indifferent morally, but which assist him in the proper conduct of his work, especially as an educator. Pastoral medicine is not to be confused with the code of rules commonly called medical ethics.

"The material of pastoral medicine requires constantly renewed discussion, because medicine in general is progressive enough frequently to devise better methods of diagnosis and treatment, and thus the postulates of the moral questions involved are changed. The discussion, however, is not easily made. The facts upon which the ethical part of pastoral medicine rests are furnished by the physician for the consideration and judgment of the moralist—the physician educated after modern methods knows little or nothing of ethics and cannot himself make accurate moral decisions. The moralist,

on the other hand, is commonly a poor counsellor to the physician, because long training in medicine is needed before the physical data of the moral decision is comprehended. The physician, therefore, is at a loss to determine what he may or may not do in cases that involve the greatest moral responsibility, and the priest is a hesitating guide because the moral theologies do not convincingly present the doctrine in the case.

"Now and then such subjects have been proposed for discussion to a group of physicians and moralists, but usually no practical conclusion has been reached because one side did not understand the other. In 1898 there was a series of articles on ectopic gestation in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, in which moralists like Lehmkühl, Sabetti, Aertnys and Holaind and some of the leading gynæcologists of America considered the questions, but arrived at no decision. The physicians did not understand certain questions, other questions were on obsolete medical practice, essential questions were omitted, and from the data the moralists came to opposed conclusions.

"We find also in moral theologies deductions drawn from false medical sources. Reasons are given, for example, to justify the use of a large quantity of alcoholic liquor at a dose in a case of great pain, typhoid fever, snake poisoning and other diseases, in the supposition that such doses will benefit or cure the patient, whereas the physician that would follow that treatment would be guilty of malpractice. There was recently in America a discussion on the relation of oöphorectomy to the *impedimentum impotentiae*. One side held that the lack of ovaries constitutes impotence; the other side that it does not. The discussion was useful because it incidentally gathered the full doctrine of the moralists on this subject, but from the medical point of view there is no connection whatever between these conditions.

"A small number of books on pastoral medicine have been written by clergymen that were not physicians, and a few German books by physicians that were also moralists. Those by the physicians draw conclusions from antiquated medical practice, or they are mere popular treatises of hygiene; those by the clergymen have some value on the ethical side, but they are incomplete because the authors had not the necessary medical knowledge. The essays offered in this book by no means cover the entire field of pastoral medicine, but as far as they go we have endeavored to offer the medical doctrine of the present day on the questions considered, and that as completely as is necessary to draw the moral inferences.

"Since, then, so many of the questions of pastoral medicine are not defined, physicians are likely to follow the doctrine of the stand-

ard medical books, which without exception advise them to take the life of a dangerous foetus almost as unconcernedly as they might prescribe an active drug, or in any case to put utility before justice. There is, therefore, an urgent necessity that competent men fix that shifting part of ethics and moral theology called pastoral medicine, and these essays are presented as a temporary bridge to serve in crossing a corner of the bog until better engineers lay down a permanent causeway.

"Some may think that the authors are inclined toward an exaggerated charity in suggesting the measure of responsibility for many human actions, but the physician that is brought much into contact with those suffering from mental defects of various kinds soon learns how easily complete responsibility becomes marred. Responsibility is dependent entirely upon free will; and while the great principle of free will remains solid in truth, no two men are free in exactly the same manner. Physical conditions have not a little to do with the modifications of freedom of the will. To point out this fact to the clergyman and the physician has been our intention, for a proper appreciation of it will widen the bounds of charity and save many that are more sinned against than sinning from the injury of grievous misjudgment. It is better to run the risk of exculpating a few individuals whose responsibility is not entirely clear when the application of the same principles lifts many others above the rash judgment of those who can be of most help to them."

Apart from the information contained in this preface, it is useful as a specimen of the ability of the authors to think correctly and express themselves clearly. Both are able men, and their ability has been proved. Dr. Walsh needs no introduction to the readers of the *QUARTERLY*, for they have on more than one occasion been entertained and instructed by him.

The chapters of the book have the following headings: "Eotopic Gestation," "Pelvic Tumors in Pregnancy," "Abortion, Miscarriage and Premature Labor," "The Cæsarean Section and Craniotomy," "Maternal Impressions," "Human Terata and the Sacraments," "Social Medicine," "Some Aspects of Intoxication," "Heredity, Physical Disease and Moral Weakness," "Typnotism, Suggestion and Crime," "Unexpected Death," "Unexpected Death in Special Diseases," "The Moment of Death," "The Priest in Infectious Diseases," "Infectious Diseases in Schools," "School Hygiene," "Mental Diseases and Spiritual Direction," "Neurasthenia," "Hysteria," "Menstrual Diseases," "Chronic Disease and Responsibility," "Epilepsy and Responsibility," "Psychic Epilepsy and Secondary Personality," "Impulse and Responsibility," "Criminology and the Habitual Criminal," "Paranoia: A Study in Cranks," "Suicides," "Venereal Diseases and Marriage,"

“Social Diseases,” “De Impedimento Matrimonii Dirimente Impotentia,” “Bloody Sweat.”

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FREE WILL, and Four English Philosophers (Hobbes, Locke, Hume and Mill). By the *Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S. J.* “The belief in freedom is at the root of our entire conception of personality.”—Mallock, “Reconstruction of Belief.” 12mo., pp. 234. Burns & Oates, 28 Orchard street, London, W. Benziger Brothers, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati.

Father Rickaby’s introductory remarks are so very characteristic, and at the same time serve as a specimen of his style, while explaining his purpose and plan, that we subjoin them without comment:

“In their original form these pages were written in the years 1871-4. Since then they have been submitted to much castigation and amendment, less perhaps than they deserve, at the hands of the writer, then youthful, now an elderly man. This fact may account for some inequalities of style. Certain ‘tender memories of the past’ have stayed my hand from pruning away all traces of the exuberance of youth.

“Meanwhile, the importance of the subject has grown rather than diminished, chiefly, I think, owing to the prevalence of the Kantian philosophy. I may as well forewarn the reader that Kant is not discussed here, except indirectly, in so far the phenomenalism of Hume may be considered to have prepared the way of Kant. I have written elsewhere: ‘Though men are slow to see it and are loth to own it, from reminiscences I think of the *odium theologicum* hanging about the question, free will still remains the hub and centre of philosophical speculation. In this work the subject is treated entirely on philosophical grounds; that is to say, there is no reference to grace, predestination or the Fall. Thus St. Augustine stands out of the controversy; so, too, Calvin and Jansenius. My method is to quote a passage from the English philosopher under examination, and then discuss it. The method has its drawbacks, but it ensures definiteness and seems about as fair to the philosopher discussed as any other form of procedure. It is not the writer’s fault if the reader has not his Hobbes, or his Locke, or his Hume by his side, and does not read round and study in the context the extract presented to him.

“The *fact* that man has free will is far more certain—it is a point of Catholic faith—than any explanation *how* he has it. As to how free will works, the Church has given no explanation; there is much divergence even of the orthodox opinion, and, wherever my reading has traveled, considerable obscurity. The fact is usually proved by the indirect method of enlarging upon the consequences of a denial of free will. That method I too have frequently employed. But

further, I offer some positive view of the precise working of free will. I have not borrowed it from Locke. The view I take is briefly this: To will at all, our will must be struck by a motive, which raises in us what I have called a 'spontaneous complacency.' As the four philosophers under review all agree, and I agree with them, this complacency is a fact of physical sequence, a necessity, under the circumstances. But it is not yet a volition. It does not become a volition until it is hugged, embraced, enhanced, under advertence, by the conscious self. This process takes time—I do not mean so many seconds measured by the watch, for thought time goes on other wheels than motion time—but still it takes time. Free will turns upon the absence of any need of your making up your mind at once to accept the particular complacency thus present in your soul; observe, you cannot here and now accept any other; you cannot here and now accept what is not here and now offered; you cannot just at present fling yourself upon the absent. Thus time is gained for rival motives to come up, according to the ordinary laws of association, perception or personal intercourse; each of these motives excites its own necessary complacency, till at last some present complacency is accepted and endorsed by the person, and that is an act of free will. Not to have a *regressus in infinitum*, we must further observe that no volition is requisite simply to hesitate, delay and withhold your acceptance of any present complacency—in fact, to remain undecided and irresolute. You may, of course, put forth a positive volition to wait and see more of the question; all I say is that such a positive volition is not indispensable; your will may hang fire without your resolving to be irresolute; which important point Locke never came clearly to remark.

"This explanation may not account for free will in God and in His holy angels; but in so difficult a matter it is much if we can form some theory which the philosopher may debate, and a sound theologian will not bar as heretical, 'erroneous' or 'temerarious.' I may add that while I am much concerned that my reader should not be a determinist, I am comparatively indifferent whether he accepts my explanation of free will, or any other, or regards the process as inexplicable."

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A LIVING WAGE: Its Ethical and Economic Aspects. By *John A. Ryan*, S. T. L., Professor of Ethics and Economics in the St. Paul Seminary. With an introduction by *Richard T. Ely*, Ph. D., LL. D. 12mo., pp. 346. Macmillan Company, New York.

As the question of the relations between capital and labor are pressing harder each day, everything new on the subject is worthy

of serious attention. We shall never have peace between these two classes, so closely related and yet so far apart, until the question of a fair wage is finally settled. The term "a living wage" is misleading, because there are different standards of living. It is a mistake to say, as so many employers do, that they are justified in paying as low a rate of wages as men will work for. It would be nearer the truth to say that they are bound to pay them the highest rate of wages commensurate with a just compensation for their own services and a reasonable return on the capital invested. Moreover, they are bound to treat them as fellow-men and not as cattle. In other words, they must do more than pay them wages. They must take a personal interest in them and their families, in sickness and in health, in joy and in sorrow, at work and at play. All this is required on ethical grounds, and until it is done, it seems vain to hope that employers will treat employes fairly in the matter of compensation for labor. The employer may not do it directly; he may employ agents, but the balance will never be struck in any other way. Law cannot enter into the settlement of all the minute questions that arise in the transaction of any large business where the varying capacities of men and the constantly changing values of materials and products have to be taken into consideration. Unless the man in control desires to be just and tries to be just, according to the law of God, even when the law of man cannot reach him, we shall never be able to regulate capital and labor, for the court of last resort will be the court of might—not right.

Father Ryan's book is especially interesting because it deals with the ethical aspect of the wage question as well as with the economic aspect. It seems clear to us that there is no other reasonable way of dealing with it. The author understands his subject and he develops it well. His statements are direct, his reasoning logical, his language clear and his conclusions inevitable. This short quotation will serve as an example:

"This work does not profess to present a *complete* theory of justice concerning wages. It lays down no minute rules to determine the full measure of compensation that any class of laborers ought to receive. The principles of ethics have not yet been applied to the condition of modern industry with sufficient intelligence, or confidence, or thoroughness, to provide a safe basis for such an undertaking. The conclusion to which it would lead would either be too general to be of any practical value or too uncertain to yield more than a misleading approximation to ethical truth. At any rate, the doctrine advanced would probably fail to convince any considerable section of those to whom it was addressed. The great majority of fair-minded persons believe, indeed, that labor does not get its full

share of the wealth which it helps to create, but they are not agreed as to the precise measure of that ideal share.

"Upon one principle of partial justice unprejudiced men are, however, in substantial agreement. They hold that wages should be sufficiently high to enable the laborer to live in a manner consistent with the dignity of a human being. To defend this general conviction by setting forth the basis of industrial, religious and moral fact upon which it rests is the aim of the present volume. Several considerations have led the author to think that this task is well worth while. In the first place, the living wage doctrine points the way to a very considerable amelioration of the condition of millions of American workingmen; in the second place, a living wage would enable those raised to its level to improve their position still further; and, in the third place, this volume shows that religion as represented by the oldest and largest of Christian denominations progresses, nay, urges, a definite and considerable measure of industrial justice.

"While insisting that every laborer has a right to at least a living wage, the author does not commit himself to the view that this quantity of remuneration is full and adequate justice in the case of any class of laborers. His concern is solely with the ethical minimum."

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**ECCLESIA:** The Church of Christ. A planned series of papers by Dom. Gilbert Dolan, O. S. B., Father Benedict Zimmerman, O. D. C., Father R. H. Benson, M. A., Dom. John Chapman, O. S. B., Dom. J. D. Breen, O. S. B., A. H. Mathew and Father Peter Finlay, S. J. Edited by Arnold Harris Mathew. 12mo., pp. 182. Burns & Oates, 28 Orchard street, London, W. Benziger Brothers, New York, Chicago, Cincinnati.

This book deals with a very important question. We do not dwell enough on the teaching authority of the Church, in existence before the New Testament. Its excellence is indicated by these words of the editor:

"In arranging this volume my desire has been to provide a concise and simple explanation of what Catholics understand by 'the Notes' of the Christian Church. To the Reverend Fathers who have kindly contributed articles, written independently one of the other, I desire to express my thanks.

"The reader will do well to bear in mind that our Lord founded His visible Church and that it had become recognized, widespread and numerically powerful before any portion of the New Testament was written. The divine religion, inaugurated and provided with various marks and prerogatives by Christ, had no need of any books as sources of knowledge or doctrine, since it was endowed with the fullest deposit of revelation by our Lord from the beginning, together with the safeguards divinely appointed for the preservation and the transmission of that revelation to the human race for all time.



"The earliest of the Gospels was not written until thirty or more years had elapsed after the Ascension. The Primitive Church was, consequently, without sacred books. Instead of deriving her teaching from the sacred writings, the Church began her mission before they existed, and consequently the authors of the New Testament Scriptures derived much of their knowledge of the teaching and life of our Lord from the Church. The Holy Scriptures, instead of being the source or rule of faith, are, to Catholics at any rate, a record of the teaching of the Church in the first ages; a record confirmatory and corroborative of the faith, but one which was never intended to supplant the divine authority of the living voice of the Church.

"Nothing is more clearly indicated throughout the New Testament than the divine and indefectible character of the visible *Ecclesia* instituted by Christ and designed by Him to be the ark of salvation for and the oracle of His revelation to mankind.

"Whereas Protestantism, in all its varying forms, professes to be based upon Scripture, and to be absolutely dependent upon it, Catholicism proclaims the eternal infallibility of the Church, independently of any book, by virtue of the abiding presence within her of the Spirit of Truth, her voice being, in all authoritative utterances, the voice of her Divine Author Himself. Before the New Testament existed, before its inspired books were collected together, before they were translated from the languages in which they were originally written, long before copies of the New Testament had been multiplied by the laborious process of transcription, ages before the invention of the art of printing, the Catholic Church was here, preaching the glad tidings of the Gospel, offering up the adorable sacrifice of the New Law 'in every place,' administering the sacraments and making disciples of all nations. What she did in her earliest days she has ever since continued to do in the same way, and she will not have completed her task until the end of all things is reached. Sects may come and sects may go, but the Church is eternal because she is divine, and consequently one and invisible, holy, Catholic both in time and extent, apostolic and Petrine—that is papal. Not only does the Church instituted by Christ possess all these distinguishing marks or notes, but so conspicuous are they that she can be recognized at a glance as the only institution upon earth possessing these visible indications of her divine origin and character."

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THE LIVES OF THE POPES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES. By the *Rev. Horace K. Mann*. Vol. III., 858-891. B. Herder, St. Louis. Price, net, \$3.00.

The period dealt with in the present volume of Father Mann's valuable history of the Popes extends through six Pontificates, viz.,

those of St. Nicholas I., Hadrian II., John VIII., Marinus I., Hadrian III. and Stephen (V.) VI. The dominating personage of the era was undoubtedly the great St. Nicholas I., who imprinted his strong character upon his times and became the founder of the mediæval Papacy, the claims of which he formulated and asserted with all possible clearness and precision. Though he reigned only nine years (858-867), the story of his Pontificate occupies more than one-third of the entire volume. His importance in the history of the Papacy amply justifies all the space allotted to him by the learned author. Such weighty topics as the Photian schism, the divorce of Lothaire, the curbing of arbitrary metropolitan power, the conversion of the Bulgarians, the missionary efforts in the distant North could not be dealt with summarily. The remaining five Pontificates are treated with a like view to their respective importance. The source, nature and scope of the False Decretals receive due attention. The appearance on the scene of Anastasius Bibliothecarius gives the author an opportunity of discoursing on the formation of the Papal library.

We await with mournful interest the next volume of Father Mann's history, dealing with the saddest epoch in the long annals of the Papacy.

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**PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS LIFE.** By the *Very Rev. Francis Cuthbert Doyle, O. S. B.*, author of "Lectures for Boys," "Life of Gregory Lopez, the Hermit," etc. Third edition. 8vo., pp. 578. R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd., 1, 2 and 4 Paternoster Row. London. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

"The chief object for which this work has been written is to furnish those who wish to lead a solidly devout life in the ecclesiastical, in the religious or in the secular state with a manual or text-book containing in as compendious a form as possible the 'principles' upon which such a life must be built.

"The sources whence materials for an undertaking of this kind may be drawn are various and numerous; but out of the many at my disposal, two are especially deserving of mention, inasmuch as it has been by the doctrine which I have learnt from them that I have been guided in much that has been treated of in this book. The first of these are the works of Cassian, to which, as a child of St. Benedict, I felt myself drawn as it were by instinct; for it was from the world-famed conferences of this learned ascetic that our Holy Father drew much of that spiritual lore which is so conspicuous in the various enactments of his rule, and to the pages of which he refers his children for those sublime lessons of spiritual wisdom which will lead them to the topmost height of 'Christian perfection.' Cassian's teaching,

save upon the question of divine grace, is unexceptionally good. His deficiency upon this point may be satisfactorily accounted for if we bear in mind that in his day various questions which arise out of this most intricate subject had not been thoroughly examined into and set at rest forever by the infallible decision of the Church. The second is the 'Theologia Mystica' of Father Dominick Schram, O. S. B., in which that erudite religious has bequeathed to us valuable treasures of Christian asceticism arranged with scientific accuracy and stored away with scholastic neatness and precision.

"The plan of which I have made use for reducing to order the mass of material which presented itself to my hands is a very simple one. It may be stated thus: In the life of every man there is an ultimate end, which is God. But in order to reach that ultimate end man must comply with certain conditions which have been laid down by God for the attainment of so magnificent a destiny. Therefore, besides his ultimate end, man has also a subordinate end or object in life. This is to win for himself that measure of perfection which is compatible with his state here below. Perfection, however, is made up of three elements—of charity, of purity of heart and of humility, all which must be made so to enter the very fibres of his being as to become part and parcel of himself. To obtain this subordinate end there are various means at man's disposal, chief among which are prayer, divine grace, docility to the movements and inspirations of the Holy Spirit, imitation of Christ and mortification, both internal and external.

"Upon each of these subjects, and upon the various ramifications into which some of them logically lead, ample instructions have been given. These will, perhaps, prove useful to those who are endeavoring to lead devout lives in the world. For those who wish to enter the ecclesiastical state there are chapters devoted to the treatment of subjects which are special to their sacred calling. Finally, for those who, in order to obtain perfection, make their self-renunciation perpetual by means of vows in the religious state, several chapters have been set aside for the explanation of those holy bonds by which they are more closely united to God.

"Also, an appendix has been added, in which each chapter has been carefully analyzed. These outlines or sketches of the matter which the reader shall have already pursued will, it is hoped, enable him to obtain a firmer grasp of it; they will help him to imprint it more deeply upon his mind; and if he should happen to be sealed with the priestly character and entrusted with the cure of souls, they will furnish him with plans by the aid of which he will be able to use the doctrine contained in this volume for the spiritual training of those committed to his charge."

**CATHOLIC CHURCHMEN IN SCIENCE.** Sketches of the lives of Catholic ecclesiastics who were among the great founders in science. By *James J. Walsh, M. D., Ph. D., LL. D.,* Professor of Medical History, Fordham University Medical School, and Professor of Physiological Psychology in St. Francis Xavier's College, New York. 16mo., pp. 221, with portraits. The Dolphin Press, Philadelphia.

A few years ago the title of this book would have excited a sneer, but now it only causes mild surprise, and even that is not universal. Fortunately we have been giving more attention to our family history, and we have been bringing it to the attention of others. In recent years reading and thinking men have begun to understand that there is no conflict between science and religion, and cannot be. Cardinal Wiseman's great work on "Science and Revealed Religion" paved the way for similar books which followed. We have had several on Catholic scientists which by inference prove the same truth.

Dr. Walsh presents a new group to us, and their names will probably sound strange to most general readers, because they have been known to students principally.

After a chapter on "The Supposed Opposition of Science and Religion," the Doctor writes of "Copernicus and His Times," "Basil Valentine, Founder of Modern Chemistry," "Linacre: Scholar, Physician, Priest," "Father Kircher, S. J.: Scientist, Orientalist and Collector," "Bishop Stensen: Anatomist and Father of Geology," "Abbé Haney: Father of Crystallography," "Abbot Mendel: A New Outlook in Heredity." This is a remarkable group, nor is it by any means exhaustive. It contains names not sought out by the Doctor for the purpose of this book, but met with in the course of his work along other lines.

We cannot close without saying a word about the beautiful manner in which the book is made. It is a work of art, worthy of the subject, the author and the publisher. The author thus speaks of the book:

"The following sketches of the lives of clergymen who were great scientists have appeared at various times during the past five years in Catholic magazines. They were written because the materials for them had gradually accumulated during the preparation of various courses of lectures, and it seemed advisable to put them in order in such a way that they might be helpful to others working along similar lines. They all range themselves naturally around the central idea that the submission of the human reason to Christian belief, and of the mind and heart to the authority of the Church, is quite compatible with original thinking of the highest order, and with that absolute freedom of investigation into physical science which has only too often been said to be quite impossible to churchmen. For this reason friends have suggested that they should be published together in a form in which they could be more easily

consultation than when scattered in different periodicals. It was argued, too, that they thus also would be more effective for the cause which they upheld. This friendly suggestion has been yielded to, whether justifiably or not, the reader must decide for himself. There is so great a flood of books, good, bad and indifferent, ascribing their existence to the advice of well-meaning friends that we poor authors are evidently not in a position to judge for ourselves of the merit of our works or of the possible interest they may arouse.

"I have to thank the editors of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW, of the *Ave Maria*, of the *Ecclesiastical Review* and the *Dolphin* for their kind permission to republish the articles which appeared originally in their pages. All of them, though substantially remaining the same, have been revised, modified in a number of particulars and added to very considerably in most cases."

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COMPENDIUM OF THE SUMMA THEOLOGICA OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS—PARS PRIMA. By *Berardus Bonjoannes*, A. D. 1560. Translated into English. Revised by Father Wilfrid Lescher, O. P. With introduction and an appendix explanatory of scholastic terms by RR. Carlo Falcini, Vicar General of the Diocese of Fiesole, Italy. 8vo., pp. 310. Thomas Baker, London. Benziger Brothers, New York.

The highest commendation which can be given to St. Thomas' great work is that after hundreds of years, notwithstanding the doctrinal development of the centuries, it still remains the standard. The great Leo only called attention anew to its unquestioned merits when he revived its study in the ecclesiastical institutions of the world. It is quite becoming that it should appear in an English dress at this time, when so many similar books are being brought out in the vernacular. It will stand at the head of them all, as the original has stood at the head of its companions and competitors in the Latin. An idea of its excellence may be gathered from this quotation of the translator:

"It has become customary in our times to depreciate the philosophy of Aristotle, which had served during so many generations as an adequate vehicle of thought for philosophers and theologians of every school. This universal mind language of the civilized world was virtually discarded and lost among other things that fixed standard of expression without which mutual understanding is impossible—a loss to which may be at least partially attributed. the amazing misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine which confront the reader in almost every non-Catholic work of the day (and in some also which ought to be Catholic), when they treat of religion, either directly or indirectly.

"Of the so-called Scholastic Philosophy a contemporary writer

says it was 'professedly the philosophy of common sense and common language which by reason of its child-like directness and simplicity departed as little as possible from the fundamental conceptions common to all philosophies,' adding that owing to its being likewise coherent, systematic and well worked out, the Aristotelian philosophy will perhaps always take precedence as indicated by the numerical Medicine," "Some Aspects of Intoxication," "Heredity, Physical Disease and Moral Weakness," "Hypnotism, Suggestion and Crime," ber of revivals and reactions which have taken place in its favor.

"Whatever may be the deficiencies of this venerable philosophy, it may surely compare favorably with modern sectarian systems (almost as numerous as the religious sects with which they have been contemporaneous), and what a still more recent student of philosophy calls 'their muddled conclusions,' while its acceptance by the Church as the mind language best suited to the expression of religious dogma should induce seekers for truth to make themselves so far acquainted with it as to understand at least what the Christian Church really believes and teaches before rejecting it as inconsistent with modern science or their own spiritual needs.

"As it is chiefly to facilitate such an understanding that this work has been undertaken, it has been the translator's aim to render it into plain English, avoiding as far as possible technical words and expressions without attempting to modernize the more or less archaic simplicity of the original style."

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THE GOLDEN DAYS OF THE RENAISSANCE IN ROME. From the Pontificate of Julius II. to that of Paul III. By *Rodolfo Lanciani*, author of "New Tales of Old Rome," "The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome," "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries," etc. Copiously illustrated. Octavo, gilt top, pp. 340. Price, \$5.00, net. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., London.

This is a beautiful book. Indeed, it is a triumph of the book-maker's art. It gives one the impression that the publishers spared nothing in the making, their one desire being to bring the book out in the most becoming form. They speak of it in this way:

"This new and valuable contribution to the history and archæology of Rome is a companion volume to the earlier works, 'The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome' and 'New Tales of Old Rome,' which have justly given Professor Lanciani the reputation of being the greatest authority on this subject. The purpose of the present volume is to describe the moral and material evolution of the Eternal City from mediæval conditions, and to draw a picture of it as it was at the very summit of its renaissance.

"The early chapters describe the city before the days of Pope Paul

III. Then follows an account of the wonderful change brought about under this Pope, and a study of the four personages who, above all others, fostered or perfected the reform movement, namely, Agostino Chigi in the financial development, Raphael and Michelangelo in the artistic, and Vittoria Colonna in the religious and moral. In dealing with the lives of these illustrious persons, facts or anecdotes already well known to the general public have not been repeated, but the author has confined himself to particulars either unpublished or little known. In developing the subject one principal aim has been kept in view—to illustrate the few monuments of that period left standing in Rome and mostly concealed under modern superstructures.

“The epoch described is perhaps the most interesting in the history of modern art, and consequently its appeal will be to a much wider audience than the other volumes in this series. The illustrations, about 100 in number, are many of them unique, the subjects having been drawn or photographed for the first time, so that both from a scholarly and an artistic point of view the book will prove a rare acquisition to the literature of Rome in particular and to archæology and art in general.”

Heavy calendared paper is used throughout, so that the very best effects are gotten in the pictures. The text is most attractively written and is entertaining and instructive. We shall not discuss its historical value.

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**JESUS OF NAZARETH.** The Story of His Life Written for Children. By *Mother Mary Loyola*, of the Bar Convent, York. Edited by Father Thurston, S. J. 12mo., pp. 401. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The author's excuse for undertaking the apparently impossible task of writing on a serious subject in a manner intelligible and interesting to children is found in the following sentence:

“The pressure of an earnest invitation sent me from America must be my excuse for venturing to add another Life of Christ for the Young to the excellent ones already existing. The aim proposed is to strengthen faith in our Lord's Divinity and to draw the hearts of children to Him by a personal love. To do this within the limits assigned it has seemed better to omit a certain amount of matter rather than sacrifice detailed descriptions of leading facts, which by impressing the imagination leave a vivid picture in the mind. Where different views as to chronology, etc., prevail, I have adopted the one supported by the greater number of Catholic authors.”

How far he has succeeded we may learn from these words of His Eminence Cardinal Gibbons:

"My heart was delighted on reading the proof sheets of 'Jesus of Nazareth: The Story of His Life Written for Children,' by Mother Mary Loyola. The book is eminently practical, simple, unctuous and interesting. In fact, no one can read it without loving God more and, therefore, becoming better. The author evidently realizes the want of the child mind, and at the same time comforts every soul in its longing for something higher and better."

This is high commendation, and the author may well be proud of it. We are not vain enough to imagine that we can say anything to strengthen it, and we are tempted to think we might be accused of presumption if we attempted it.

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CANZONI. By *T. A. Daly*. Pictures by John Sloan. Philadelphia: Catholic Standard and Times Publishing Company.

The talented manager of the *Catholic Standard and Times* is becoming recognized throughout the nation as a forceful exponent of genuine American wit and humor. His quaint sayings are quoted from one end of the country to the other. His success as a humorist may be largely attributed to the fact that, in addition to his being a true American, he is also a sunny child of Erin and a genuine Catholic. There seems to be no phase of life in America which has escaped his keen glance, and he notes down his impressions with one bold stroke of the pen. His study of the racial characteristics and peculiarities of speech of the Italian colony has been close and sympathetic. He deserves to be called the discoverer of the Italo-American. The little book has been universally greeted with well-merited encomiums.

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SHORT SPIRITUAL READINGS FOR MARY'S CHILDREN. By *Madame Cecilia*, Religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham, London, S. W. 12mo., pp. 238. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

Here is the history of the book as told by the author:

"This little volume contains reprints of articles which were originally published in the *Child of Mary Magazine*, edited by the Austin Canons at Spettisbury Priory, Blandford, Dorset. To these monthly articles I have added a few which have appeared in the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and in the *Franciscan Monthly*. As many of our Children of Mary have expressed a desire to have these little articles in book form, I have ventured to collect and reprint them, in the hope that they may be useful to our dear Lady's children and to others into whose hands they may fall. With the exception of a few verbal changes required to bring them up to date, the articles



stand as they were originally published, and a few others have been written to complete the book."

And here is what the writer of the preface, Rev. Gilbert Higgins, C. R. L., says about it:

"Filled with affection for the Children of Mary and penetrated with a sincere desire to see them rise to their birthrights, Madame Cecilia lays down rules, gives counsels, suggests lines of conduct which all tend to inspire women with notions of becoming self-respect, lovable unselfishness and practical religion. The teachings of this book are varied. There is in it a lesson, a hint for every one. Examples and stories and apposite bits of verse are brought into the service of the author. The book if read carefully can hardly fail to lead many Children of Mary to become womanly women and true followers of their saintly and canonized predecessors, SS. Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, Cecily and Anastasia."

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**THE LOVER OF SOULS.** Short Conferences on the Sacred Heart of Jesus. By Rev. Henry Brinkmeyer. "Behold this Heart which hath so loved man!" 12mo., pp. 180. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

A collection of nineteen addresses, all devotional and dealing chiefly with the Sacred Heart and the Blessed Sacrament. The author says:

"Friends have often advised the publication of the following conferences. For a long time I hesitated to act upon this suggestion, as I cannot claim for them entire originality. They are bouquets of flowers gathered in years gone by from various gardens to suit my own taste and for the pleasure and comfort of those to whom they were presented. Perhaps their fragrance is sufficient to gratify and embalm other souls dear to the Sacred Heart. If so, may the Divine Master breathe through these blossoms the sweetness of love and the perfume of grace long after he who culled them has gone to rest from his humble labors."

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**THE GOSPELS OF THE SUNDAYS AND FESTIVALS.** With an Introduction, Parallel Passages, Notes and Moral Reflections. By the *Very Rev. Cornelius J. Ryan, D. D.*, late Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hebrew, Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, Dublin. 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I., pp. 334; Vol. II., pp. 396. Second edition. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Of sermon books there is no end. Like other things, they may be divided into three classes—good, bad and indifferent. Like other things, also, they are generally indifferent. For that reason we have generally given them scant courtesy, because we think that a man

should but rarely preach the good sermon of another, and a bad sermon never. We fear that the publishers have felt the ecclesiastical pulse before bringing out the many volumes of oratory which have recently appeared and that there is a demand for them. The conclusion is pretty reasonable that the poor laity are suffering the consequences.

It is with extreme pleasure, then, that we extend the pen of welcome to the book before us. It is well conceived, successfully brought forth and healthfully matured. It is a scholarly, dignified, lawful and useful book. It can be recommended without reservation to all preachers because, instead of destroying thought and study and preparation, it encourages them, and supplies the very best material to aid them. A glance at the plan of the author will reveal this.

"This explanation of the Gospels of the Sundays and Festivals was originally written for the use of a class of students in the College of the Holy Cross, Clonliffe, and it was intended as a full exposition of the passages of Sacred Scripture which are most frequently explained for the people. It is hoped that, supplied with the materials here collected, the ecclesiastical student or the missionary priest will be aided in his preparation for one of his most onerous but indispensable duties.

"In order to afford this assistance I have given (1) a brief introduction dealing with the gospels in general and with the scene of the gospel history; (2) the Greek and Latin of the Gospel extracts read at the Mass on the Sundays and principal Festivals throughout the year; (3) an English translation of each extract; (4) the parallel passage or passages when the subject is referred to by more than one evangelist; (5) a combined narrative in every case where there is a parallel passage; (6) a full explanation of each verse, together with an introductory note on the circumstances of time, place, etc., in which the event occurred or the discourse was delivered; and (7) moral reflections suggested by the matter already discussed in the notes. The Greek text is almost a verbatim reprint of the Vatican Codex B, as edited by Professor Ornsby, Dublin, 1864; the Latin text is taken from F. Vercellone's edition of the Vulgate New Testament, Rome, 1861; in the English translation I have almost constantly followed the edition of the Douay Bible published by Duffy, Dublin, 1888, with the approbation of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland; and in the moral reflections I have derived much help from Cardinal De La Luzerne's 'Explication des Evangiles.'

"To attain the end which I proposed to myself, I thought it necessary to study closely the early Fathers who have expounded the gospels either in whole or in part; the best Catholic commentators, both ancient and modern; the most esteemed Protestant writers, English and foreign; High Church, Low Church and Rationalistic; the best lexicographers, grammarians and authors of works on the antiquities of the Jews. I endeavored to avail myself of all the aid which was within reach, and to present my readers with the most recent information on the subject in hand. For the convenience of those who may wish to examine further any question here treated, I have inserted references to the authorities quoted, and have prefixed to this volume a list of the works consulted.

"It may be thought that, having in the Vulgate an approved version of the works of the evangelists, I have uselessly expended time in frequent references to the Greek text. To this it must be answered that in any exposition of the gospels which is worthy of the name, a frequent reference to the original text is not only useful, but necessary. It is well known that Greek is the most accurate and precise of all languages, and it follows that the thoughts of sacred writers expressed in that language cannot be fully rendered in the most faithful version. But it will be urged that the authenticity of the Vulgate has been declared in the most solemn manner by the Church in the Council of Trent. (Sess. 4, Decret. de editione et usu sacrorum librorum.) The Vulgate has, indeed, been declared authentic; and it follows not only that no false doctrine in faith and no erroneous rule in morals can be legitimately deduced from what is there contained, but also that this version faithfully gives all that appertains to the substance of the written word of God. Hence, for Catholics an appeal to the Vulgate settles, as a rule, questions regarding both the sacred text itself and its meaning; but this rule has many exceptions which are not affected by the declaration of the Council. Thus it appears safe to say that in the decree (1) the Fathers of Trent did not declare even by implication that the Vulgate is free from all errors in matters not affecting faith and morals; that (2) they did not even deny by implication that in the dogmatic passages themselves there is sometimes a certain difference between the Vulgate and the original texts, not only as to clearness or explicitness in expressing the dogma, but also as to the aspect in which the dogma is regarded; that (3) they did not give to dogmatic passages in the Vulgate hitherto doubtful a greater authority than these passages had already; and that (4) they neither asserted nor implied that the dogmatic passages originally in the autographs of the sacred writers are now to be found in the Vulgate. (See Cornely, *Introduct. in U. T. Libros Sacros*, Vol. I., pages 440-458.) If we keep in mind, then, the limited scope of the declaration regarding the authentic character of our Latin version we must admit that an appeal to the original text is in many cases necessary and in every case useful for those who wish to know fully the meaning intended by the evangelists."

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**GESCHICHTE DES VATIKANISCHEN KONZILS** Von Seiner Ersten Ankündigung Bis zu Seiner Vertagung. Nach den authentischen Dokumenten dargestellt von *Theodor Granderath, S. J.*, herausgegeben von *Konrad Kirch, S. J.* Dritter (Schluss-) Band: vom Schlusse der dritten "öffentlichen Sitzung bis zur Vertagung des Konzils. Die Aufnahme der Konzilsentscheidungen. (Die Päpstliche Unfehlbarkeit.) Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net, \$4.20.

The third and concluding volume of the History of the Vatican Council takes up the story of the great council at the point when, at the demand of a large majority of the Fathers, the order of business was changed and the subject of Papal infallibility became the sole topic of discussion. The change was made imperative by the conduct of the opponents of the doctrine. It had been far from

the mind of Pius IX. and his advisers to formulate into a dogma a doctrine which was in quiet possession throughout the Church. Papal infallibility did not appear in any of the "schemata" submitted to the deliberation of the assembled Fathers. Very few Catholics, except downright Rationalists, took any other view of the question than that which every Catholic holds at the present day. But the bare possibility that the subject might come up at the Council so frightened those who were restive under the restraint of ecclesiastical authority that they precipitated a violent storm, which brought about that very definition which they dreaded. Whilst the Fathers of the Council were occupied in expounding the first principles of Christianity and in framing wise canons of discipline, the press throughout Europe was groaning under the weight of numberless articles and pamphlets containing virulent attacks upon the venerable Chair of St. Peter. Döllinger's "Janus," with its malignant travesty of history, supplied newspaper editors, whether "Liberal Catholic," Protestant or Jew, with abundant material for denouncing the Papacy, past and present. Neither Döllinger nor his admirers had any clear conception of the meaning of the "ultramontane" teaching, and it was but natural that, as the excitement grew, the issue should become even more and more befuddled. When a theologian like Newman was at a loss to understand the situation, we can pardon the Catholic laity if their attitude was one of sheer dismay. Looking back at this distance of time, we see that the affair was simply providential. A great deal of unsound opinion was latent in the minds of not a few, who had more or less unconsciously imbibed the poison of modern infidelity. The assembling of an infallible Council, the Supreme Court of the Catholic Church, brought matters to a definite issue and "revealed the thoughts of many." It is interesting to study the various effects of the storm upon the minds of the Fathers of the Council. Only a negligible number of the prelates had come to Rome with any personal doubts as to the infallibility of the Pope in questions of faith and morals. Some who had not made a deep study of theology began to waver under the violent attacks of the opponents; others, though uninfluenced themselves, were of opinion that until every objection ingeniously advanced had been thoroughly dissipated, a definition of the doctrine was premature; a still larger number deemed the definition inopportune from dread of the hostility of the secular power. The fears of the latter class of bishops seemed to be well founded, for the governments of the foremost Catholic nations, notably France and Bavaria, were making dire threats. It is amusing to notice that the statesman who was chiefly influential in preventing a coalition against the Council was none other than Bismarck, who could laugh in his sleeve at Napoleon III.'s fatal blunder at a crucial moment, in intermeddling in spiritual affairs. An overwhelming majority of the Bishops considered that the safety of the Church demanded prompt action on the part of the Council. They deemed it their sacred duty to decide once for all what had grown to be the burning question of the hour. The history of the past thirty-six years proves that they were right.

The labor of sifting and studying the immense mass of mate-

rials relating to the Council was so gigantic that we cannot wonder if it cost the lives of two great Jesuits, Fathers Schneemann and Granderath. The former succumbed to death just as he had prepared the Acts of the Council for the *Collectio Lacensis*. A similar fate overtook his assistant, Father Granderath, the author of the present history. The work of both of these laborers will endure to the end of time. This history will be recognized as one of the most classical and scientific ever written. It is as far superior as a work of art to Pallavicini as the twentieth century is to the seventeenth. It is candid, fearless and comprehensive. There is an utter absence of prejudice or bias, and no attempt is made to conceal or color facts. The vast array of materials is marshaled with an ability amounting to genius; there is not a dull page in the entire work. Particularly interesting is the full synopsis of the speeches during the debates, condensed from the stenographers' notes. An abler series of debates could not be found in any deliberative assembly in the world. The imputation made by the enemies of the Council of lack of freedom in the expression of opinions is shown to have been a gross calumny. On the contrary, we are forced to admire the extreme patience and courtesy of the majority party in listening over and over again to the same threshed-out arguments, repeated for the sake of killing time and preventing a decision. Altogether we consider this the most valuable book of the year and a great triumph of genuine Catholic historical criticism.

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THE RELIGION OF THE PLAIN MAN. By *Father Hugh Benson*. 12mo., pp. 164. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Father Benson's book is very interesting and very useful. He "constructs a dummy-figure with the brain of an average man, to endow him with sincerity, fearlessness and a hunger for God; to trace the workings of his mind when confronted with difficulties; to follow the fortunes of his spiritual quest, and to attempt to understand and interpret the reasons that effect his will."

The author leads this man, whom he calls John, from a belief in Christianity in general to an acceptance of the Bible as the rule of faith. He soon sees the necessity of an interpreter. He tries various sects with certain test questions, but finds them contradictory. He is introduced into the Anglican Church by a friend and finds rest there for a while; but in the end only unrest. Finally he makes his way into the only true Church and is at peace.

This is all done gradually and seems to be rather the story of the progress of a man of ordinary intelligence into the Church than a work of imagination. It ought to impress that class deeply, and it could be placed in their hands without comment.

Father Benson writes with an earnestness and vividness peculiar to educated converts, as may be seen in the opening passages of this book.

"I am perfectly aware that this book is open to an almost innumerable multitude of criticisms. It will be said, for example, that it is unscholarly and unlearned, because to deal with the subject of the Catholic Church and to omit the patristic literature and its con-

sideration, and instead take refuge in the Penny Catechism, is the sign of one who is afraid to face volumes. It will be said that it is rhetorical and inexact, emotional and unintellectual, contemptuous and uncharitable. I shall be told to hold my tongue if I have nothing better to do than to appeal to a man's weakness instead of his strength, to his imagination rather than to his reason. In fact, in so far as the book may be noticed at all by those who do not see with me in religious matters, I foresee quite a quantity of unpleasant remarks.

"A book itself is its only defense, and yet it seems worth while in this preface to emphasize what I shall hope to emphasize again and again in the following pages, and to say that in substance some of those criticisms will be perfectly true.

"The book is intended for the 'man in the street,' who, after all, has a certain claim on our consideration, since Jesus Christ came to save his soul. This man in the street, like myself, is entirely unable to discourse profoundly upon the Fathers, or to decide where the scholars disagree in matters of simple scholarship. His religion is composed partly of emotion, a good deal of Scripture, partly of imagination, and, to a very small extent, of reason. He is content to say what he thinks a text probably means, to recognize a few of the plainer facts of history, such as that Rome has always some sort of a Pope, and that ambition and wickedness may perhaps have characterized certain persons high in ecclesiastical affairs. He is capable also of understanding that oaks grow from acorns and athletes from babies; of perceiving a law or two in the development of life; he can grasp that poison has a tendency to kill, and that two mutually exclusive propositions require a good deal of proof before they can be accepted as different aspects of one truth.

"Now this kind of intellectual attainment seems a poor equipment for the pursuit of salvation, but it is undoubtedly the only equipment that many of us have, and it is God that has made us, not we ourselves. Therefore if we believe in God at all—at least in a God of mercy or even justice—we are bound to acknowledge that this equipment is all that we actually require. To tell me that because I cannot infallibly pronounce upon an obscure sentence of St. Cyprian's I am thereby debarred from making up my mind about the necessary truths of the Christian religion, is to represent my Maker as unjust and capricious. I am only capable of that of which I am capable.

"I have attempted, therefore, in these lectures, delivered more or less in the Church of Our Lady and the English Martyrs at Cambridge, to deal with the question of the Christian religion from the standpoint which I have tried to indicate. I have quoted the Penny Catechism rather than St. Thomas Aquinas, because the one is more accessible to persons of moderate attainments. In this sense, though I sincerely hope in no others, it is an unscholarly and inexact book.

"As regards its rhetorical emotionalism, I can only say that a truth is not less of a truth if it is dressed in what may seem to some even a tawdry costume, and may perhaps be more attractive to certain eyes.

“As regards the possibility of ‘contemptuous uncharitableness,’ I am extremely sorry if I have given any cause for this accusation—I can only say that I have done my best to avoid it. But I have not attempted to avoid a poor sort of humor now and then, for I do not see why I need do so. There are funny people and funny things in this world; and we are more and not less Catholic if we acknowledge their existence. But I think that I do not anywhere attribute bad faith or insincerity of any kind to my opponents; and that, after all, is the only unpardonable device in controversy. Nor have I anywhere mocked at any doctrine which has any right to be held sacred by anybody. I have endeavored to show that some intellectual theories are absurdly impossible; but never that spiritual experience is anything but holy and reverent.

“Again, I have certainly appealed to man’s weakness rather than his strength, for we have the best authority for believing that in this God’s might is made manifest. As we may argue for the incarnation on the ground of man’s crying need for it, so we may deduce that man’s ignorance necessitates a heavenly teacher.”

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LECTURES ON THE HOLY EUCHARIST. By *Charles Coupe, S. J., M. A.* (London), sometime Professor of Philosophy, Stonyhurst College. Edited, with notes and references, by *Hatherkey More*. 12mo., pp. 248. New York: Benziger Brothers.

We welcome this book for several reasons. It is on the Blessed Eucharist and it appears at the time when the Holy Father’s exhortation to frequent Communion makes a full and correct knowledge of the subject more than usually important.

It is from the pen of one who is well fitted to deal with the subject by nature, grace and learning.

It is the work of one of the most valued contributors to the *Quarterly*, and we venture to say one of the best known. Everything that Father Coupe does is done admirably. This work has upon it the stamp of the student and the thinker.

It is an additional pleasure to open a book when the author is known to you and you have confidence in him. In the present instance the confidence is not misplaced. The book is very full, or rather we should say very complete, very clear and very convincing. It may be placed in the hands of an intelligent non-Catholic without comment or explanation, and it will convince him in regard to one of the most difficult dogmas of the Church. It may be used by a priest who is instructing converts without any variation or amplification. We think it worth while to quote at length from the introduction and to print the titles of chapters or lectures.

The following set of sixteen lectures on the Holy Eucharist I have, with the author’s leave, disentombed from various sources—English, Irish and American—in which the course, or parts of it, had originally appeared.

Many reporter’s errors and hundreds of printer’s blunders I have corrected. I have also eliminated all such repetitions as must

of necessity occur in verbatim reports of lectures which the speaker intended for the ear and not for the eye, for the hearer rather than for the reader.

For the notes and references I alone am responsible.

These, be it said, are essentially popular lectures. Consequently, the more recondite aspects of the profound subject, set forth with such lucidity, are but slightly touched on.

Moreover, the lectures, when delivered, were limited to time, and, therefore, make no claim to be exhaustive. Nor, as the speaker's object was exposition and not controversy, does he directly and formally attempt to confute the usual host of Protestant objections, though to a thoughtful mind the exposition itself will easily suggest satisfactory answers.

The appearance of these lectures in book form will, I hope, prove acceptable to the public at large. Those especially who listened to them at the time of their delivery—whether in the North or in the South, for they have been often repeated—and who can remember the interest they excited, and the favor with which they were received, will doubtless be glad to have them in this permanent form, and will find the private perusal of only less utility than was the public hearing of them.

Our Holy Father has insisted much of late on the obvious, but too much neglected, duty of Christians to make better acquaintance with the essential dogmas of the Faith. A little volume like the present makes it possible for the busiest and least instructed to gain clear ideas concerning this vital mystery of religion—the Blessed Sacrament of the altar. Nor will the professional student find that the lecturer has failed to provide him—without, at the same time mystifying readers of the more popular type—with ample matter for reflection.

Thus to crystallize into popular form Catholic doctrine—philosophy, dogma and theology—concerning the Holy Eucharist, in these days when this mystery of religion is by the erudite and by the man in the street so largely misunderstood, and so widely misrepresented, is certainly a boon. These lectures, unmarred by a single unkind word about opponents, march uncompromisingly to the fulfillment, from promise to performance, from doctrine to dogma, from dogma to devotion. For from the mists of ancient prophecy they manuct us into the full light of Christian fulfillment; from the red altar-stone of the typical Jewish sacrifice they lead us to the foot of the bloodless altar of the Immolated God, to that Emmanuel in Whom the types of old find their verification.

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LECTURES, CONTROVERSIAL AND DEVOTIONAL. By *Father Malachy, C. P.*  
 First Edition. 16mo., pp. 218. M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd., Dublin; Benziger  
 Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

These lectures are right in line with the work of those who are engaged in giving missions to non-Catholics in this country at the present time, and they could be used in their entirety by any preacher or lecturer addressing a non-Catholic or mixed congregation. If they are somewhat more rigorous than our needs demand, it is because greater vigor was required in Protestant Belfast, where they were originally delivered. But they lose nothing by that, and we prefer rather too much heat in matters of this kind than too little.

The author's statement of his purpose is interesting, and the index will serve as a guide to the engineer.

"In the discharge of my priestly duties I have from time to time delivered in our Church of Holy Cross, Belfast, short courses of controversial and devotional lectures. They were, as a rule, hastily prepared, and my aim was to adapt them to the necessities of time and place, and treat the subjects in such a simple manner as to be easily intelligible to the most unskillful minds.

"Any one acquainted with the social conditions under which our Catholic people live in this city will readily understand that religious controversies are forced upon them with persistence in every walk of life. Almost every subject—social, commercial, political and industrial—is looked at from a sectarian standpoint; and, as a consequence, religion is dragged into all the ordinary details of life.

"Every fair-minded person will be obliged to admit that Catholics are not the aggressors in this polemical arena. The discussion of religious topics, of a controversial nature, in public works and at street corners is more likely to engender bitterness than to promote the real interests of religion. And, knowing this unfortunate tendency, Catholics, as a rule, abstain from introducing these debatable questions, not from any conviction of the weakness of their cause, but from a desire of avoiding discussions which have usually no other effect than to provoke excitement and mutual recriminations.

"But it is hard to remain silent under provocation, especially when a person is passionately devoted to his religious beliefs. Moreover, in such circumstances, however distasteful the task may be, it becomes a duty for priests, at least occasionally, to deal with those debatable questions and expose the calumnies and fallacies

invented by the enemies of the Church in order to undermine the loyalty of Catholics.

"It was a sense of this obligation that induced me to deliver the controversial portion of these lectures. There was no desire of attacking Protestants when the lectures were delivered, and there is none now. In as moderate language as the subject would admit of, the popular objections of Protestantism were stated and answered, mainly with a view of placing concisely before Catholics information which their busy lives made it impossible for them to obtain."

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A MANUAL OF BIBLE HISTORY. I. The Old Testament. By *Charles Hart*, B. A., Assistant Master at St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-the-Tyne, author of "The Intermediate English Grammar. 12mo., pp. 623, with maps. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

The main object aimed at in compiling this work has been to supply a want much felt in Catholic secondary schools and colleges, for a text-book of Scripture history which may serve not only for class and examination purposes, but as an introduction to the study of the Bible. That the student may from the very commencement of his studies be made familiar with Scripture phraseology the exact words of the Sacred Text, whenever suitable, have been so interwoven with the narrative that the simple grandeur of the many sublime Bible stories have, as far as possible, been preserved. How far this aim has been secured may be gathered from the words of the Rev. Dr. Wheatley, Professor of Scripture at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, and official censor of this work, who writes: "What delights me most of all is the way in which you have worked

so much of the Sacred Text into your narrative. I think it such an advantage that we should become as familiar as possible, even from our youngest years, with every word of inspired writings; and as we cannot put Bibles into the hands of young people, such a book as the one you have written will prove of the greatest advantage.

"From long experience gained in teaching Bible History, the author has always found that it has been well-nigh a hopeless task for the student to secure from the text-books in general use a clear grasp of the historical facts connected with the separate kingdoms of Juda and Israel, as they overlap to such a degree as to render the difficulty perplexing. To make this part of the work more simple and clear, the affairs of the rival kingdoms have been arranged, as far as possible, in alternate chapters, so that contemporary events will be found to run parallel; and thus the student while engaged in one particular kingdom, will have knowledge of what was at the same time being enacted in the other. As it is intended that the work may serve as a useful aid to the study of the Bible, specially printed maps have been added, with the names according to the Vulgate spelling, and a classification of all books of the Old Testament, together with a summary of the non-historical books, has been given in an appendix. Moreover, that the reader may understand the significance of our Lord's word 'All things must be fulfilled which are written in the law of Moses and in the prophets and in the Psalms concerning Me' (Luke xxiv, 44), the chief Messianic prophecies appearing in the Psalms and in the Prophets will be found added to the outline of the respective Books.

"In another appendix is given a short account of the language of the Old Testament, and of the connection of the dialects spoken in Palestine at the time of our Lord with those of the surrounding peoples. In this appendix, too, it has been thought well to insert a brief history of some of the principal versions of the Sacred Scriptures.

"On account of the frequent mention in the Bible of the Jews falling into idolatry previous to the time of the Babylonian captivity—but never after their return—a fourth appendix will be found telling of the nature of the false gods they worshiped, and with what deities in Greek and Roman mythology these strange gods are said to have been identified.

"The great body of the work itself has been compiled chiefly from the text and notes of Haydock's Douai Bible; but for the part between the two Testaments—that is, from the end of the Books of the Maccabees—the Jewish historian Josephus is the one authority."

The book is splendidly made as to paper, type and arrangement. The marginal index adds much to its value, and the maps are clear and accurate.

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SISTER MARY OF THE DIVINE HEART. Droste zu Vischering. Religious of the Good Shepherd, 1863-1899. By the *Abbé Louis Chasle*. Translated from the second French edition by a member of the order. 12mo., pp. 433. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

It is remarkable that the life of a religious who died at the early age of thirty-six years, in 1899, should have been published

three times already. And yet this is what has happened in the case of Sister Mary of the Divine Heart. If the lives of canonized saints edify us and spur us on to better things, the lives of uncanonized servants of God should help us still more, because they seem to be nearer to us and more easy of imitation.

The present record of early sanctity is very edifying, and those who are seeking God will find the way clearer if they follow the light of the lamp of this wise virgin, which was always trimmed, filled and burning. She hath entered in the Bridegroom—who can doubt it who follows the record. To religious it presents a special attraction.

The following sketch is interesting :

“On Tuesday, June 8, 1899, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in a very poor cell of a convent in Oporto, Portugal, a woman, still young in age—for she counted but thirty-six years—lay on her deathbed. This religious, who belonged to the noble Westphalian family of the Counts Droste zu Vischering, had, when she joined the Order of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers, changed her illustrious family name for that of Sister Mary of the Divine Heart. At the same hour, and simultaneously with the first Vespers of the Feast of the Heart of Jesus, were inaugurated the opening solemnities prescribed by Leo XIII. for the Consecration of the whole human race to the Sacred Heart.

“Both within and without the convent the most touching marks of appreciation were called forth by the death of her who was named, ‘the holy Superior.’ As a poor religious she should have been carried to the grave, as are the poor whom she loved so well; but as soon as the enclosure-door was thrown open six representatives of noble families took possession of her coffin and bore it to the grave on their shoulders. Such a sight had never been witnessed before in the streets of Oporto. Contrary to the usual custom and notwithstanding the extreme heat, ladies followed the coffin until it reached the cemetery, a distance of half a league. The reputation for sanctity which was thus so strongly manifested has outlived those first impressions and has spread throughout the whole world, founded as it is on the virtues which shone forth in the life of this religious; on her joyful patience in the sufferings of a prolonged illness, on her ardent and indefatigable zeal for the salvation of souls, and, in fine, on her devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

“This holy sister, who died on the very Eve of the Consecration of the human race to the Sacred Heart, had been entrusted by our Lord Himself with His wishes relating to this great act, in the accomplishment of which she had so large a share, and to which we may attribute as a fitting preparation the marvels He worked in her soul during the many preceding years.

“Her whole life was but one long ascent towards her Divine Master, who drew her to Himself, at first by ordinary inspirations of grace, but from the time she attained her twenty-first year, by most intimate communications which tended to form in her soul a strong spirit of self-sacrifice and to constitute her a victim of love, reparation and propitiation; in fact, a victim ever ready to suffer

all things which might further the reign of the Sacred Heart throughout the whole universe.”

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A MANUAL OF THEOLOGY FOR THE LAITY. Being a brief, clear and systematic exposition of the reason and authority of religion, and a practical guide-book for all of good-will. By *Rev. P. Geiermann, C. SS. R.* With an introduction by the *Most Rev. John J. Glennon, D. D.*, Archbishop of St. Louis. 16mo., pp. 408. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

“The competition of daily life prevents many honest persons from devoting that time and attention to the subject of religion which it deserves. In consequence of this lamentable fact there are persons to-day who profess no religion, because they have no clear idea of its nature or of its necessity for human happiness. Others do not profess the true religion because they do not understand the reason and authority of its claims. Some, no doubt, profess the true religion, but do not practice it as they ought because they fail to appreciate its excellence. They regard it more as a burden than as a natural debt which man owes to the God of infinite goodness. Instead of regarding religion as the only source of true happiness, they often shun it as something disagreeable. Hence they are unhappy even when surrounded with heavenly blessings, for their conscience is ill at ease. Knowledge can show men the way to happiness, but these persons scarcely have time to pause and listen to its counsel. This ‘Theology for the Laity’ is especially intended to enlighten and encourage ‘all of good will’ who are handicapped in this way. It shows them the nature, the necessity, the certainty, the beauty and the harmony of divine religion as the masterpiece of the God of Goodness. It is a complete religious hand-book for busy people, especially for members of the true fold. Persons of leisure may find more profitable reading in the many excellent doctrinal and polemic works that have appeared in recent years. Still a brief, clear and systematic manual of theology for the laity has advantages of its own. It is calculated to interest even those who will not study larger and more learned works. It will often be taken up by those whose limited time will not permit more extensive reading. Its simple, direct method ought to recommend it, in a particular manner, to the honest inquirer, for it gives him a clear and comprehensive idea of that religion which alone spans the chasm between the natural and the supernatural. For this reason ‘Theology for the Laity’ may also be of special service to many pastors whose time for instructing converts is limited by other parochial work.”

A complete course of theology in so concise a form was badly needed. Such a book is the best manual of instruction for Catholics and Protestants, because it covers the whole field. The greatest danger in making it is the danger of obscurity which threatens most when extreme conciseness is sought, especially when working in scientific fields. The book has been highly praised and warmly recommended.

“Theology for the Laity” is offered as an intelligent and practical guide to all honest souls on their pilgrimage to heaven. Its

object is to give a concise yet systematic exposition of "The Reason and Authority of Religion."

The plan which it observes is (1) to investigate the Fundamental Ideas of Religion as proposed by Reason and History; (2) to study Revealed Religion, both in its Supernatural Truths and in its Divinely Ordained Practice; (3) to show how the True Religion of To-day logically follows from these two premises.

In composing this guide book the author has naturally availed himself of the privileges of a guide: (1) to point out things of interest; (2) to explain them in his own way; (3) to give his reasons for the same. Before proceeding from one object of interest to another, the author has tried to anticipate and briefly answer those objections and questions which the heavenly pilgrim might wish to have explained if the author were actually with him as his guide.

There can be no question about the value of a book of this kind.

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OUTLINES OF SERMONS FOR YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN. By the *Rev. Joseph Schuen*. Edited by the *Rev. Edmund J. Wirth, Ph. D.* 12mo., pp. 451. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

Father Augustine Scherer, the author of a series of excellent volumes of aid and counsel for preachers, writes thus concerning leagues and sodalities: "These associations for Christians of different callings and states of life are to be counted among the fairest blossoms that mark the development of the Church's vitality. They well deserve to be introduced into every congregation and carefully fostered, since their aim is to promote true Christian principles and a Christian manner of life, and zealously to guard the faithful from the contamination of that moral corruption now invading every rank of society. Their object is also to further the conscientious fulfillment of the duties peculiar to each state of life, and the avoidance of the several dangers appertaining to each, besides giving greater force and efficacy to performance of religious exercises and good works by the united action of the members.

"The associations here spoken of are, in fact, a source of abundant blessing; they are admirably calculated to maintain and propagate morality and Godliness in Christian communities. But if they are to live and flourish amongst us and exercise a permanent influence for good, it is indispensably necessary to deliver an instruction of the subject at short intervals. In most places where such confraternities are organized a conference is given at certain intervals, either in public, or, which is far more preferable, at a meeting from which non-associates are excluded. I have frequently heard the wish expressed for some manual that would assist the preacher in addressing these different sodalities. In truth, there is a lack of books, for this most important branch of Catholic Homiletics has been comparatively neglected; I have been unable to meet with any books on this particular subject, except an occasional homily in a volume of sermons. Accordingly I set to work to collect building materials for the use of directors of these associations; I say build-

ing materials advisedly, for the kind reader will not find a finished edifice, complete discourses, in these pages, but simple sketches or outlines prepared for him to work on. My reasons for choosing to provide the latter rather than the former was in order, on the one hand, to supply as large an amount of material as possible, and on the other, to leave the work of filling in details to the preacher who makes use of this book.

"Every one who considers the matter attentively will readily perceive that my task was by no means a light one, as it was necessary to confine myself in treating each subject to a narrow compass if my design was to be carried out. I was, besides, compelled to leave the beaten track, which is smooth and easy to the wayfarer, and to mark out a new path across a country where only rarely do the footsteps of preceding travelers indicate the right direction to be taken. I must, therefore, beg the kind reader to be lenient in his judgment of the deficiencies of this book. It would afford me heartfelt pleasure should any one, advancing further on the track that I have cleared, produce a really excellent and useful work."

This statement is so clear that it calls for no comment. We do not know what experience the author has had which might fit him for work of this kind, nor do we know what the editor did.

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A NEW SCHOOL OF GREGORIAN CHANT. By the *Rev. Dom. Dominic Johner, O. S. B.*, of Beuron Abbey. From the German. *Cum Permissu Superiorum.* 12mo., pp. 296. Fr. Pustet, Ratisbon, Rome, New York and Cincinnati.

Gregorian chant is probably attracting more attention than ever before. Heretofore it was almost unknown in this country except in ecclesiastical seminaries, but since the Holy Father's Encyclical on church music it has attracted the attention of the whole musical world. The literature of the subject has naturally grown very rapidly; indeed, so very rapidly as to be almost bewildering. Choirmasters and organists and singers who are anxious to follow the requirements of the Encyclical seem to be hindered rather than helped by this abundant literature, because, unfortunately, there are certain points about which the doctors disagree, and in the meantime the patient suffers.

It is a pity that we could not have something definite and authoritative on the subject from the first, or that the subject was not kept from us until we could have it in a definite and authoritative form. But that is an abstract discussion which has no place at the present time.

We find the "New School of Gregorian Chant" before us. We should like to tell our readers that it is the best book of its kind, but we are not competent to judge. Who is, since the doctors disagree? We studied Gregorian chant for several years during our seminary course, and sang it and fancied we knew something about it. We are beginning to think we were mistaken, and we have reached that stage where we are free to confess our fear to express an opinion. Therefore we shall quote from the author himself as to his purpose and plan.

"This 'New School of Gregorian Chant' is intended for practical purposes in the wide domain of ecclesiastical music, and by no means as an academy for savants and professional musicians. Indeed, it is one of its most important and congenial tasks to elevate to a higher level those whose capacities are inconsiderable or but moderate, and to enable them to render Gregorian chants in a worthy manner and, so far as possible, in a really artistic style; more especially, however, to train them for their highly important duties in connection with the liturgy, and so to enkindle their enthusiasm for it. Although in practice we have usually to deal with persons who possess little or no ability, yet it was necessary to consider those who are more advanced and capable of being developed, and at least to point out to such the path leading to excellence, so that, if God has bestowed upon them the talent and the will, they may do their best to follow it. For though Gregorian sung in a simple and devotional manner, let us say, by little children, may greatly please us, still its full beauty and the perfection of its varied forms can only be displayed when it is treated as artistic music.

"Choir-singers are seldom good singers; that is to say, they do not often possess the knowledge and practical experience indispensable for the methodical use of the human voice. This is probably the main reason why the results of strenuous efforts are at times so unsatisfactory and why we have to complain of the manifold difficulties connected with the cultivation of plain chant and church music generally.

"The author of the New School is of opinion that the theory of equal measure for the plain chant notes, using this term in its accepted sense as equivalent to time value, is not only the one that can be best defended from an historical point of view, but he also recognizes in this interpretation the only possible method of rendering these expressive chants in a natural and logical manner, satisfying all the requirements of art, and in accordance with the convictions of those who have formed correct opinions on the subject."

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MANUAL OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY. A Practical Guide for Ecclesiastical Students and Newly Ordained Priests. By *Rev. Frederick Schulze*, Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology at the Provincial Seminary of St. Francis. 8vo., pp. 462. The M. H. Wiltzius Company, Milwaukee,

Wis.

It must be admitted that no text-book can excel in volume for the young priest, other things being equal, the book which contains the lectures of his seminary professor. It places in his hands in permanent form the lessons which he learned when preparing for the ministry and which he is expected to put into practice afterwards. With this book in hand, he can consult his teacher at any moment and receive direction from him in the old familiar form which he knows so well and which has become so familiar as to be easy. If he go to a strange author, he must become accustomed to his style and language, and this requires time.

For this reason the alumni of an institution ought to give an unusually warm welcome to a former professor's book.



But others should welcome it also, because the fact that the writer has taught the subject and writes from experience an *a priori* argument in his favor. When to experience we add knowledge, we have a happy combination.

Here is a word from the author in his own defense :

"Pastoral theology has at last appeared on the programmes of our ecclesiastical seminaries as a special branch of sacred science, filling thereby a long-felt want. The newly-ordained priest needs a guide to steer him safely past the rocks and shoals which lie in his course when he launches into the open sea of practical ministry and apostolic labor. And this applies particularly to our own country, for here a priest's pastoral duties extend over a vastly wider sphere than elsewhere, and we have none of the traditional usages and laws with which clerical life is wont to be regulated abroad. Too often, almost immediately after his ordination, the young priest is sent to a mission where he is entirely alone. Comparatively few young ecclesiastics are fortunate enough to remain as assistants to experienced pastors for a sufficient length of time, under whom, by a wise supervision, they are gradually introduced to parochial work. Under these circumstances it is but proper that the advanced classes of our ecclesiastical students be given a course of lectures on Pastoral Theology before they leave the seminary.

"A course on Pastoral Theology was commenced in the Seminary of St. Francis several years ago. However, the need of a suitable text-book was keenly felt. None being available in English, and those in other languages not being adapted to this country, we determined to prepare a text-book to meet the existing want.

"Since this work was begun a praiseworthy volume on this topic has been prepared by Rev. Dr. Stang; but we believe that there is ample room for another. We therefore present this volume in the hope that it may prove of practical value.

"The plan followed in the voluminous works on Pastoral Theology by such eminent authors as Berger, Schuech and others has been adopted, the subject matter being divided into three sections, treating of the Sacraments, on Preaching and the Government of Parishes. Deeming the Sacraments to be the most important part and deserving of lengthy explanation, it has been placed first."

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**THE GLORIES OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS.** How it is and ought to be venerated and adored. Instructions and exhortations taken from or composed in the spirit of the writings of Blessed Margaret Mary, together with an enumeration of the various devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. From the original of *Rev. M. Hausherr, S. J.* With preface by *Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J.* 16mo., pp. 544. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.

A new book on Devotion to the Sacred Heart. Many persons will ask why? Have we not enough already? Yes and no. We have enough if they were sufficiently widely known and zealously used, because there are no new revelations. No, because ascetically speaking, the subject is exhaustless, and because all men have not yet been drawn as near to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and they

never will be in the present life. Therefore, anything, be it word, act, picture, book or person, which can draw even one human heart by the smallest fraction of an inch nearer to the Divine Heart is worth while.

Father Wynne tells us that this book can do that and more. His testimony is sufficient. Here it is.

"As deeds more than words are proof of love, it is quite proper that a book treating of a devotion which is preëminently one of love should insist not only on the study of the nature and object of the devotion, but also, and chiefly, on the practices by which it is cultivated and the fruits by which it is best appreciated. Notable for this very reason among the thousands of books which have been written about the most widely-practiced devotion of our day is Father Hausherr's 'Glories of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.' The extraordinary variety of its contents would at first sight seem bewildering, but they are so clearly divided and so well ordered that each part can be used without reference to the others, or in such a manner as to throw light on them. Based on the writings of Blessed Margaret Mary, and composed entirely in her spirit, the book contains more of what she did than of what she said by way of devotion to the Sacred Heart. It is thus a convincing answer for those who believe that this devotion savors too much of sentimentality or too little of earnest piety; to others who complain of the tendency to invent new practices of piety and prayers it will be welcome as illustrating how this devotion inspires one to use the prayers of the Church with quickened intelligence and fervor.

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PRAXIS SOLEMNIUM FUNCTIONUM EPISCOPORUM. Cum Appendicibus pro Abbatibus Mitratis et Pronotariis Apostolicis, iuxta Ritum Romanum. Studio et Opere Sac. *Beniamini Favrin*, in Seminario Ep. Tarvisino Rectoris Vice Fungentis. 8vo., pp. 144. Neo-Eboraci: Sumptibus et Typis Frederici Pustet.

The author's former work, "Parvum Cæremoniale pro Pronotariis apost. ad instar particip," was so well received and highly commended that the author was constrained to yield to the popular demand which was promptly made for a similar work on Episcopal functions. The author's special fitness for this kind of work was at once apparent, and it is not a common kind of ability. Any one who has assisted at Episcopal functions knows how difficult it is to prepare himself, not because it is hard to read the ceremonial and understand it, but because so many persons are concerned that it is not easy to fit in with the others in such a manner as to bring about unity and harmony. This is, most of all, due to the fact that the ordinary ceremonial describes the duties of each officer in order, but not in such a way as to show his relations to the other officers at each moment. And yet this is what is really necessary if we are to have order. This is what Father Favrin has done. In his book, in parallel columns running each two pages, he describes the duties of all those who take part in Episcopal functions, beginning with the bishop and ending with the minor ministers. He frequently illustrates the text with diagrams. It is all very brief, very simple

and very clear. It is the ideal way of teaching ceremonial. At a glance each person taking part in the function can tell what he should do and where he should be at each moment, and he can also tell what all the others should do and where they should be. If all the ministers of Episcopal functions use this book, the Church ceremonial will really instruct and edify.

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**COMPENDIUM THEOLOGIAE MORALIS** a *Joanne Petro Gury, S. J.*, Conscriptum et ab Antonio Ballerini, eiusdem Societatis, adnotationibus auctum, deinde vero ad breviorum formam exaratum, atique ad Usus Seminariorum huius Regionis accommodatum ab Aloysio Sabetti, S. J. Editio decima septima recognita a Timotheo Barrett, S. J. Fr. Pustet & Co., Neo-Eboraci, 1906.

A new edition of Father Sabetti's Moral Theology brings before us again all its excellencies, and emphasizes the fact that it is the most popular manual of the day. Father Sabetti's popularity is very well explained by these words of Father Barrett in the preface to the sixteenth edition:

"Love and reverence forbid us to allow this occasion to pass without expressing our gratitude to Father Sabetti, who for the twenty-five years immediately preceding his death taught moral theology in Woodstock College. The wonderful prudence of this man in solving cases, his profound knowledge of moral theology, his bright charity held us all, pupils, brothers in religion and friends, bound to him in life, and our love follows him in death." All the qualities which distinguished Father Sabetti as a teacher and director are evident in his book, and account for its well-deserved popularity. We think that we have remarked before how satisfying the book is in practice. Nine times out of ten, and probably much more frequently, it will answer the questions of morals which come before us. One might safely say to the seminarian, to the newly ordained priest and to the man seasoned in the ministry, begin with Sabetti, continue with Sabetti, end with Sabetti, and you will never go astray.

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**MEDICINA PASTORALIS IN USUM CONFESSARIORUM ET ECCLESIASTICARUM.** Accedunt "Tabulæ Anatomicæ" Explicativæ. Auctore *Joseph Antonelli, Sacerdote, Naturalium Scientiarum Doctore ac Professore.* Vol. I., 8vo., pp. 458. Tabulæ Anatomicæ, 8vo., pp. 71. Fredericus Pustet, Neo-Eboraci.

Works on Pastoral Medicine have increased in number during the last year. This is the fourth we have had before us for review. They differ very much in scope and treatment, although one might expect that in scope at least they would all be alike. If, however, we give more thought to the subject we shall realize that such is not the case. The general plan on which all such works must be built is to unite medicine and theology in such a way as to enable the physician and the priest to meet and coöperate with each other in the practice of the two sciences. In other words, to give to the

priest the medicine of theology and to the physician the theology of medicine. To unite such a work is a task that should not be undertaken lightly, for it requires full, accurate knowledge of both sciences and a delicacy of treatment which few writers in this field possess. Hence we have seen treatises on Pastoral Medicine which were almost useless because of their perfunctory character, being little more than brief, colorless compilations.

The book before us is a rare exception. It is full and scientific. It is written by one who is a master in this field, and it will undoubtedly be the standard work on the subject.

Its exhaustiveness may be judged from its size; the first volume is an octavo book of 458 pages. Probably the second volume will be as large. All who want a complete theological library must have it.

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**SNOW-BOUND.** A Winter Idyl. By *John Greenleaf Whittier*. With twenty full-page illustrations. Drawings by Howard Pyle, John J. Enniking and Edward H. Garrett. Decorations by Adrian J. Jorio. 8vo., pp. 96. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

From its first appearance, "Snow-Bound" has been one of the most popular of American poems, and, indeed, of all poems of nature. It has been issued in many forms, and the combined demand for copies with adequate illustrations has led the publishers to prepare the present edition. They count themselves fortunate in being able to avail themselves of the work of John J. Enniking, long recognized as one of our best landscape painters, of book-illustrators like Howard Pyle and E. H. Garrett; of Herbert W. Gleason, whose photographs from nature are unsurpassed in artistic excellence, and of Adrian J. Jorio, who has specially designed the cover and the many decorations in the volume. It may easily be imagined that the result of such a combination is a very beautiful book, and seasonable, too, for we are just about to enter into the snow-bound season. This volume should be much in demand about Christmas tide, for it is especially adapted to holiday purposes.

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- THE MADONNA OF THE POETS.** This is That Blessed Mary Pre-Elect God's Virgin. By *Dante Gabriel Rossetti*. Burns & Oates, 28 Orchard street, London, W. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.
- THE LESSONS OF THE KING.** Made plain for His little ones by a Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.
- THE RELIGION OF OUR FOREFATHERS.** By the *Rev. Vincent Hornyold, S. J.* Burns & Oates, 28 Orchard street, London, W.
- THE BLESSED JOHN VIANNEY,** Cure D'Ars, Patron of Parish Priests. By *Joseph Vianney*. Translated by C. W. W. Duckworth & Co., 3 Henrietta street, London, W. C. M. H. Gill & Son, Dublin. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and Chicago.
- CYPRIAN, THE CHURCHMAN.** By *John Alfred Faulkner*, Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary. Jennings & Graham, Cincinnati. Eaton & Mains, New York.
- BRIEFS FOR OUR TIMES.** By *Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy*, rector of St. John's Church, Altoona, Pa., author of "Christian Unity," "Social Problems," etc. Thomas Whittaker, New York.
- THE SOGGARTH AROON.** By *Rev. Joseph Guinan, C. C.*, author of "Priest and People in Doon." Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.
- THE MOTHER OF JESUS: In the First Age and After.** By *J. Herbert Williams*. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.
- ECCLESIASTES IN THE METRE OF OMAR.** With an introductory essay on Ecclesiastes and the Rubalyat. By *William Byron Forbush*. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge.
- TALKS WITH THE LITTLE ONES: About the Apostles' Creed.** By a Religious of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. "Of such is the kingdom of heaven." Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.
- COMMENTARY ON THE CATECHISM OF REV. W. FAERBER,** for the Catholic Parochial Schools of the United States. Edited by *Rev. Ferreol Girardey, C. S. S. R.* B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg. Price, net, \$1.75.
- PROBABILISMUS VINDICATUS** ab Augustino Lehmkuhl, S. J., cum approbatione Rev. Archiep. Freiburg et Super. Ordinis. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg. Price, net, 75c.
- DIE BRIEFE DES HEILIGEN JOHANNES** uebersetzt und erklart von *Dr. Johannes Evangelist Belser*, mit approbation des Hochw. Herrn Erzbischofs von Freiburg. B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net, \$1.10.
- JUSTINS DES MAERTYRERS LEHRE VON JESUS CHRISTUS,** dem Messias und dem menschgewordenen Sohne Gottes. Eine dogmengeschichtliche Monographie von *Alfred Leonhard Feder, S. J.* B. Herder, Freiburg and St. Louis. Price, net, \$2.60.
- THE HUMANIZING OF THE BRUTE,** or the Essential Difference Between the Human and Animal Soul Proved From Their Specific Activities. By *H. Muckermann, S. J.* With five plates. B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg. Price, net, 75c.
- DEATH, REAL AND APPARENT,** in Relation to the Sacraments. A physiologico-theological study by *Rev. Juan B. Ferreres, S. J.* B. Herder, St. Louis, Mo., and Freiburg. Price, net, 75c.

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